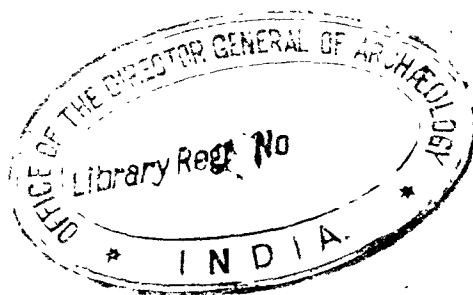


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THIS School, projected in 1899, was opened in the Spring of 1901.

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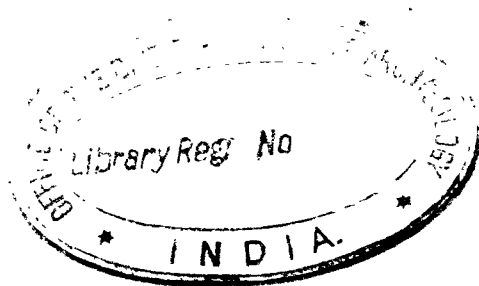
The province of the School is not purely archaeological, but includes all periods of Roman and Italian history, art, antiquities and literature.

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PAPERS  
OF THE  
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.





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## PREFACE.

THE fifth volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome* is considerably larger than any of its predecessors, containing no less than eight papers, illustrated by nearly fifty plates. The first place is taken by an important contribution to the history of the text of the *Odyssey* by Mr. T. W. Allen, the first Honorary Student of the School. Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, another Honorary Student, describes in a paper on the Dolmens, Tombs of the Giants, and Nuraghi of Sardinia the successful results of a campaign of exploration among the prehistoric monuments of that most interesting island—the second of three autumn campaigns that he has undertaken on behalf of the School. Mr. T. E. Peet, the first holder of the Oxford Studentship founded in memory of the late Professor Pelham, the first Chairman of the Managing Committee, deals, in his Contributions to the Study of the Prehistoric Period in Malta, with important problems in regard to the antiquities of that British Colony, which has cordially welcomed the cooperation of the School in excavations carried on by, and at the expense of, the Government of Malta, the success of which in two campaigns has amply justified their continuance.

In the fourth paper Mr. A. J. B. Wace, formerly Librarian of the School, deals with the important series of bas-reliefs in the Palazzo Spada at Rome and others akin to them, maintaining that they are not Hellenistic, but Roman, and placing them in their chronological order. Mr. C. L. Woolley follows with a short paper on an apparently late classical enceinte in Southern Italy, not very far from Salerno. In the sixth paper I have resumed the study of the Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, completing the survey of the Via Latina and the district which it traversed,

including the site of Tusculum and the greater part of the Alban Hills: the three parts now published represent perhaps one half of the whole work. The seventh paper, by my predecessor Mr. H. Stuart Jones, presents some important conclusions as to the historical interpretation of the reliefs of the Column of Trajan, which differ considerably from those at which scholars had previously arrived. The last paper is a short commentary to some very fine drawings of the interesting little Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas, on the Via Latina just within the Aurelian wall of Rome, executed by Mr. F. G. Newton, Student of the School, who is also responsible for the plans which illustrate Dr. Mackenzie's paper and my own.

THOMAS ASHBY,

*Director.*

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## ERRATUM.

P. 126, legend to Fig. 14 The words 'on left' should be omitted.







PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. V. NO. I

---

THE TEXT OF THE ODYSSEY

BY

THOMAS W. ALLEN, M.A.

*Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford; Honorary Student  
of the British School at Rome.*

LONDON: 1910

B



## THE TEXT OF THE ODYSSEY.

I HAVE to thank the Director for giving this article a place in the *Annual*. The Italian collections far outweigh those of the rest of Europe on the subject of Homer; and the opportunity of collating the Vatican Odysseys I owe equally to the self-sacrificing kindness of Father Ehrle, the good offices of my old friend William Bliss, who died early in 1909, and the enviable quarters *Augusto mense* of the British School at Rome.

### I.

#### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The *Odyssey* is contained so far as is known in the following manuscripts: the descriptions are my own, except where the contrary is stated.

##### *Berlin.*

1. Be = Berlin, codices Phillipici, No. 182 (= Phillips 1585, Meermann 307).

Membr. 263 × 163 mm., ff. 203, s. xv. At the end *ματθαίου παλμιέρον πισανέως*.<sup>1</sup> This book was collated by an anonymous, *Classical Journal*, xxxii. 178, xxxvi. 251. I have not seen it. Cf. below *g*.

##### *Brussels.*

2. Br = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 11290 = 73.<sup>2</sup>

Chart. 288 × 208 mm., ff. 417, s. xvi. Hyp. per. tit. (often omitted); paraphrase and interlin. notes in red; marginal scholia; very abundant v. ll. with *γρ*. Other later corrections by a sixteenth century owner. *Signs*: a single bracket on the left hand, γ 232-8, 244-6, ζ 275-88, κ 368-72, λ 38-43, ν 320-3, 333-8, ρ 150-165. At beginning verses (1) *φργών ὁδυσσεύς*, (2) *μόθους ἀποδράς*, (3) *ἐξ ὧραι μόχθοις*. Two series of lines misplaced, (1) ι 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149 (renumbered

<sup>1</sup> This description is taken from *Die Handschriften-Erzählnisse der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. xi. 1890-1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue des Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles*, par Henri Omont, 1885, p. 25.

by another hand) (ii) after κ 556 vv. 547, 549, 551, 553, 555 are repeated (for the renumbering see p. 81); whence it follows that the archetype was in double columns, the sense running across, a usage common in s. xiii.<sup>1</sup>

See under *c*.

*Cesena.*<sup>2</sup>

3. C = Biblioteca Malatestiana 27. 11 ('1<sup>a</sup> Fila, xxvii<sup>o</sup> Pluteo, 11<sup>o</sup> in ordine').

Membr. 275 × 210. ff. 202, a. 1311, Tit., no hyp. per. schol. Some glosses and paraphrases; much corrected by late hands. At beginning ff. v. 2 in a small s. xiv. hand, πρόλογος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὴν ὁδύσσειαν τοῦ ὁμήρου. διὰ βραχέων χαρακτηρίζων τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν. inc. ποιηταὶ μὲν καὶ ῥήτορες expl. μενέτω μόνον θάνατον. ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι. Cf. U (6). At end στίχοι εἰς τὸν Ὀμηρον (i) εἰς αἰῶνας Ὀμηρε (ii) ἐπτα πόλεις. Signature: ἐτελειώθη μὴν ἀπριλλίῳ Ἰνδ. θ' ἐν ἔτει ξδιδ'. καὶ δόξα τῷ θεῷ. Below in red,

† τήνδε πολυπλανέος λαερτιάδα' ὀδυσῆος  
βίβλον Ὀμηρεῖν ἱκεφόρους ἔσχεν ὁ κρήτης.

Over leaf in red

•• βίβλον Ὀμήρου τήνδε πολυπλάκτοι' ὀδυσῆος  
κτησατ' ἂ ἦτ. . . τατός<sup>3</sup> ποτ' ἐν ἀρχιερεῖσι κρήτης.

See *infra a*.

*Cambridge.*

4 Ca = Corpus Christi College Library, 81.

Chart. 397 × 225, ff. 534 and blanks, s. xv.

Cont. ff. 1-228 Iliad, 228-356 Quintus Calaber, 357-end Odyssey. Tit. hyp. per.: occasional glosses, paraphrase, and scholia: corrected throughout by the hand of the scholia. Dr. Montague James, Provost of King's College, has identified the scribe with Emanuel of Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> Used for the Odyssey by Barnes, known to editors of the Iliad as 'Cant.'

See *infra g*.

*British Museum.*<sup>5</sup>

5. H1 = Harley 5658.

Membr. 225 × 145, ff. 260, a. 1479. Per. hyp. tit.; no scholia; constant corrections and v. ll. both by Rhosus and another hand. Signs: asterisks θ 564-72, straight line λ 454-6, ν 333-8. subscr. f. 259 v. μετεγράφη ἡ τοῦ ὁμήρου

<sup>1</sup> A similar observation (about VI Z) is made by La Roche, praef. ed. p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Muccioli, *Catalogus Malatest. Caesen. bibl.* 1780; Albert Martin, *Mélange d'archéol. et d'hist.* 1882 ii. 224 sq.; Schrader, *Hermes* xxiv. (1894) 25 sqq. collated one book (B).

<sup>3</sup> My notes do not coincide with what Schrader read, ἀ(ν)οψάτατος.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1904, p. 445.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Maunde Thompson, *C.R.* 1888, pp. 103, 4.

ὀδύσσεια ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῦ ἐντιμοτάτου ἀνδρὸς κυροῦ βαρβολομαίου τοῦ κρυπτιανοῦ χειρὶ δὲ ἰωάννου ἱερέως βώσον τοῦ κλητός. ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς χυ γεννήσεως χαιριστῶ τετρακοσιοστῶ ἑβδομηκοστῶ ἐνάτῳ μηνὸς αὐγούστου δεκάτῃ ἐν ῥώμῃ. This and the next three MSS. were used by Bentley (Platt, *J. Ph.* xxii. 26).

See *infra j.*

6. H<sub>2</sub> = Harley 5673.

Chart. 285 × 200, ff. 213, s. xv. Per. hyp. tit.; no scholia; a few corrections; notes in Greek and Latin. At end the verses (1) *φυγὼν Ὀδυσσεὺς*, (2) *τοῦ πολυπλάκτου*.

See *infra b.*

7. H<sub>3</sub> = Harley 5674 ('H' ap. Ludwich).

Membr. 275 × 180, ff. 150, s. xiii. (early). Per. hyp. tit.; abundant scholia (where scanty unattached, where plentiful attached by signs; in various hands, all contemporaneous). *Signs*: marks of omission ξ 174-184, ρ 122, 124, 126, asterisks τ 4-12, diplae ρ 10-13.

I use Ludwich's collation of this MS., but have inspected it myself. For the scholia cf. Schrader's *Porphyrii quaest. Od.* 1890, pp. 140 sq.

See *infra c.*

8. H<sub>4</sub> = Harley 6325.

Membr. 275 × 185, ff. 216, s. xv. Hyp. per. tit.; glosses throughout, by Rhosus; very few v. ll. Illuminated.

See *infra d.*

#### *Sabbioneta.*

9. J. The MS. designated by this letter is lost. Our information about it comes from the statements made by Villoison in his *Epistolae Vinarienses*, Turici, 1783, pp. 36 sqq. Villoison gives a collation of this MS. entered on the margin of an Aldine edition (1524) in the Library at Weimar, which belonged to Nicolas Heinsius (1620-1681) 'ex dono patris.' The notes were by Heinsius, to judge from the writing, and he indicated his source in the words 'correctum ad exemplum manuscriptum Vespasiani Gonzagae di Columna.' Until the Weimar Aldine has been re-examined, which I have not done, some uncertainty must attach to these statements. About Vespasiano, Duke of Sabbioneta near Mantua (d. 1591) see Litta *Famiglie celebri*: Gonzaga di Mantova, tav. xiv.

Information will also be found in his life by Ireneo Affò, Parma, 1780, and in a sketch by C. Yriarte, Cosmopolis, 1896, April, pp. 124-145. His marbles were removed in the 18th century to Mantua, where they now are; his books he bequeathed to the Servites of Sabbioneta, in whose possession these were in Morelli's day. By the time of Blume, *Iter Italicum*, 1824, I. 196, they belonged to the Comune. The sindaco of Sabbioneta was kind enough to inform me (Sept. 1907) that 'non esistono libri di Vespasiano Gonzaga, ne si sà ove siano.' Villoison prints a letter in which Morelli (Librarian of the Marciana, 1778-1819) discusses the

question whether Heinsius saw the codex Vespasiani north of the Alps, or in Italy on either of his two journeys (1646 and 1650). Heinsius' own MS. of the Odyssey, R 12, has no connection with J. A related MS., not, however, identical, is U8.

See *infra h.*

Cracow.<sup>1</sup>

10. K = Cracow 543. Written by Demetrius Triboles of Sparta in 1469.

See *infra e.*

Florence, *Biblioteca Laurenziana*.<sup>2</sup>

11. L1 = Laur. 32. 4 ('L' ap. Ludwig.).

Membr. 400 × 225, ff. 476, s. xv. cont. Iliad, Odyssey (ff. 270-445), Batrachomyomachia, Hymns, Epigrams. Tit. per. hyp.; occasional corrections; no notes

See *infra f.*

12. L2 = Laur. 32. 6.

Membr. 330 × 195, ff. 400, a 1465. Tit. per. hyp.: no scholia. Variants. At end *ἐτελειώθη ἡ τοῦ ὁμήρου ὁδύσσεια διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ ἰωάννου πρεσβυτέρου ῥώσου τοῦ κρητὸς ἐν ἔτει α' ε' ξε' μηνὸς νοεμβρίου τρίτη ἐν βοιωτία.*

See *infra d.*

13. L3 = Laur. 32. 23.

Chart. 210 × 140, ff. 296, s. xv. Tit. per. hyp.; no scholia: corrections and v. ll. here and there by text-hand and another. At end † *ἡ βίβλος αὐτῆ φραγκίσκου τοῦ φ...έλφου ἐστίν ἐστι δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ*: † (partly erased).

See *infra f.*

14. L4 = Laur. 32. 24 ('G' ap. Ludwig.).

Membr. 200 × 150, ff. 234, s. x-xi. Tit. per. hyp.: no scholia: glosses, etc. by several hands, all considerably later than the original scribe. *Signs*, correctly given by Molhuysen, p. 4, are non-critical with the exception of five small crosses (equivalent to asterisks) a 97-102. A companion book to Laur. 32. 15 (D) of the Iliad, which it much resembles. The oldest MS. of the Odyssey. Collated by Molhuysen *de tribus Homeri Odysseae codicibus antiquissimis*, 1896, to which I owe the readings.

See *infra k.*

15. L5 = Laur. 32. 30.

Chart. 285 × 190, ff. 192, s. xv. Hyp.: spaces left for per. tit. and initials. A few corrections by the first hand.

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to find a printed catalogue of the Cracow library; the description is taken from Ludwig, *praef.* p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Bandini, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de la Bibliothèque Laurentiana*, 1764, n. 126, 22.

16. L6 = Laur. 32. 39.

Membr. s. xv. 185 × 130, ff. 273. Tit. ; no per. hyp. ; grammatical notes on *α* and parts of *β*, *γ*.

17. L7 = Laur. 91 sup. 2.<sup>1</sup> ('N' ap. Ludwig).

Bomb. s. xiii. 260 × 190, ff. 216. Tit. per. hyp. (in some books not written in). No scholia, v. ll., nor signs. A few exegetical notes. Cont. Iliad and (ff. 167-216) Odyssey (*α-ξ* 422).

See *infra α*.

18. L8 = Laur. *conventi soppressi* 52 (già Badia 2763)<sup>1</sup> (= 'F' ap. Ludwig).

Membr. 240 × 190, s. xi, ff. 296. Tit. : no hyp. per. (these added by a late hand) nor scholia. Signs correctly given by Molhuysen, p. 7 ; they are non-critical except a set of diplae to κ 232-40, 244-7 (these come from the first, not the second hand). Marginalia sparingly in first hand, more abundant in later hands. Collated by Molhuysen, *op. cit.*

See *infra g*.

19. L9 = Riccardiana 78.<sup>2</sup> s. xv. 205 × 135 ; cont. *inter alia* 'θ 169-177, 208-11, 408, 9, 479-81, ι 27, 28, 34, 5, etc. usque ad versus τ 328-34.'

20. L10 = Magliabecchiana 9.<sup>2</sup> s. xvi.-xvii. ; cont. *α* 1-267, hyp. per.

*Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.*<sup>3</sup>

21. M1 = A 77 inf. [= 800].

Chart. 285 × 195, ff. 302, *α*. 1468. Tit. per. hyp. No scholia : corrections and v. ll. both by Rhosus and a later hand. Contains Odyssey *α* 384—end (the first quire is lost). Subscr. *ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα βιβλος ἀντιξή μνη. νοεμβρίου* 43<sup>r</sup>. By Rhosus.

See *infra d*.

22. M2 = B 99 sup. [= 121] (= 'B' ap. Ludwig).

Bomb. 250 × 160, ff. 190, s. xviii. Contains misc. and (ff. 14-179) Odyssey (*α-φ* 134). Tit. per. ; no hyp. Constant epexegetic scholia : <sup>4</sup> corrections and v. ll. by m. p. A few late corrections.

See *infra i*.

23. M3 = E 89 sup. [= 299] (= 'E' ap. Ludwig).

Chart. 260 × 190, ff. 103, s. xiii-xiv. Cont. *α-ι*. Tit. per. hyp. scholia <sup>4</sup> and interlinear glosses. Lemmata and glosses in red ; the rubricator corrects the

<sup>1</sup> 'Indice dei codici greci Laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini.' *Studi italiani di filologia classica* i. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> 'Indice dei codici greci Riccardiani, Magliabecchiani e Marucelliani.' *Studi italiani* ii. pp. 525, 549. I have not seen these two MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Cat. Cod. Graec. Bibl. Ambrosianae* ed. A. N. Martin et Dominicus Bais. 1906.

<sup>4</sup> On which see Schrader, *Hermes* xvii. 346 sq.



text and adds interlinear v. ll. Largely restored by a fifteenth century hand (e.g. on ff. 1, 2, 13, 14, 18, 23, 24, 70, 79, 87-102) : these readings are indicated by M (3).

See *infra m.*

24. M<sub>4</sub> = Q 8, sup. [688] (= 'Q' ap. Ludwig).

Chart. 290 × 210, ff. 277 and viii blank, s. xv. Tit. hyp., no per.; scholia.<sup>1</sup> *Signs*: a single bracket, to the left of the text, at γ 232, 244, ζ 275, ν 320, 333, ξ 503, ρ 150, 475, σ 330.

See *infra e.*

25. Madrid 27.

'Chartaceus in folii modum, foliis constans 278 . . . saeculo xv. fere dimidiato exaratus' Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis codices Graeci MSS.*, 1769, p. 122. cont. ff. 1-34 Orpheus, Argonautica, 35-278 Odyssey (α-φ). This MS. has not been collated.

#### Modena.

26. Mo. = Estense 110.<sup>2</sup>

Chart. 277 × 190 mm., ff. 199, s. xv. Tit. per. (often om.); no hyp. or schol. Marginalia (gramm., etc.) in different hands. Titles in red and some additions by Rhosus.

See *infra d.*

#### Moscow.

27. Library of the Synod, no. 472 (olim 286).

Membr. s. xiii. ff. 157. Hyp. glosses. Not collated. The description comes from the catalogue [in Russian] by Vladimir, 1894, p. 708. Mr. A. E. Cowley translated the notice for me. Heyne (*Iliad* iii. 92) possessed a collation made by C. F. Matthaei.

#### Munich.<sup>3</sup>

28. Mon. = Munich, Stadtbibliothek : Augustanus 519 B.

Bomb. 245 × 160 mm., ff. 253, s. xiv. Cont. 1-249 Odyssey, 250-3, Batrachomyomachia (1-161). Tit. per. hyp.; glosses. V. ll. both m.p. and in a xv-xvith century hand, which latter adds α 1-271 (ff. 1-6) and γ 131-178 (f. 23). Collated by Ludwig, inspected by myself.

See *infra k* and *d.*

#### Naples.

29. N = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, ii. F. 4.<sup>4</sup>

Chart. 285 × 195, ff. 341, s. xv. Tit. hyp.; no per. Occasional corrections, supplements, and glosses. At end φηγών Ὀδυσσεύς.

See *infra d.*

<sup>1</sup> On which see Schrader, *Hermes* xxii. 346 sq.

<sup>2</sup> V. Puntoni, 'Indice dei codici greci della biblioteca Estense di Modena.' *Studi ital.* iv.

<sup>3</sup> This MSS. is omitted in the *Catalogus codicum . . . Bibliothecae Regiae Bavariae*, by I. Hardt, 1812.

<sup>4</sup> *Codices graeci manuscripti regiae bibliothecae Borbonicae descripti a Salvatore Cyrillo*, 1826, ii. p. 142.

*Oxford.*

30. O = Bodleian Library, Canonici graec. 79.<sup>1</sup>

Chart. 310 × 220, ff. 270 + 2, s. xv. Tit. hyp. per. (often omitted); occasional scholia. Extensive corrections by another hand. At end (1) τοῦ πολυπλάκτου (2) φυχῶν ὀδυσεύς.

See *infra b*.

*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>2</sup>*

31. P1 = grec 2403 ('D' ap. Ludwich).

Bomb. 250 × 308, ff. 308, s. xiii. cont. ff. 176 v.-308 Odyssey (α-ω 309). Tit. hyp. per.; glosses; scholia<sup>3</sup> (scanty after the beginning of γ). Corrections in text by m.p. and a later hand; occasional v. ll. with γρ., usually by m.p.

See *infra l*.

32. P2 = grec 2680.

Chart. 380 × 230, ff. 448, s. xv. cont. (ff. 256-448) Odyssey. Tit. hyp. per. Occasional corrections both by first and later hand. Latin glosses.

See *infra f*.

33. P3 = grec 2688.

Chart. 392 × 245, ff. 246, s. xvi. Tit. hyp. per. No scholia: a few corrections and v. ll. in a different hand. At beginning epigram *ὡς ἐλπίτος ὄμηνε*.

See *infra b*.

34. P4 = grec 2689.

Chart. 285 × 205, ff. 356, s. xvi. Tit. hyp. per. Interlinear glosses in red and occasional v. ll. by m.p. Rhosus' hand appears here and there, e.g. in the periocha to ρ. At the beginning in a modern hand '*Codex scriptus manu Cacsaris Strategii ni fallor.*'

35. P5 = grec 2769.

Membr. 192 × 125, ff. 201, s. xv. Tit. per. hyp. in red by m.p. The rubricator (who resembles Rhosus) corrects throughout, fills several gaps, and adds lines in marg. Scholia in earlier books; occasional v. ll.; marginalia mainly glossarial and by m.p.

See *infra j*.

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, *Catalogi cod. . . . . bibl. Bodl., pars tertia*, 1854, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. p. 253, iii. pp.

25 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> On which see Schrader, *l.c.* p. 347.

36. P6 = grec 2894 ('S' ap. Ludwig).

\*Bomb. 255 × 175, ff. 338, s. xiii. Cont. misc. and (ff. 209-333 r.) Odyssey. In two columns, text running across. Tit. per. (often omitted). Scholia and paraphrase as far as γ 48.<sup>1</sup> No v. ll. or corrections.

See *infra j.*

37. P7 = supplément grec 164.<sup>2</sup>

Chart. 217 × 155, ff. 183, s. xvi. Cont. misc. and (ff. 5-116) Od. (α-κ).

See *infra k.*

38. P8 = supplément grec 1001.

Membr. 275 × 255, 1 sheet (= ff. 13, 14), s. xv. F. 13 contains γ 52-101, f. 14 r. γ 425-434, f. 14 v. δ 1-24. Has been used as a binding.

39. Pal. = Heidelberg, Palatinus 45.<sup>3</sup>

Membr. 222 × 160 mm., ff. 234, a. 1201, 1202. Hyp. per. Scholia to α-η. Cont. ff. 1-224 Odyssey, 225-9 Batrachomyomachia in four contemporary hands, of which the first alludes to himself in the words *χειρὶ παλαγίνου υἱοῦ πελεγρίνου κόμητος τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδρύσεως*.

See *infra b.*

40. Pe = Perugia, Biblioteca comunale, D 67.

Chart. 285 × 195, ff. 298, s. xv. Cont. (1-260) Odyssey; tit. hyp. per. No corrections, scholia, or v. ll. A few notes. At end (1) *τοῦ πολυπλάγκτου* (2) *φυγῶν δδυσσεύς*.

See *infra d.*

#### Rome.

41. R1 = Vat. graec. 24.

Membr. 290 × 195, ff. 261, s. xv. Tit. per. hyp. (collected at beginning and end). No scholia; few corrections and v. ll. At end inside cover *emptus ab argyropulo una cum aliis xi similiter signatis b. Manfredus*. On this celebrated sale see Voigt *Wiederbelebung*, i. 369.

See *infra i.*

<sup>1</sup> On these cf. Ludwig *Progr. Rezumont*, 1889, i, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> F4 r. we find five lines in different-coloured inks:

δοκίμιον τοῦ μέλανος (black)  
δοκίμιον τοῦ βαρβίου (brown)  
δοκίμιον τοῦ πρασίνου (green)  
δοκίμιον τῆς κίναβάρεως (red),  
δοκίμιον τοῦ κονδιλίου (black).

Cf. Estense 245 (iii, G. 12) *δοκίμιον τοῦ κονδιλίου καὶ τοῦ μελανίου καὶ τοῦ χερεῖου μου καὶ τοῦ χαρτίου μου*

<sup>3</sup> This description, and also the readings of the MS., are derived from P. C. Molhuysen *De manus Horatii Olyssae cum tribus antiquissimis*, 1896, pp. 8-9. Cf. also Ludwig, *Progr. Rezumont*, 1889 ii., Schrader, *Denkmäler zur ant. Od.* pp. 163-64.

42. R2 = Vat. graec. 25.

Chart. 395 × 210, ff. 185, s. xv. Hyp., but per. and tit. usually omitted. No scholia, or v. ll. Carelessly written: at end + ἐτελειώθη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ δημητρίου τοῦ ξανθοπούλου.

See *infra l.*

43. R3 = Vat. graec. 906.

Membr. 180 × 120, ff. 278, a. 1422. Tit. per. hyp. Corrected throughout by a contemporary hand: v. ll. and glosses here and there abundant. No scholia, or signs. Gilded and illuminated. At end in red (faint)

+ ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ διακόνου γεωργίου τοῦ χρυσοκόκκη ἐν ἔτει ς ὠ 3 ὠ λ ὠ μηνὶ ὀκτοβρίῳ ινδ. ιε +.

See *infra e.*

44. R4 = Vat. graec. 915.

Bomb. 260 × 170, ff. 238, s. xiii. (schol. λ 1 quotes Tzetzes). Cont. misc (Theogn. Phocyl. Hes., etc.), ff. 48–141 Iliad, 142–177 Odyssey. Tit. per. hyp. Constant glosses; in places paraphrase: abundant scholia, entirely ut vid. exegetical. Many v. ll. with γρ., omitted lines added in margin with ὡδε, in the text λείπει. In double columns, the text reading across. No signs: one passage (γ 232–8) marked with a vertical line.

See *infra a.*

45. R5 = Vat. graec. 1302.

Bomb. 300 × 230, ff. 218, s. xiii.–xiv. Misc., being several books bound together: ff. 169–192 cont. Od. (α–ζ 285) in double columns, text reading across. No per. tit. hyp. or scholia: a few glosses, corrections, and v. ll.

See *infra p.*

46. R6 = Vat. graec. 1320.<sup>1</sup>

Chart. 300 × 225, ff. 202, s. xv. Hyp., no per. tit. Exegetical scholia to α–δ and ψ, ω; glosses: a few v. ll. The scholiast (contemp.) corrects and adds lines where there are scholia. At beginning βιβλίον ἡ ὀδύσσεια [monocondylion] δημητρίου ο παραχαιος κ . . . . .

See *infra g.*

47. R7 = Vat. graec. 1627.

Membr. 415 × 270, ff. 318, a. 1477 (companion to the Iliad, Vat. graec. 1626). Tit. per., no hyp., scholia, or glosses. All by Rhosus, and corrected throughout by him in red [in the Iliad he alludes to his second archetype—οὔτως εἶρον ἐν ἐτέρῳ βιβλίῳ, οὔτως κείται ἐν ἐτέρῳ βιβλίῳ]. Unfinished: the Latin version on the rectos and the illuminations which are in the Iliad are wanting Subscr.—τοῦτ' ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ ἦτοι ἡ τοῦ ὁμήρου ὀδυσσῆα μετεγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ ἰωάννου ἱερέως ῥώτου

<sup>1</sup> Seen by Ludwig, *Prolegom. Rez. iul.* 1888, I. p. 1.

κρητὸς τὸ γένος ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου κυρίου ἡμῶν κυρίου φραγκίσκου [Gorzagā] τῆς ἱεραγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καρδηναλίον τῆς ἁγίας μαρίας νόβας ἵται ἀπο τῆς χῦ γεννήσεως χυλιοστῶ τετρικοσιοστῶ ἑβδομηκοστῶ ἑβδόμῳ ἰνδικτίονος δεκάτης μηνὸς σεπτεβρίου πεντεκαϊδεκάτῃ ἐν ῥώμῃ. The church of S. Maria Nuova now goes by the name of S. Francesca Romana. The Iliad was finished on May 31 of the same year.

See *infra c.*

48. R8 = Vat. Palat. 7.<sup>1</sup>

Chart. 275 × 195, ff. 200 a. 1436. Tit. hyp., no per. Scholia and glosses. Carefully corrected. At end the verses (1) φνγὼν ὀδυσοεὺς (2) μόθους ἀποδρὰς (3) ἡρηκας ἐχθρῶν (4) ποθῶν μογῶν. Signs: a single bracket to γ 232-8, 244-6, ζ 275-88, η 107, ν 320-3, ξ 503-6 uv., ρ 150-165, 475-480, σ 230-2. The other signs (x-) are mere references to the scholia. Subscr. in cipher, as Catalogue.

See *infra e.*

49. R9 = Vat. Palat. 181.

Membr. 270 × 175, ff. 207, s. xv. Tit. per.; no hyp.; no scholia. Carefully written and corrected.

See *infra g.*

50. R10 = Vat. Ottobuoni 57.<sup>2</sup>

Chart. 285 × 200, ff. 204, s. xv. Hyp., tit. usually omitted. No per. nor scholia. Corrected throughout by m.p. and by another hand, who adds v. ll.

See *infra c.*

51. R11 = Vat. Ottobuoni 308.

Chart. 200 × 130, ff. 304, a. 1486. Hyp. per., no tit. Glosses but no scholia. Subscr. as in Catalogue.

See *infra g.*

52. R12 = Vat. Regina 99.<sup>3</sup>

Chart. 230 × 160, ff. 237, s. xv. Tit. per. hyp. No scholia. Written by Rhosus; cf. the subscription 232 r. (in Cat.), which gives the scribe's name as Ioannes only; v. ll. added throughout by Rhosus. At the end φνγὼν ὀδυσοεὺς. At beginning *Nicolai Heinsii*.

See *infra c.*

53. R13 = Vat. Urbin. 125.<sup>4</sup>

Membr. 230 × 165. A single page, being the fly-leaf of Urb. 125: s. xiii. In 2 cols., the text going across: cont. γ 234-373. No scholia or notes.

<sup>1</sup> *Codd. MSS. ti Palatini Graeci* . . . rec. et digessit Henricus Stevenson, 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Codd. MSS. ti Graeci Ottoboniani* . . . rec. E. Feron et F. Battaglini, 1893.

<sup>3</sup> *Codd. MSS. ti Graeci Reginae Sacerdotum et Pa. PP. II.* . . . rec. et dig. Henricus Stevenson, 1889.

<sup>4</sup> *Codd. Urbinates Graeci* . . . rec. Cosmus Stornaiolo, 1895.

54. R14 = Vat. Urbin. 136.

Membr. 310 × 170, ff. 435, s. xv. Tit. per., no hyp. No scholia.

See *infra g.*

55. R15 = Barberini I 31.

Chart. 170 × 110, ff. 34, s. xvi. (?) Cont. α 36-β in Gree. and Latin. At beginning *Caroli Strozze Thomae fili.*

56. R16 = Barberini I 93,

Chart. 215 × 140, ff. 30, s. xv.-xvi. Cont. α-β 19, with some v. ll. In the same book are A and the Catalogue (dated 1548).

57. R17 = Barberini I, 153.

Chart. 240 × 170, ff. 61, s. xv.-xvi. Cont. γ-ε 102, portions of θ and ι. No hyp. tit. per. or scholia. Regular v. ll.

See *infra g.*

58. T = Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek, 15.<sup>1</sup>

Bomb. 278 × 180, ff. 228, s. xiv. Cont. α-ξ 67. Collated by Ludwig. See *infra p.*

59. U1 = Venice, Marc. 456.<sup>2</sup>

Chart. 375 × 255, ff. 541, s. xv. Cont. Iliad, Quintus Calaber (ff. 341-504), Odyssey, Hymns, Batr. Tit. per., no hyp. nor scholia. Frequent corrections by the scribe, Rhosus.

See *infra g.*

60. U2 = Marc. 457.

Chart. 285 × 190, ff. 191, s. xv. Tit. per., no hyp., scholia, or notes. Corrected throughout by m.p

See *infra c.*

61. U3 = Marc. 610.

Chart. 312 × 250, ff. 190, s. xv. Tit. hyp. per. (collected at end): no scholia, a few marginalia in red. Frequent corrections both by m. p. and a later hand.

See *infra d.*

62. U4 = Marc. 611.

Chart. 280 × 195, ff. 244, s. xv. Tit. per. hyp. No scholia except on first few lines. Text much corrected both by first and later hands. Cont. 1-45 Plut. *τῶν Hom.*, 46-244 Od. At the end verses (1) τοῦ πολυπλάκτου (2) φυγῶν ὁδυσσεύς.

See *infra d.*

<sup>1</sup> H. Omont, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vii. p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Græca D. Marci bibliotheca codicum mistorum*, 1740, pp. 245 sqq.

63. U<sub>5</sub> = Marc. 613 ('M' ap. Ludwig).<sup>1</sup>

Bomb. 270 × 185, ff. 296, s. xiii. Cont. 1r. monocondylion, 2r. id., 4-7 Batrachomyomachia, 9 end Odyssey. Hyp. per. (these by a later hand), tit., scholia.

*Hands*: the text and original scholia are all by the same hand. A smaller and blacker hand has filled a number of pages with paper, and rewritten the lines thus covered—faithfully as may still be seen. This hand is not much later than the first, and certainly of s. xiv. This hand also adds scholia. The text is exhaustively corrected by both these hands, one over the other, and also by a third, a thin spider-like black hand, also not very late, about s. xiv-xv.

The scholia are attached by numerals and by conventional signs. The Aristarchean signs which appear have no relation to the scholia and are sporadic. They consist of obeli, antisigmas, and asterisks.<sup>2</sup> Scholia and variants get somewhat thin towards the end. In one place allusion is made to 'another copy': α 93, 94 add. in marg. man. 2, with οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ βιβλίῳ οἱ στίχοι.

At the end, verses (1) πονῶν μογῶν (2) μόθους ἀποδρῶς (3) στίχοι τοῦ τζέτζου αὐθωροὶ καὶ πάντῃ ἀμελέτητοι κατὰ τε τοῦ σκελίτζη καὶ γρηγορίου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματιστοῦ... inc. ἐκ τῶν τραγίσκων οὐκ ἀμέλγεται γάλα, expl. τίς γὰρ τραγίσκων καὶ λεόντων ἡ μάχη (1) m. s. xv. τοῦ πολυπλάκτου.

64. U<sub>6</sub> = Marc. cl. ix. No. 4 (già DCXLVII). Consists of two books:

(a) U (6) chart. 260 × 165, ff. 47, s. xv. Cont. ff. 1, 2 πρόλογος ἐγκωμιαστικὸς (as C); 3 sq. Odyssey α-ζ 190. Tit. per. hyp. interlinear glosses.

See *infra c*.

(b) U<sub>6</sub> bomb. 255 × 170, ff. 48-142, s. xiii. Cont. 1541-ω. Tit., no hyp. or per. Abundant scholia, mainly mythological. Corrections by m. p. *Signs*: one set of obeli, ρ 150 sq.

See *infra h* and *j*.

65. U<sub>7</sub> = Marc. cl. ix. No. 21 (Nani 289).

Chart. 282 × 215, ff. 480, s. xvi (?). Tit. per. hyp., glosses. Corrections on an exhaustive scale by m.p. and a later hand. Cont. Iliad and (f. 270 sq.) Odyssey (α-ψ 341). Portions also of Synesius and Quintus Smyrnaeus.

See *infra j*.

66. U<sub>8</sub> = Marc. cl. ix. No. 29.

Chart. 295 × 225, ff. 320, s. xvi. Tit., no per. hyp. nor scholia. A few corrections. The signs // and = are used as paragraphi. Latin paraphrase and

<sup>1</sup> See Ludwig, *Progr. Regimont*. 1871, Schrader, *Porph. qu. Od.* pp. 153 sq.

<sup>2</sup> They are:—

antisigmas β 214-223 m p.

obeli γ 232-8, η 251-8, λ 38, 39, 435-442, μ 376-388, ξ 174-184, 503-6, ο 78-85, π 247, 249-51.

asterisks and obeli θ 564-7.

asterisks (dotted) ν 430-3, ξ 160-4.

notes. This book was bought in 1823 of Carlo Michiel, and is in the same hand as cl. ix. No. 2 (U9 of the Iliad), which came from S. Giovanni in Verdara at Padua.

See *infra h.*

67. U9 = Marc. cl. ix. No. 34.

Chart. s. xv. 265 × 190, ff. 365. Tit. hyp. per.; glosses; scholia. *Signs*: brackets γ 199, 200, δ 159-163, dots ν 333-338, crosses ρ 150 sq, 475 sq. At beginning *Francisci Attaris Cyprii καὶ τῶν φίλων*. On the cover, *τομ. δευτερ., i.e.* second volume to cl. ix. No. 33 (U13 of the Iliad).

*Vienna.*<sup>1</sup>

68. V1 = Vienna, Hofbibliothek philol. 5.

Chart. s. xv. 430 × 275, ff. 191. Cont. ff. 1, 2 Herod. *vit. Hom.*, 4-83 Iliad, 84-129 Quint. Smyrn., 130-end, Odyssey. Tit., no per. hyp. nor schol. Corrected throughout (with γ, s): v. ll. added by m. p. (Nessel, pars iv. p. 5).

See *infra b.*

69. V2 = philol. 50.

Chart. s. xv. 300 × 210, ff. 219. Tit. hyp., no per.; schol. Occasional corrections by m. p. At end, *ἀντώνιος δαμιλὰς καὶ τοῦτο ἐξέγραψε* (Nessel, *ib.* p. 50).

See *infra d.*

70. V3 = philol. 56 ('Y' ap. Ludwig).

Chart. s. xv., 300 × 210, ff. 169. Tit. hyp. gloss.; scholia; occasional v. ll. No per. At end: *ἐληφε βίβλος τέρμα πέμπτη μαίον| ἰνδικτυῶνι τῇ δεκατρίῳ δ' ἄμα | ῥαψωδιῶν φέρονσα τριπλὴν ὀκτάδα| † ἔτει ς Ὡ Η [1300].* The hand seems archaic, in which case the subscription is copied from the original. Cf. Ludwig, *Progr. Regimont.* 1888, i. p. 1. (Nessel, *ib.* p. 36.)

See *infra b.*

71. V4 = philol. 133 ('X' ap. Ludwig).

Bomb. s. xiii., 250 × 170, ff. 146. Cont. ε 45-ω 59. Tit. hyp. per.: glosses; v. ll., all in one hand. Scholia opposite the text, in a parallel column (not continuous). *Signs*: (,) κ 368-372, λ 38-43, (\*) τ 4-12. (Nessel, *ib.* p. 77.) Cf. Ludwig, *Progr. Regimont.* 1889, I. pp. 5 sq., Schrader, *Porph. qu. Od.*, pp. 144 sq.

See *infra m.*

72. V5 = philol. 307.

Chart. s. xvi., 195 × 145, ff. 90. Cont. miscell. ff. 1-90 Odyssey (α-ζ). Per.; glosses. (Nessel, *ib.* p. 147.)

See *infra g.*

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogus . . . Bibl. Casarac Vindobonensis . . .* ed. Daniel de Nessel, 1690.



*Breslau.*<sup>1</sup>

73. W<sub>1</sub> = Breslau, Stadtbibliothek 28 ('W' ap. Ludwig).

Chart. 262 x 196, ff. 221, s. xv. Tit. per., no hyp. nor scholia. Collated for Ernesti, ed. v. l. V. add. p. 23.

See *infra f.*

74. W<sub>2</sub> = *id.* 29.

Membr. 350 x 255, ff. 177, s. xv. Cont. Batrachomyomachia, Iliad (A-Z 356), (ff. 51-174) Odyssey. Tit. per. hyp.; no scholia. This MS. has not been collated. (Known as 'Vrat. a' for the Iliad).

75. Z = Stuttgartensis 5.

S. xvi. Collated by Rieckher, *Die zweisprächige Stuttgarter Handschrift etc.*, Heilbronn, 1864.

See *infra g.*

The 'codex Mori' (not to be confounded with the 'codex Mori' of the Iliad, which Walter Leaf has identified with the MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. 983 = R16.35) on the authority of which Barnes added *o* 295 to his text, is no manuscript, but the edition of Estienne (1566) numbered Nn. v. 17 in the Cambridge University Library. Before forming part of the library of Edward Moore, Bishop of Ely, it had belonged to Casaubon, who has left a considerable number of marginalia on it. On the page containing *o* 294, 296 he says: *Deest hic versus vide ꝑaß. viii.* The ed. Hervagiana (1541), which also belonged to Moore (numbered Nn. vi. 4), in the same Library has no note on the passage. I owe the suggestion that 'codex' here meant a printed book to the perspicacity of Dr. Montagu James, Provost of King's College, and the identification of the volume to the energy of Mr. J. W. Clark.

Of these MSS. I have not seen Be, J, K, L<sub>9</sub>, L<sub>10</sub>, Matritensis, Moscoviensis, Pal., T, W<sub>2</sub>, Z. Of these L<sub>9</sub>, L<sub>10</sub>, Matritensis, and W<sub>2</sub> have not been collated at all. The Moscow MS. was collated by Matthaei, but the readings have not been published (Heyne, *Iliad* iii. 92). In the case of the others I have printed the extant collations. Further, I owe the readings of L<sub>4</sub> and L<sub>8</sub> (as well as Pal.) to Molhuysen, and of H<sub>3</sub> L<sub>1</sub> (*v-w*), Mon. and P<sub>1</sub> to Ludwig, whose edition I have taken as my basis.

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. Codd. Graecorum qui in bibliotheca urbana Vratislaviensi adservantur* . . . 1889.

## II

## FAMILIES.

These seventy-six MSS. fall into the following seventeen families. The classification was arrived at, as in the case of the Iliad, by a process of noting all cases of variants presented by ten or less than ten MSS., and casting them up. The MSS. which agree most often in presenting such variants have a claim to the title of family. I may say that such an arithmetical system is in my judgment the only one by which families of MSS. can be made out. The possession in common of a striking variant here and a striking variant there is found to be casual. The reader will hardly wish to have these calculations displayed in full; on the other hand he may demand specimens. The relationships are generally very clear: the single MSS. fall into their groups *inter conferendum*.

- $a = C L_7 R_4$
- $b = \text{Pal. } H_2 OP_3 V_3$
- $c = H_3, M(3) R_7 R_{10} R_{12} V_2 V (6)$
- $d = H_4 L_2 M_1 Mo \text{ Mon. m. 2, } P_3 P_4 Pe R_5 U_3 U_4 U_7$
- $e = U_5 Br K M_4 R_3 R_8 U_9$
- $f = L_1 L_3 P_2 W_1$
- $g = L_8 Be Ca L_6 R_1 R_6 R_9 R_{11} R_{14} R_{17} U_1 Z \text{ ed. pr. } (H_1 P_5 R_7 U_7 \text{ m. 2})$
- $h = J U_6 U_8$
- $i = M_2 R_1$
- $j = H_1 P_5 P_6 R_7 U_6 U_7$
- $k = L_4 L_5 \text{ Mon. } P_7, \gamma p. R_{12}$
- $l = P_1 R_2$
- $m = M_3 V_4$
- $o = c-H_3 \text{ (sc. } R_7 R_{10} R_{12} U_2 U (6))$
- $p = e-U_5 \text{ (sc. } Br K M_4 R_3 R_8 U_9)$
- $q = g-L_8 \text{ (sc. } Be Ca L_{16} R_1 R_6 R_9 R_{11} R_{14} R_{17} U_1 Z)$
- $r = b-Pal. \text{ (sc. } H_3 O P_3 V_3)$

The MSS. which resist classification are  $P_8 R_5 R_{13} R_{15} R_{16} T$ .

I give first specimens of agreement between the members of each family, sufficient to show the relationship; then the characteristics of the family thus constituted. For the latter I use the method applied to the Iliad, *C.R.* 1899, III, viz. that of dividing the peculiar readings of each

family under four heads: (1) Alexandrian, (2) ancient but non-Alexandrian, (3) coincidences with Eustathius or with variants (γρ. etc.) in other MSS., (4) unguaranteed but noteworthy.

f

α = C L7 R4

*Specimens of Agreement.*

α	7	αἱ τοὶ L7 R4 αἱ τῶν C ex ω uv.	γ	87	ἡ χ' C L7 R4
	52	δλοόφρων C L7 R4 (+ R1 ss.)		185	δαναῶν C L7 R4 (+ c)
	134	δεῖπνον C L7	δ	82	ἡ γρόμην σὺν C L7 R4
	176	ἔσαν R4 ἦσαν C		653	βαίνοντα C L7 R4 (+ L4 U1)
	186	ἱπονηῖω C L7 R4 (+ P2 corr.)	ε	99	μ' ἡνώγει C L7 R4 (+ H3)
	192	εὐτέ μιν C L7 R4 (+ b)		484	δ' om. Cl7 R4 (+ H2)
	201	τελέσεσθαι C R4	ζ	109	πόντον C R4 (+ P5 R7 U7)
	438	γραδσ L7 R4 (+ O) γραίησ in ras. C		296	διέλθωμεν C L7 R4 (+ M4)
β	26	πω C L7 R4	η	283	ἐνδ' C L7 R4 (+ H3. Nuv.)
	99	εἰσόγε C L7 R4		332	μὲν κεν καὶ C L7 R4
	105	παρετίθει C L7 R4	θ	425	θες om. C L7 R4
	123	τεὸν om. C L7 R4	ι	448	ἔρχεο L7 R4 (+ P1 V4)
	127	δ' C L7 R4 (+ I.8 m. 2)	ο	372	ἐπιμένω C R4 (+ P1 V4)
	152	ἰκέτην C L7 R4 (+ U5)		535	γάρ τοι C R4 (+ Br Ca R2 V4)
	190	μὲν om. C L7 R4	υ	167	ἡέ τ' C R4 (+ V4)
	263	νηυσὶ C L7 R4	χ	498	ἀμφεπένοντο C L7 R4 (+ V4)
	373	μυθήσεσθαι C R4, ε ex α L7	ψ	8	τεὸν C L7 R4 (+ V4)

The relationship of C and L7 was inferred by Schrader (*l.c.*) from his collation of β in C.

*Characteristics.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| i. Alexandrian :   | εἰτά τις μὴ νοήσας προσέθηκε<br>τὸ ὅς).                                   |
| β 26 οὔτε πον. Inferred as Aristarchean from the corrupt scholia (οὔτε πέπτωκας, οὔτε πέπωκας) by Cobet. | ε 272 θ' ὀρῶντι. Evidently the same as θ' ὀρόωντι, quoted by schol. Θ 93. |
| ii. Ancient :  | iii. Eust. γρ. :  |
| α 7 αἱ τοὶ Porph., Euseb.  | α 176 ἔσαν γρ. H3 K   |
| 52 δλοόφρων. Inferred from the wording of the scholia (ἐγέγραπτο κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν γραφήν.                | β 421 εἰκραῖ Eust.  |
|  | ψ 77 πολυωρόρησι V4 ss. (-είρησι Mon. at Eust. -ίσις: J).                 |

- iv. Noteworthy:<sup>1</sup>
- α 146 ἔχουσιν (common e.g. ψ 45)
- 201 τελέσεσθαι
- β 11 δοῖω κίνες (sc. ἀργαί, om. πόδας, as ρ 62)
- 14 δ' ἄρ (for δ' ἐν).
- \*91 μὲν ἔλπει (+ T) μὲν ῥ' cet.
- \*152 ἰκέτην (+ U5) (cf. α 21 ε 408)
- 331 κατεδύσατο (cf. Z 288, N17 Ξ229 Ω 191)
- γ 9 ἔφθ' for αὔθ', implying an asyn-  
deton (cf. ἔσθ' v. 78 for the  
same word.)
- ιβ. μηρία ἴζον (relic of ῥέζον?)
- 22 ἄρ bis
- 290 στροφόωντο for τροφέοντο
- 486 χειρὶ ἔχοντες (? with ζυγόν, sc. of the  
drivers)
- δ 82 σὺν for ἐν (cf. λ 359)
- 414 αἰτᾶρ for τὸν μὲν
- ζ 82 ἡμιονεῖη for ἡμιόνουιν (elsewhere  
epithet of ἄμαξα, ζυγόν)
- θ 312 ὄφειλον as Nauck
- 355 ἀπαλύξας (as ν 212 ἀπεσταχύοιτο)
- ι 81 κυθήροις (dat. of motion. Coincides  
perhaps with Andron's view,  
F.H.G. 350, that Aegis—  
thus inhabited Cythera, whither  
Agamemnon δ 517 was blown)
- ν 73 λίνους τε
- 82 om. (dispensable)
- 187 ἐστῶτες
- 295 παῖδες (ex παιδόθεν = πεδούθεν)
- 303 τὴν σὴν for τοι σὺν (development  
of σὴν for σὺ<sup>ς</sup> in f P1)
- 322 πρὶν γέ τε for πρὶν γ' ὅτε
- 333, 4, 5 om. (barely dispensable  
alone: ? an echo of the athe-  
sis of 333-8)
- ξ 103 ἐνθ' εἴτ' for ἐνθάδε δ'
- 152 ἔσται
- τ 105 ἦς for εἷς
- φ 218 με ἐγνώτων (misunderstood dual  
turned into an adjective)
- 219 ἐμοὶ (μοι k)
- χ 216 κτένομεν for κτέωμεν (implied in  
κτενέωμεν k P2)
- 280 ἐπέπτατο
- ψ \*162 οἱ (+ V4 U5 ss.) for τῷ. Perhaps  
possible: τῷ is usual, οἱ re-  
covers a digamma
- 318 ἀφίκοιτο (misunderstanding of ὥς)
- ω 479, 480 om. (dispensable, but 480-  
491 are dotted in P5: cf.  
ν 333)
- 505 προσεφώνε' ἐὼν φίλον υἱόν, for  
προσεφώνεεν ὄν

This family consists of comparatively old members, s. xiii-xiv. C and L7 have no scholia or signs: R4 abundant mainly exegetical scholia (Tzetzes is quoted on λ1), many v. ll. introduced by γρ, omissions carefully supplied on the margin with ὥδε corresponding to <sup>α1</sup>λείπει in the text.<sup>2</sup> One passage, γ 232-8, has the single bracket common in ε. The variants in

<sup>1</sup> In this class I mark variants which have a phonetic interest, of whatever value, with an asterisk.

<sup>2</sup> Or a curious kind of inversion of ὥδε, ἔδω (e.g. β 191, θ 109, ι 31, ν 161). A larger omission (ψ 203-276) is rectified by the insertion of a small leaf between 193 and 194, with this note: οὕτω τοι τόδε οὐδέ τι οἶδα [202], ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ στίχου ζῆται εἰς τὸ μετεμβληθὲν φύλλον. καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρωθῆναι ἐκεῖνο ὁφέλλεις ἀρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥέξανθ' ἱερὰ καλὰ προσειδάναι [277], καὶ διέρχεσθαι κατὰ τάξιν.

Class IV do not yield much:  $\beta$  91 preserves a digamma, 152 *ικέτην* avoids the neglect of one and is probably right. The omissions  $\nu$  333  $\omega$  477 are interesting, but it is disappointing that after so good a start in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , the novelties tail off.

$b = \text{Pal. H}_2 \text{ O P}_3 \text{ V}_1 \text{ V}_3.$

*Specimens of Agreements.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| $\alpha$ 47 ὅλ(λ)οιτο Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub>                               | 52 μάλα τηλόθεν ἀλλόθεν Pal. H <sub>2</sub>   |
| 93 $\delta$ Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ Br)                                  | 67 τίκεται H <sub>2</sub> , ras. Pal.   |
| 95 ἔλθουσιν Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ $k$ )                                | 86 ἐληλέατ' Pal. H <sub>2</sub> , καὶ ἡλέαται V <sub>1</sub>  |
| 186 ῥήθρω Pal. V <sub>1</sub>  | 100 πύργων Pal. H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub>   |
| 192 εἶτε Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ $a$ )                                   | 269 φαύκων Pal. H <sub>2</sub>  |
| 214 καταλέξω Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ H <sub>3</sub> L <sub>7</sub> al.)  | 299 πρὸς ἀμείβετο Pal. H <sub>2</sub>   |
| 329 $\alpha$ hab. Pal. V <sub>1</sub>  | 331 ὄσα in ras. Pal., ὄσ' H <sub>2</sub>  |
| $\beta$ 54 ἐθέλῃσι Pal. O P <sub>3</sub>   | ο 6 om. Pal. O P <sub>3</sub>   |
| 151 πολλὰ Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ $k$ )                                  | 7 ἔλε Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub> (+ L <sub>5</sub> U <sub>8</sub> )                               |
| 166 ἔσσεται Pal. ἔσεται O P <sub>3</sub> (+ H <sub>3</sub> )                             | 10 ἀποτῆλ' Pal. V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 172 ὅτ' ἐς (eis) Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> (+ L <sub>4</sub> )                               | 16 τε Pal. V <sub>3</sub> (+ $f$ )  |
| 216 θεῶν Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub>  | 21 ὅστις Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>   |
| 351 διμενέη Pal. O uv. P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ L <sub>4</sub> al.)              | 62 περὶ στάμενος Pal. P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>3</sub> ss.                                      |
| 402 ἀχαιοὶ Pal. O V <sub>1</sub> (+ L <sub>4</sub> )                                     | 80 στραφῆναι Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>   |
| $\gamma$ 151 εἰώσαμεν Pal. εἴασαμεν O P <sub>3</sub> (+ R <sub>2</sub> R <sub>14</sub> ) | 111 ἐνὶ Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 313 φίλων Pal. O (+ C)   | ib ὥς σὺ Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>   |
| $\delta$ 389 θαλάσσης Pal. P <sub>3</sub> (+ L <sub>4</sub> U <sub>7</sub> )             | 112-9 om. Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> (+ $i$ H <sub>3</sub> L <sub>5</sub> )                                      |
| 415 ἔργον τε ἔπος τε Pal. P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub>                                  | 168 ἦ Pal. H <sub>2</sub> O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub> (+ M <sub>4</sub> U <sub>2</sub> U <sub>8</sub> ) |
| 578 νηὶ μελαίνῃ Pal. P <sub>3</sub>  | 169 om. Pal. O V <sub>1</sub> (space left)  |
| $\epsilon$ 45 φέρει Pal. uv. H <sub>2</sub>  | 174 ἥρπαζεν Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 231 δσφύι Pal. V <sub>1</sub> (+ V <sub>4</sub> )  | 186 βαθυκλήροος Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>3</sub>   |
| 272 βοῶπιν Pal. βοῶπιν H <sub>2</sub>  | 218 ἐμοὶ ἐριῆρες ἐταῖροι Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>3</sub>                                |
| 346 τάνυσσε Pal. H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub>   | 245 τ' om. Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 349 ἐπὶ οἶνοπα Pal. H <sub>2</sub> O   | ib ἀθήνη Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 372 ἐξαπέδυσσε Pal. H <sub>2</sub> O   | 274 ἀχαιοὶ Pal. O, ἐπεισὶ P <sub>3</sub>  |
| 408 ἰκέσθαι Pal. H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub>   | 309 πτωχεύων Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>   |
| $\zeta$ 27 αἰτῇ Pal. H <sub>2</sub>  | 322 ἰήσιν Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 47 πάντα Pal. H <sub>2</sub> O (+ H <sub>3</sub> )                                       | 386 εἰέουσιν Pal., εἴασι O V <sub>3</sub>   |
| 73 ἀπήνην Pal. H <sub>2</sub> (+ H <sub>3</sub> P <sub>1</sub> JK)                       | 400 μνωμείω Pal. O V <sub>3</sub>   |
| 107 δ' om. Pal. H <sub>2</sub> (+ H <sub>3</sub> )                                       | 413 ἡγεμόνευε Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| 126 ἀλλ' ὅγε τῶν Pal. H <sub>2</sub> (+ H <sub>3</sub> )                                 | 420 τις in ras. Pal. τῇ O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>   |
| 224-6 om. Pal. V <sub>1</sub>  | 454 πατρός Pal. πρὸς O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>3</sub>  |
| $\eta$ 45 σκοπέλουσιν Pal. H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub>                                 |   |

Pal. being dated 1201 and the other members of the family to the xvth century (the archetype, however, of V<sub>3</sub> would be dated 1300, if we regard the subscription as copied and the hand as archaistic), the relation between Pal. and H<sub>2</sub> O P<sub>3</sub> V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>3</sub> is one of descent. This descent, as the examples given above prove, is genuine ; but, like most c<sup>s</sup>es of the sort, it is broken. The collation which Pal. received produced variants which altered the stock ; the resulting offspring (which we call *r*) are an object-lesson in the formation of tradition, and show how, as in the case of *c e g*, a given family is often the product of the alteration of the archetype out of the strain. When we consider that the archetype itself is, it is legitimate to assume, the result of a similar process, it is plain that the value of one family against another depends upon external evidence and arithmetic.

*Examples of r corrected out of b.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a 47 γρ. ἀπόλοιτο Pal. m. 2, <sup>ἀπ</sup> όλοιτο O                    | η 30 α ins. Pal. m. 2, space for a line V <sub>1</sub>       |
| 87 γρ. κεν ἴκηται Pal. m. 2, κεν ἴκηται                                | 45 σκολόπεσσι Pal. in ras. O P <sub>3</sub>                  |
| O P <sub>3</sub> , γρ. V <sub>1</sub>                                  | (σκοπέλοιςιν Pal. H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> )            |
| 91 μνηστήρσιν Pal. corr., O (+ K)                                      | 100 βωμών Pal. in ras., βωμών O P <sub>3</sub>               |
| 158 ἦ Pal. corr., O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (+ Br L <sub>5</sub> | (πύργων Pal. H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub> )                 |
| R <sub>14</sub> )  | 120 μῆλω Pal. corr. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (μῆλον   |
| 199 ἐρκακάνουσιν in ras. Pal., ἐρκακάνουσιν                            | Pal. H <sub>2</sub> )  |
| O P <sub>3</sub>   | 269 ὑμετέρης γρ. Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (φαιή- |
| 276 μέγαλα Pal. corr., V <sub>1</sub>                                  | κων Pal. H <sub>2</sub> )                                    |
| 297 νηπιῶσιν Pal. corr., O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub>               | 335 ἀμφιπόλοισι γρ. Pal. O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub> (ἐν |
| corr. (+ N corr.)  | μεγίροιςι Pal. H <sub>2</sub> )                              |
| • 316 ὅτοι Pal. corr., V <sub>1</sub>                                  | ι 228 γρ. κέρδιον Pal., κέρδιον O P <sub>3</sub>             |
| 371 αὖ   δὴν Pal., αἰδὴν V <sub>1</sub> , αἰδὴν O                      | 308 ἤμελξε Pal., ἤμελγε cet.                                 |
| β 55 ἡμετέρους Pal. corr., O P <sub>3</sub> V <sub>1</sub>             | π 53 ἄντιος Pal., ἄντιον Pal. corr.,                         |
| (σ fort. add.) (+ L <sub>4</sub> )                                     | O P <sub>3</sub>   |
| 181 δέ τοι Pal. corr., O P <sub>3</sub> (+ M <sub>2</sub> )            | 72 ἀπάμνασθαι Pal., ἀπαμύνασθαι Pal.                         |
| 334 ὀφέλλει Pal., ὀφέλλει O P <sub>3</sub>                             | corr. O P <sub>3</sub>                                       |
| ε 332 ἴζασκε Pal. corr., ἴζασκε V <sub>1</sub> , ἴζασκε                | 74 μῆ εἰν Pal., μένειν O                                     |
| H <sub>2</sub>   |  |
| ζ 38 γρ. ζώνας Pal., ζώνας H <sub>2</sub> V <sub>1</sub>               | 356 ἦτις φέν τῷδε <sup>1</sup> Pal., ἦτις φαίνεται           |
| 74 φέρον Pal. corr., O   | τῷδε   |

The correction of Pal. has therefore often been accepted by the next copier as the proper reading. O P<sub>3</sub> accepted corrections with the greatest facility ; H<sub>2</sub> V<sub>1</sub> clove more nearly to the original Pal. (For the peculiar readings of *r*, see pp. 57 sq.)

<sup>1</sup> To judge from Ludwich's and Molhuysen's reports.

*Characteristics.*

The family, that is to say Pal., whether followed or not by his children has the following peculiar readings. The readings of the children, which it would be misleading to give here, will be found under *v*.

- i Alexandrian  
None.
- ii Ancient.
- α 329a *ἐ ποτιν ἰμβεβανῶ τριδάκτελος*  
*ἐξαφανίθη*, ap. Julian.
- τ 518 *παιδαρέω* ap. schol. r 66
- iii Eust. γρ. etc.
- ι 455 *ὀλέθρον* Eust
- ο 266 *καταλεξοι* (γρ. H3 V4 B1)
- κ 309 *καταχίε* Eust
- ω 5 ρ' *ὄγε* (γρ. U5)
- iv Noteworthy
- α 70 *ὁ* (a simple error, corrected by m. 2)
- 195 om. (dispensable)
- β 148 om. (?) dispensable? owing to *πέ-  
τεσθαι, ἐπέεστο*)
- 216 *θεῶν* (+ Mon.)
- δ 75 om. (dispensable)
- 342 *ἐν Ἀρίσβῃ* (ex Z13)
- \*415 *ἔργον τε ἔπος τε* (digamma) ex  
β 304
- ε\*349 *ἐπὶ οὐρα* (with digamma)
- 372 *ἐξαπέδισε*
- 402 om. (?) dispensable)
- \*408 *ἰκέσθαι* (for *ἰδέσθαι*, as above β 152)
- η 84 *ἐληλέατ'* (right: see below)
- 100 *πύργου*
- 154 om. (dispensable)
- 183 *ἰώμεσαν—ἐπιρξάμενοι*
- 335 *ἐι μεγάρουιν*
- θ 435, 6 om. dispensable, but? owing  
to *τρίποδα* 434 *τρίποδ'* 435 *τρί-  
ποδ' ὅς* 437.
- 577 *τιμω*
- ι 228 *φέρτερον* (for *κερδίων*: as *φέρτερον*,  
*λόιον* A169)
- 358 *ἡμελεε*
- 480 *χολώσατο* for *χολόσατο*
- 559 *παρὰ περιμνήσει* (unmetrical, ex  
μ 32)
- κ 15 *πόλιν* (*μόρον* I4 shows that some  
difficulty was felt in *νέας*)
- 18 om. (?) dispensable)
- 106 *μεγαλήτορος*
- 206 *πᾶλλον ἐλόντες* (ex Γ 316 etc.)
- 374 *ἀλαοφρονέον*
- 502a add. (—Λ 156)
- 549 *θέσφατα* for *πόπια*
- λ 70 *ἐπ'*
- 348 *ἔττω*
- 359 *ἐν* for *σὶν*
- 426 *ἐρέειν* (*αἰρέειν* P3)
- 483 *τὸ παρούθε*
- μ 274 *βία* for *γυνή*, as also σ 341
- ν 208 *γένονται*
- 230 *πάντα*
- 256 *τροίη* for *κρήνη*
- 315 *ὥς ὅτ'* (for *ὥς* —ω)
- ξ 39 *κακὰ* for *ἀλγεα* (perhaps with  
*ἔδοσαι*)
- 139 *ὀππότε* for *ὀππότε*
- 149 *κείνον*! *φῆσθα* for *φῆσθα* | *κείνον*
- 408 *τετυκόμεθα*
- 412 *ἦλθε* for *ὤρω*
- 425 *σχύζης* (for *σχύζης* 2)
- 470 *ἡγεύσθων*
- ο 6 om. (dispensable)
- 111 *ἐν φρεσὶ ὡς σὶ* (Pissinac)
- 174 *ἡρπαζει ἀταλλομένη*
- 186 *βαθὴ καλῶς* (—πῶς om. 110)
- 218 *καὶ ἐμ' ἡμεῖς ἐπαύρω*
- 420 *τῷ* for *τις*

ο 454 πατρός (Σ 141, h. vi. 13)	τ 584 τοῦτο νόημα
503 ὅλοι ἐταῖροι	φ 185 βίη for βίης.
π 107 ἡ αὐτοῦ [= τῆδ'] αἰέν	194 αῖτως (+ U6), as Bothe
160 οὐ γὰρ for οὐδ' ἄρα	14 φιντεῖσαι for τεῖξεν (ex β 165)
198 παλαιὸν for γέροντα	ψ 237 δέδρομε (ἐπιδέδρομεν ζ 45 v 357)
279 παρωσταδὸν (possible)	241 ἔδν φάος ἡελίου (ex v 35)
* 313 αἶτις (possible, before εἴσῃ)	ω 112· καὶ οἷς καὶ πῖονος αἶγας (ex β 56)
330 ἄνωγε	407 λέγεσθαι for πένεσθαι (N 275)
ρ 415 ὦ for δὸς	429 ἐν δῆμῳ (ex v 210)
σ 286 ὥς κ'	

These readings give *b* a good place among the families of MSS. Putting aside *δo a 70* as an accident, *b* alone preserves what appears to be the true tradition with ἐληλέατ' from ἐλαύνω η 86. The other forms (for which see critical note) are produced by regular reciprocal contamination from the readings ἐληλέατ', ἐρηρέδατ', ἐλήλνται 86, 95, 113. On all three lines there are monsters, which show the process. (Ψ 284 we see the reverse process, ἐρηρέδαται, ἐρηράδαται, ἐρηρέαται.) That ἐληλέατ' is a conjecture is less likely. Pal. also has remarkable omissions: *a* 195, *β* 148, *δ* 75, *ε* 402, *η* 154, *θ* 435, 436, *κ* 18, all or nearly all possible. The reading ἐπὶ *ε* 349 allows for the *F* in οἶνοπα: other variants are due to association, the commonest principle in the Homer MS. (*δ* 342, *ι* 559, *κ* 206, 502a, *ο* 186, *ψ* 241, *ω* 112, 407, 429; ἕως ὅτ' 315 shows us the process of metrifying ἕως. The ll. *ο* 111, *π* 279 have claims to consideration on the ground of sense.

*c* = H3 M(3) R7 R10 R12 U2 U'6.

Here again one member, H3, is of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century, the rest are of the xv<sup>th</sup> century; R7 and R12 were written by the same scribe, Rhosus.

#### Specimens of Agreement.

<i>α</i> 1 πάντων H3 R7 R10 U2 U(6)	<i>γ</i> 280 βέλεσιν H3 R10 U2 U(6)
(+ L1 Pe)	336 θασσόμεν H3 R7
<i>β</i> 230 ἐν φρεσὶν H3 R7 R10 U2 U(6)	<i>δ</i> 54 χρυσῆν H3 R7
392 αἰτῆν H3, γρ. U(6)	251 ἀνηρώτων H3 R7
411 ἐν H3 R10 U(6) (+ <i>a</i> )	252 λοέον H3 R7
<i>γ</i> 7 πετιήκοιτα H3 U(6)	467 ἐνδοθι H3 R7 (+ <i>a</i> Mon.)
9 ἔκρον H3 R7 R10 U2 U(6)	788 ποτῆος H3 R10 (+ Br P6 R3 RS)
83 om. H3 R7 R10	
109 δ' ἐπειτ' H3 U2 U(6) (+ <i>a</i> )	<i>ε</i> 163 ἐν δ' ἱκρια H3 R10 U2 U(6)
185 θαλαῶν H3 R10 U2 U(6)	(+ <i>a</i> )



<i>ιβ.</i> ἐν αὐτῇ H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> U(6)	π 56 θεῖον H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+M <sub>2</sub> (+a) P6 R <sub>1</sub> )
347 κακὸν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	66 παρὰ H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub>
376 ῥα H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	158 εἰδνία H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> —a R <sub>12</sub>
ζ 75 κατέθηκαν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	162 ἀλάοντο H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>
θ 584 πεπνυμένα H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub>	σε
ι 138 ἐπικέλσαντες H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> uv.	215 ὄρτο H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub> ὄρτο σε R <sub>12</sub>
223 τοῖσιν ἄμελγεν H <sub>3</sub> M(3) (+f)	357 κυχάνει H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub>
242 ὀχλήσειαν O H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> (+k)	417 ἐνέειπεν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> (+e, i)
κ 43 τάδ' H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+k)	ρ 130 ἐφῆι H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+K)
123 ἀνορῶντ' H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub>	237 ἀμφονδῖς H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+L <sub>4</sub> Pal. U <sub>6</sub> )
λ 128 φήκη H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> , fort. R <sub>7</sub>	379 προτὶ H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub>
206 ἀνώγει H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>10</sub> (+n)	537 καταίεται H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+J R <sub>8</sub> corr.)
530 ἐπίτελλεν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	σ 3 ἀζυγές H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub>
604 om. H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub>	<i>ιβ.</i> πινέμεν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub>
μ 53 κελείσης H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub>	336 θαρσαλέος H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+L <sub>4</sub> Pal. U <sub>5</sub> )
141 νῆαι H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub>	350 ἄρα τοῖσιν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+f)
ν 434 βάλεν κακὸν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	409 εἶποτε H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub>
ξ 28 θυμῶ H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub>	υ 302 δ' ἄρα H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (K U <sub>8</sub> )
222 ἔην sine ἐν H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	φ 26 ἡρακλεῖα H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub>
ο 3 ἐπομνήσασα H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	29 ἦν om. H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+γ)
126 πολυκράτου H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+ef)	66 om. H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+Pal. Mon. U <sub>5</sub> )
531 ἔπτατο H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	202 ἔσσονται H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+a)
π 1 κλισίη H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>12</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+k)	232 ἀγανοὶ H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub> R <sub>12</sub> ss.
16 εἰβον H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> (+k)	304 δ' H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+k Pal.)
49 πῖνακας κρειῶν H <sub>3</sub> U <sub>2</sub> (+k)	
51 παρενήγεον H <sub>3</sub> R <sub>10</sub> (+be)	

U(6) is a fragment, M(3) is sporadic; R<sub>12</sub> has not been collated throughout. It is remarkable that all the xvth members of the family lack scholia, and that H<sub>3</sub>'s ample collection thereof has not been reproduced.

H<sub>3</sub> has been extensively corrected by contemporary hands: the correction is often carried into the copy, and the family evidence therefore deflected: the younger members I call *o*.

*Examples of o corrected out of c.*

α 379 ποθιτε H <sub>3</sub> corr., R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>10</sub>	394 ἐπισπένδων H <sub>3</sub> m. 2, R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>10</sub> U <sub>2</sub> U(6)
γ 14 χρεῖ H <sub>3</sub> m. 2, R <sub>7</sub>	486 θεῖον H <sub>3</sub> m. 2, R <sub>7</sub>
292 <sup>αρ</sup> ιορδάνου H <sub>3</sub> , <sup>αρ</sup> ιαρορδάνου U <sub>2</sub>	<i>ιβ.</i> ἀμφιέχοντες H <sub>3</sub> m. 2, R <sub>7</sub>
<sup>αρ</sup> ιορδάνου U(6)	489 ὀρσιλόχοιο H <sub>3</sub> m. 2, R <sub>7</sub> U <sub>2</sub> U(6)

δ 12 ἐλένης H3 corr., R7	383 ἀκειάμενον H3 corr., U2
132 ἐκεκράατο H3 corr., R10	π 233 δ' αὖ H3 m. 2, R12 U2
197 κε H3 m. 2, R7	ρ 10-13 signs (⸑) H3 m. 2, R7
462 ἐφράσσαστο γρ. H3, R7	25 ἵπποῖν H3 m. 2, ἡπποῖν R12
500 ἐδάμασσαν γρ. H3, R7	U2
526 δέ γ' εἰς H3 m. 2, R7	170 δειπνηστός H3 ss., R10 U2
538 κατέκλασε γρ. H3, R7	299 κοπρίσσοντες H3 corr., U2
ε 181 κατέρεψεν H3 corr., U2 U (6)	τ 72 λιπώ H3 corr., R12 U2
296 πῆμα H3 m. 2, R10 uv., U2 U (6)	81 πάμπαν H3 corr., R12 U2
θ 27 om. H3 m. 2, R10 U2	325 δαείσσει H3 ss. R12 U2
342 μακάρεσσι γρ. H3, R10	φ 61 ὄγκιον H3: ὄγκιόνους R12 U2
539 ὤρετο H3 ss., M (3) U2	
ξ 195 ἔργα <sup>ov</sup> H3, ἔργαον R10 U2 ἔργα <sup>ov</sup>	
R12	

More examples might easily be quoted. The new family (o) thus produced is, in the person of one of its members, R12, thoroughly altered by Rhosus, partly in the sense of *k* (see p. 53).

### Characteristics.

The peculiar lections of *c*, whether represented by H3 only or by H3 and its offspring, are these :

i. Alexandrian :	231 μηδ' ἐν φρεσὶν
γ 367 χρεῖως <sup>1</sup> Ar. (χρεῖως), vulg. θ 355	ε 347 κακὸν (for δέος)
δ 712 ἦ Ar. εἰ vulg.	λ 128 φήκη (for φήη)
χ <sup>2</sup> 233 ἴσταο Zen. Ar. K291; ἴστασο	*348 γέρον (avoiding hiatus)
vulg.	μ 99 abcd (= λ254-7)
ii. Ancient :	369 νηδὺς (probably ex νηδύς, νηδύμος γ'
α 32 βροτοὶ θεοὺς schol. Ar. Pac. 212	H1 M9)
iii. Eust. γρ. etc.:	ξ 28 θυμῷ
None.	π 162 ἀλάοντο (sc. ἑλάοντο)
iv. Noteworthy :	357 κιχαῖαι
α 1 πάντων	σ 409 εἵποτε
β 7 κομόοντας	τ 325 δαείσσει
*211 τὰ ἴσασι: τὰ δ', τὰ γ' cet.	φ 173 ὀιστοῦ (agreeing with βιοῦ)
	232 ἀγανοὶ (β209 P2 R7, γρ. H3)

Of these it is clear that ἴσταο and τὰ ἴσασι are the most remarkable ; the younger generation were unable to retain the hiatuses (cf. β 91 μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly ascribed to the *scholia* of H3 in my text.

ἔλπει α T μέν ρ' cet.), and the linguistic development of Homer continued even down to the Renaissance. The peculiarities of *o* will be found pp. 54 *sq.*

$d = H_4 L_2 M_1 Mo Mon. m.2, N P_4 Pe U_3 U_4 U_7 V_2.$

*Specimens of Agreement.*

α 15 σπέεσι L2 Mo N Pe U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub>	328 τοί γε U <sub>3</sub> , γρ. M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> , ss. Mo P <sub>4</sub>
234 ἐβάλοντο Mo N P <sub>4</sub> Pe	U <sub>4</sub>
305 αἰτῶν L2 Mo N P <sub>4</sub> Pe U <sub>4</sub> γρ.	δῆ τι Mo P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ P <sub>3</sub> )
Mon.	400 ἀμφιβεβήκη L2 Mo M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> (+ R <sub>5</sub> )
β 41 ἡγείρε L2 N Pe ss.	516 μεγάλως M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ O)
336 ὅθ' οἱ L2 M <sub>1</sub> N P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub>	775 πω M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ P <sub>1</sub> )
407 post 408 L2 Mo N U <sub>3</sub> (+ P <sub>1</sub> )	ε 29 om. H <sub>4</sub> M <sub>1</sub> Mo P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> V <sub>2</sub>
408 om. M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub>	173 γε H <sub>4</sub> L <sub>2</sub> M <sub>1</sub> N U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ O)
421 om. M <sub>1</sub> Mo N Pe P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub>	189 χρεὼ H <sub>4</sub> M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ O P <sub>3</sub> )
γ 87 λυγρόν ὄλεθρον L2 M <sub>1</sub> N P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub>	230 ἀργέφειον H <sub>4</sub> L <sub>2</sub> M <sub>1</sub> N U <sub>4</sub>
U <sub>4</sub> (+ r)	(+ M <sub>3</sub> P <sub>1</sub> )
230 τηλέμαχος L2 M <sub>1</sub> Mon. m. 2, N	240 πέρι κῆλα H <sub>4</sub> L <sub>2</sub> M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>4</sub>
P <sub>4</sub> Pe	281 ὥς ὅτε ῥινὸς H <sub>4</sub> L <sub>2</sub> M <sub>1</sub> N P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub>
266 κλυταιμήστρα M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub>	U <sub>4</sub> (+ P <sub>1</sub> )
(+ P <sub>3</sub> )	365 εἴως H <sub>4</sub> M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ P <sub>3</sub> U <sub>7</sub> )
216 ἀποτίση L2 P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ m)	409 κῆμα H <sub>4</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ m P <sub>3</sub> R <sub>2</sub> )
278 ἀθηνέων L2 M <sub>1</sub> Mo N Pe P <sub>4</sub>	447 τ' om. H <sub>4</sub> M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ M <sub>3</sub>
(+ O)	P <sub>1</sub> P <sub>3</sub> )
δ 63 γ' om. M <sub>1</sub> P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ r)	ο 27 γε H <sub>4</sub> M <sub>1</sub> N P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub> (+ R <sub>1</sub>
118 εἴσσει ἐπιμν. L2 Mo N O Pe U <sub>2</sub>	U <sub>7</sub> )
(+ P <sub>1</sub> )	33 ἀπέχευ H <sub>4</sub> N P <sub>4</sub> Pe U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub>
141 τοι L2 M <sub>1</sub> Mo Pe U <sub>3</sub> U <sub>4</sub>	(+ U <sub>7</sub> )
276 εἵπετ' L2 N P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub> (+ O)	111 φρεσὶν ἦσιν H <sub>4</sub> M <sub>1</sub> N Pe P <sub>4</sub> U <sub>3</sub>
293 om. Mo N U <sub>4</sub> (+ O)	U <sub>4</sub> (U <sub>7</sub> )

This plebeian family, the second largest (of 12 members, while *g* has 13), consists entirely of xvth or xvith century copies, without an ancestor. Three, H<sub>4</sub> L<sub>2</sub> M<sub>1</sub>, were written by Rhosus, L<sub>2</sub> in 1465 in Bologna, M<sub>1</sub> in 1468; V<sub>2</sub> by Antonio Damila, P<sub>4</sub> by Caesar Strategus; traces of Rhosus seem to appear in the periochae and headings of Mo, P<sub>4</sub>, V<sub>4</sub>; but the eye is liable to err in identification of a few words here and there. An archetype must have been extant at the Renaissance, which has now perished, which produced this progeny. The circumstances resemble those of the 'Paris' group of the MSS. of the Homeric Hymns (cf. the Macmillan edition, p. xxxiv).

These MSS. are very faithful to each other. The second hand of Mon. (s. xv-xvi.) altered Mon. in their sense, and the younger members of *b* (especially OP<sub>3</sub>) are close to them.

*Peculiar readings of d.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| i. Alexandrian :  | δ 545 <i>πειρᾶν</i> (? ὥς) for <i>πείρα</i> ὅπως                              |
| ε 112 <i>ἡνώγειν</i> Ar.  | 707 <i>ἤέτι</i> for <i>οἰδέ τι</i> (a question)                               |
| θ 494 <i>δόλῳ</i> Aristoph. Ar.   | 727 <i>ἀέλλαι</i> (with hiatus)   |
| κ 160 <i>δὴν</i> Zen.   | ε 29 om. (dispensable)  |
| λ 364 <i>πολλὰ</i> Zen.   | 281 <i>ῥινός</i> (cum P1)   |
|   | 365 <i>εἶως</i> for <i>ἔως</i>  |
| ii. Ancient :   | η 221 <i>λανθάνει</i>   |
| ε* 34 <i>ἡματι</i> <i>εἰκοστῶ</i> for <i>κ' εἰκοστῇ</i> : <i>αἱ</i><br><i>κοινότεραι</i> (cum U7) | θ 64 <i>ὀφθαλμῶ</i>   |
| ξ 92 <i>χρήματα</i> Apoll. lex.   | 109 <i>ἐπὶ</i> for <i>ἄμα</i>   |
| υ 14 <i>ὑπαλήσι</i> Plutarch, Galen (-οῖσι)   | 506 <i>ἄγχ' αὐτῶν</i> for <i>ἀμφ' αὐτὸν</i>                                   |
| ω 229 <i>γραπτὺς</i> Apoll. lex. (after <i>ραπτάς</i> )   | ι 103 <i>ἔμβαινον</i> for <i>εἰσβαῖνον</i>                                    |
|   | 154 <i>ᾤσαν</i> (common : Θ 336 X 125<br>Ξ 522 O 694)                         |
| iii. Eust. γρ. :  | 433 <i>ἐλιχθεῖς</i> (+ O)   |
| κ 460 <i>πίετε</i> Eust.  | 548 <i>ἔχοντες</i>  |
| ξ 75 <i>εὐσέ τε</i> Eust. (+ ῥ8) : clearly<br>right   | κ 70 <i>ἐφαπτόμενος</i>   |
| σ 403 <i>πτωχῶ</i> Eust. (+ γρ. Br)   | 214 <i>τοῖς γε</i>  |
| φ 216 <i>ἔσεσθαι</i> c. schol. Ξ 499 (= <i>ἔσεσθε</i> )   | 279 <i>τοῦ δὴ</i> for <i>τοῦ περ.</i>   |
| iv. Noteworthy :  | 288 <i>ἀλαλκήσοι</i>  |
| α 15 (schol.) 73, δ 403, ι 114, ψ 335<br>(as Nauck), <i>σπέεσι</i> for <i>σπέσσι</i>              | 348 <i>ἐπὶ</i>  |
| 305 <i>αὐτῶν</i> for <i>μύθων</i>   | λ 4 <i>ἐδήσαμεν</i>   |
| β 137 <i>μὴ</i> for <i>ἐγὼ</i> (impossible ; intrusion<br>of explanation)                         | 200 <i>αὖ</i> for <i>οἷν</i>  |
| 421 om. (dispensable)   | 216 <i>θιητῶν</i> for <i>φωτῶν</i>  |
| γ 20 <i>ψεύδεα</i>  | 580 <i>ἔλκυσσε</i> , as Nauck   |
| *278 <i>ἀθήνεων</i> (+ O), right.   | 586 <i>ἀναβραχὲν</i>  |
| 303 <i>γε</i> for <i>δὲ</i>   | μ 69 <i>κείνην</i>  |
| δ 114 <i>δάκρυα δ' ἐκ</i> for <i>δάκρυ δ' ἀπὸ</i>   | 74 <i>ἀμφιβεβήκει</i> for <i>-κε</i>  |
| 141 <i>τοι</i> for <i>τινα</i>  | 399 <i>ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἄρ</i> for <i>ὅτε δὴ</i>                                      |
| 276 <i>εἶπετ'</i>   | ν 112 <i>ἀνέρες ἔρχονται</i> for <i>ἀνδρες ἐσέρχονται</i>                     |
| 293 om., as Nauck (a dispensable<br>simile)   | ξ 68 <i>ᾧφειλ'</i>  |
| 400 <i>ἀμφιβεβήκη</i> for <i>-ει</i> , as Hermann   | 180 <i>ἐν πύλῳ ἡγαθείη</i>  |
| 466 <i>ἐν</i> for <i>ἐνὶ</i>  | 195 <i>δαίνυσθαί κ' ἀκέοντ'</i> for <i>τ' ἀκέοντ'</i> or<br><i>ἀκέοντ'</i>    |
| 472 <i>ᾧφειλες</i>  | 436 <i>ἐπαρξάμενος</i>  |
| 516 <i>μεγάλως</i> , for <i>μεγάλα</i> or <i>βαρέα</i>  | ο 27 <i>γε</i> for <i>τι</i>  |
|   | 33 <i>ἀπέχειν</i> for <i>ἀπέχειν</i>  |
|   | 49 <i>ἐπεγόμενόν</i> for <i>-οὺς</i> (-ουσιν V4. not<br>as printed in my ed.) |

- 111 ἦσιν for σῆσιν  
 221 ἔμβαινοι, as ι 103  
 238 ἄλλον ἀφίκετο for ἄλλον ἴκετο  
 363 οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῇ for οὔνεκά μ' αὐτῇ  
 451 om. (dispensable)  
 477 ὅτ' ἄρ' for ὅτε δὴ : cf. 363  
 π 19 om. (dispensable)  
 \*128 δέ με for δὴ με (position given by  
     με: cf. E118, O478 δὲ τόξον vulg.)  
 184 δώσομεν for δώομεν  
 282 θείῃ for θῆσιν  
 361 ἄλλων for ἄλλον  
 389 χρήματα καλὰ ἄλις for χρ. ἔπειτα  
 436 μὴ τί γε for μὴ τοι  
 ρ\* 70 ἅπαντα for ἕκαστα: avoids  
     digamma-neglect  
 435 ἀκούοντες<sup>1</sup> for ἀκούοντες, or αἰόντες  
 534 ἡμέτερόν γε (? πολεύμενοι) for  
     ἡμέτερον or -ον  
 537 καταίνεται for -άνεται  
 σ 110 ἴον for ἴσαν  
 174 ἔρχεο for ἔρχεν  
 τ 19 δὴν ἄρ for πατρὸς (possible)  
 υ 84 ἡματι for ἡματα  
     86 ἀμφεκάλυψεν for -ψη, as Voss  
 107 τοῖσι δὲ for τῇσιν  
 \*216 πατρὸς δὴν οἰχομένοιο (ex τ17, 19 :  
     obliterates F)  
 311 τετλάμεν for τέτλαμεν, as Wolff  
 317 αἰὲ for αἰὲν  
 387 καταντικρὺ for κατ' ἀντησιν (gloss)  
 φ 125 μὲν δὴ for μὲν μιν  
 150 ἐκτάνυσε for ἐντ—  
 174 τανύουσιν for τανύουσι  
 205 τοῦτων for δὴ τῶν  
 χ 22 πνέοντα for πέσοντα (ex πέοντα)  
 201 θύρηνδ' for θύρην  
 471 πασάν for πᾶσαις (πασέων U3, as  
     Nauck)  
 489 ἔστασ' for ἔσταθ'  
 ψ 86 ἐξερεείνιν for ἐξερεείνοι  
 99 ἠδὲ for οὐδὲ  
 186 ἄλλω ἐνὶ χώρῳ for ἄλλῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ  
 190 τανυφύλλω for -ος, as Voss  
 201 φαεινῶ for φαεινὸν (+ P1)  
 237 ἐρχόμενοι for νηχόμενοι  
 350 πλείον for πολέων  
 ω 5 κίνησεν (+ r)  
 306 γ' om.  
 370 δ' for ρ' (right, as edd.)

In this long list there are some elements of value :

(1) omissions of dispensable lines :

β 421, δ 293, ε 29, ο 451, π 19

(2) coincidences with modern emendations :

γ 278, δ 293, 400, λ 580, υ 86, 311, χ 471, ψ 190, 335, ω 370.

(3) The readings γ 278, ο 477, π 184, 361, ρ 537, σ 403, φ 174, ω 370 were adopted, presumably through H4, the British Museum copy, by Barnes, and his successors : *α* therefore supplanted to some extent *γ* (see pp. 63 *sq.*) as the *textus receptus*.

The linguistic contribution on the other hand is not strong : the observance of the digamma at ε 34 is the best detail.

U3 sol.

θ 382 ἀνδρῶν E.M.

<sup>1</sup> For similar changes apparently to produce metre, cf. ἡβόοντα-ες I 446, Ω 604, Κόον Ξ 255, κομόοντα β 7, γοόοντα κ 209, στροφάσθαι for στροφᾶσθαι I 463, τροπάσθαι for τρωπάσθαι O 666, Π 95, Υ 119, κνέε for κνή Α 639, δηύοιεν δ 226.

$e = U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$ .

*Specimens of Agreement.*

- $\alpha$  19 οἷς ἐτάροισι  $U_5 \text{ Br M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $r \text{ L}_5$ )  
 21 ἰδέσθαι  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $P_2$ )  
 113 γ' add.  $U_5 \text{ Br K R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 401 ἀγχιάλου  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 414 πύθομαι  $U_5 \text{ Br M}_4 \text{ K R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $C$ )  
 $\beta$  5 μεγάρω  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $h$ )  
 37 δ' ἐν  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $J$ )  
 72 ἔρεζεν  $U_5 \text{ uv. Br R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $L_5 \text{ R}_{10}$ )  
 168 ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι  $U_5 \text{ Br M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 240 ἄνεψ  $U_5 \text{ K R}_8 (\text{L}_1 \text{ P}_1)$   
 $\gamma$  219 ὄτ'  $U_5 \text{ Br K R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9 (+J)$   
 $\text{R}_{10} \text{ T}$ )  
 283 σπέρχειεν  $U_5 \text{ Br M}_4 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 289 χείρας  $U_5 \text{ uv. M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+R_2$   
 $\text{R}_{11} \text{ R}_{17})$   
 315 δὴ  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+J$   
 $\text{Mon.}) \delta\epsilon \text{ U}_9$   
 316 χρήματα  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 (+  $R_5 \text{ R}_8 \text{ R}_{13}$ )  $U_9$   
 $\delta$  149 μὲι  $U_5 \text{ Br M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 252 ἔχρισ'  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (J)$   
 284 ἱεμένους  $U_5 \text{ Br K R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+P_7)$   
 435 πόinton  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 (+  $L_5$ )  
 567 πνείοντος  $U_5 \text{ Br K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 (+  $U_1 \text{ U}_{11}$ )  
 $\epsilon$  221 μ' ἐν  $U_5 \text{ Br K R}_3 (+J)$   
 $\theta$  84 χερσὶν ἑλὼν  $U_5 \text{ Br M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 (+  $J \text{ L}_2$ )  
 116 ὅς  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 (+R_{11})$   
 206 ἡ ἐπὶ ποσσὶν  $U_5 \text{ R}_3$   
 $\iota$  134 εἴη  $U_5 \text{ R}_8$   
 $\mu$  11 ἐνθ'  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (\text{L}_6 \text{ T})$   
 331 θ' ὅτι  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+g)$   
 $\nu$  216 οἷχωνται  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9 (+g)$   
 $\xi$  481 ἀφραδίης  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9 (+j)$   
 $\omicron$  187 ὀρσιλόχοιο  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 (+  $f$ )  
 $\pi$  70 ἐμῶ  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 310 μετέχουσιν  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9 (+J)$   
 466 ἀνώγει  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9 (+k)$   
 $\rho$  36 βῆ δ' ἰέναι  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 (+g) [\text{not } U_9]$   
 158 ἡ ὁρώων  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 (+JT) [\text{not } U_9]$   
 199 θυμηρῆς  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 \text{ U}_9$   
 237 ἐρείσας  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 \text{ γρ. K } (+L_2)$   
 $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ U}_9$   
 $\sigma$  242 οἷδ' ὅππῃ οἱ νόστος  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3$   
 $\text{R}_8 (+J)$   
 263 μάλιστα  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+j \text{ J})$   
 275 προπάροιθε  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 345 γένοιτο  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 (+J)$   
 348 λαερτιάδην ὀδυσῆα  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 (+  $M_2 \text{ Mon}$ )  
 364 ἔχη  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 369 πειρησώμεθα  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+J$   
 $\text{M}_2)$   
 371 ὅσσοι  $U_5 \text{ K M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8$   
 386 φείγοντες στείλοιτε καὶ ἐκ  $U_5 \text{ M}_4$   
 $\text{R}_8 (+M_2)$   
 403 πτωχόν  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 $\tau$  114 ἐν αἰτῶ  $U_5 \text{ K}$   
 209 τέον  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 252 ἐπειγομένη  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 532 ἱκται  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 534 ἀσχάλλων  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 (+M_2 \text{ R}_1$   
 $\text{J Mon})$   
 $\upsilon$  134 φίλη τροφὸς  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+J$   
 $\text{Mon.})$   
 362 ἑώκει  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_8 (+J)$   
 379 ἔμπεον  $U_5 \text{ R}_8 (+M_2)$   
 $\phi$  228 παύσεσθον  $U_5 \text{ M}_4 \text{ R}_3 \text{ R}_8 (+k)$

- φ 326 ἐντανύσειν U5 Br M4 R8 (+U6 V4) χ 29 νῦν δὴ U5 M4 R8 (+J)  
 χ 24 κατὰ U5 M4 R3 R8 (+J) 331 ἐφθιθον U5 M4 R3 R8 (+J L2 Mon. R7)

The substantial unity of this family cannot be doubted, but its character falls markedly off in emphasis after δ. Br especially hardly returns to the fold. The father of the family is the xiii<sup>th</sup> century MS. long known as 'M,' and one of the principal sources of the scholia. It is corrected throughout, and furnished with variants to all but exhaustiveness. These variants have been followed by the xv<sup>th</sup> century MSS. (p), but to no very great extent; other sources must have intervened.

*Examples of p = U5 corr.*

- δ 54 γρ. χρυσῆν U5, χρυσῆν Br M4 R8 θ 348a U5 marg., M4 R3 in text  
 162 δ' ἄμα U5 m. 2, Br M4 R8 ρ 568a U5 interlin., M4 R3 R8 U9 in text.  
 236 ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' U5 m. 2, Br M4 R3 R8 τ 172 γαῖα τίς U5 corr., M4 R3 R8 in text. Br m. 2  
 295 τερπόμεθα U5 m. 2, Br R3 R8 ψ 179 ἐκθέσθαι U5 m. 2, Br M4 R8  
 321 ἦτορ U5 ras., Br K M4  
 631 ἀειρόμενος U5 marg., Br K M4, R8 marg.

*Peculiar readings of e:*

- i. Alexandrian:  
 ζ 100 ταῖδ': πᾶσαι schol. γ 283 σπέρχειν  
 λ 249 τέξεται Zen. δ 149 μὲν for γὰρ  
 162 τῶδ' for τῶ  
 252 ἔχρισ' for χρῖον  
 295 τερπόμεθα  
 435 πόντον (+L5)  
 469 κέλευθον (+L5; ex ε 383 as the same v.l. in other MSS. δ 380)  
 ζ 157 κάλλος for θάλος (with τοῖον?)  
 η 314 ἐμὸν for ἐγὼ (cf. π 70)  
 θ 394 φερώμεθ'  
 ι 134 εἴη (with ἀμᾶν ἐπειρή)  
 κ 209 γοόοντας, cf. p. 46.  
 μ 77 κλυτὸς for βροτός (to avoid tautology?)  
 417 ἐκ-πλήτο for ἐν —  
 ν 203 ποῦ for πῇ (at the beginning of the line)  
 285 ἀποβαίτες
- ii. Ancient:  
 λ 110 εἰσας (= εἰσῆς Plutarch)  
 598 ἔπειτα δάπεδον δὲ: ἐπὶ δάπεδόνδε  
 Ar. Rhet. 1411b 33  
 τ 163 ἐστί, Ap. lex. Sext. Empir.
- iii. Eust. γρ.:  
 δ 284 ἱεμένων, Eust. 1490. 10  
 ψ 26 φίλον τέκος, Eust. 1936. 39
- iv. Noteworthy:  
 α\* 21 ἰδέσθαι (f neglected)  
 \*113 πρῶτος γ' ἰδε (id.)  
 401 ἀγχιῶλω for ἀμφιῶλω  
 β 43 ὅτι  
 168 ἀλλὰ for οἶδε (? ex 167)

ξ 89	τοι for τι, τε (correct)	216	κεῖνον for κείθι (? ἐν)
ο 201	χρεών for χρεὼν	283	ῥειν
488	Ζεὺς in fin. (? ἔθη Ζεὺς / ἐπεὶ γ') <sup>1</sup>	305	μοι for τοι
497	ὥς for εἰς	374	νίψειν for νίζειν
537	μάλα for τάχα (P34)	ν 43	τὸ δέ σε (= τὸ δὲ <sup>σε</sup> )
π 70	ἐμῶ for ἐγὼν (as η 314)	202	αὐτοὺς for αὐτὸς
197	οἷ for ῥ̄	φ 31	συνήντετο for μετήντετο
ρ 71	ἀντίον for ἐγγύθεν	*208	ῥ̄λθον (cum 5)
158	δρόων (implying κείμενος for ῥ̄μενος?)	χ 15	ἐπισχόμενον
252	μεγάρω	ψ 163	om. (dispensable, but perhaps ex homoeoteleuto)
281	φρονέοντι	243	θῆκε (? θῆκ')
418	δέ σέ κε for δέ κέ σε	ω 8	ἔπονται for ἔχονται (cf. N 570 II 504)
487	ὑφορῶντες	29	ἀλείαται
568	τῶδ' (? ῥ̄ρκεσεν)	* ib.	κεν ἴδεται for κε γένηται
σ 3	ῥ̄δὲ for καὶ (idē conj. Bothe)	88	πον for ποτ'
298	ἀνεδέξατο (χάριν . . . πολλήν?)	276	εὐπλοῖδας for ἀπλοῖδας
371	ῥ̄σσοι	304	ναῖον for ναῖω.
τ 114	ἐν αὐτῶ		
171	τριχάηκες		

The ancient survivals are valuable and the readings at ξ 89, ο 201, σ 3, φ 208. The almost complete absence of omissions (ψ 163 is an exception) is remarkable: the linguistic evidence is very small.

The real interest of the whole family consists in the scholia and the critical signs. The scholia of U5 are given, after a collation by Cobet, in Dindorf's edition (1855): a collection of scholia similar to these is propagated in M4 ('Q,' collated originally by Mai), and in Br, R 8, and U9: these three MSS. must be considered by the next editor of the scholia. R3 has v. ll. and glosses, but omits the scholia.

The family also has sporadic critical signs; but, whereas in U5 they are the correct traditional Alexandrian symbols (obelus, asterisk, anti-sigma), in the xvth century members Br M4 R8 U9 (R3 omits them) they have sunk to a curious half-bracket or curved line enclosing the obelised passage on the left side. This was the last stage of the notation invented by the revisers of Alexandria, when a hasty Renaissance clerk drew his pen down the margin opposite the lines they had starred or obelised. Br M4 U8 have brackets only (Dindorf by some error calls them 'obeli' in M4 on ι 33):<sup>2</sup> the bracket in M4 was noticed by

<sup>1</sup> Br who resisted this, writes in his right margin: γρ̄ Ζεὺς κεῖται ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ στίχῳ τούτῳ, and on the left καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στίχος ἀρχεται ἐπεὶ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. La Roche, praef. Od. p. xxiv.



Ludwich, *A.H.T.* i. p. 530, and Schrader, *Hermes*, xxii. p. 365. U9 has small single half-brackets one to each line (δ 159-163): the ordinary half-bracket to γ 199-200: a pair of small dots to the first and last line (ν 333-338): a cross to the first line ρ 150, ρ 475. The dots are borrowed from ordinary scribes' practice. In other families a vertical line in lieu of the half-bracket is found as early as R4 (s. xiii) to γ 232-8, and in H1 to λ 454-6, ν 333-338 (H1 also has a dotted asterisk to θ 564-572), R12 has a wavy line against ο 399-401. U6 (s. xiii) has one set of obeli to ρ 150-166. There is no parallel to this development in the MSS. of the Iliad, which have sporadic signs not unfrequently, but the correct Alexandrian types.

These signs have an historical importance, inasmuch as they reinforce our deficient scholia: this will be seen from the table I append.

	SCHOLIA	U5	BR	M4	R3	U9	
γ 199, 200	δθ.	—	(	(	(	(	
232-238	δθ.	obeli	(	(	(	—	(   R4)
244-246	δθ.	— <sup>1</sup>	(	(	(	—	
ε 157	—	—	—	—	(	—	
ζ 275-288	δθ.	—	(	(	(	—	
ι 33, 33 <sup>α</sup> , 34	—	—	—	( <sup>2</sup>	—	—	
κ 368-372	—	—	(	—	—	—	(, P3 V4; vels. om. V5 RS.)
λ 38-43	δθ. obeli (38, 39)	(	—	—	—	—	{ (, V4; J is said to have obeli. The margin of RS is covered.)
ν 320-3	δθ.	—	(	(	(	—	
333-338	δθ.	—	(	(	—	{ 2 dots to 333 and 338 }	(straight line H1.)
ξ 503-506	δθ.	obeli	( <sup>2</sup> (504-6)	—	—	—	(the margin of RS is covered.)
ρ 150-166	δθ.	—	(	(	(	—	(obeli U6 except to 151.)
475-480	δθ.	—	—	(	(	—	
σ 330-332	δθ.	—	—	(	(	—	

U5 has other signs which are not reproduced in its descendants (see p. 14). R8's witness against ε 157 and M4's against ι 33 *sq.* are striking, but R8 may have used his bracket as a scribe's sign. The margin of R8 is covered by a guard at ν 333, ξ 503. The crosses that U9 appicts to the first line of ρ 150 *sq.* and ρ 475 *sq.* are merely *chiamate* to the scholia.

The brackets in ρ are evidence for the existence of ancient obeli or asterisks on γ 244-9, ζ 275-288, λ 38-43, ν 320-3, 333-8, ρ 150-65,

<sup>1</sup> There are no obeli in U5, as Dindorf states.

<sup>2</sup> Not obeli, as Dindorf.

475-80, σ 330-2, and probably for an Alexandrian athetesis of ε 137, ι 33 *sq.* κ 368 *sq.* The infidelity of *p* to V5 and the disagreement of the members among themselves confirm their loose dependence upon V5, a conclusion arrived at from the readings. They must have used another copy provided with obeli, etc., where V5 omits them.

The survival of the Alexandrian signs is a curious subject. Originally meant as references to the Alexandrian *ὑπομνήματα* and *συγγράματα* they ceased to be necessary with the coming in of scholia. In the Ven. A of the Iliad they are adapted to refer to the scholia themselves, but as a rule scholia were attached to the text by numbers or arbitrary marks, and the critical signs therefore atrophied. Eustathius notices a few in his Odyssey MSS. (θ 564, ι 253, π 281, but with φασί, τ 4); in the second and third passage they have disappeared in our MSS.

*f* = L1 L3 P2 W.

*Agreements.*

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| α 124 πανσάμενος L1 W (+ U8)        | ε 189 ἴκει L1 P2 W (+ R7)                  |
| 132 αἰτῆν L1 W (U8 J mg.)           | 245 ἔισε L1 P2 W (+ P6)                    |
| 167 ἐλπωρή L1 P2 W (+ R16)          | 442 δὲ L1 P2 W (+ U7)                      |
| 199 ἐρκανέονσ' L1 W (+ T)           | 456 ὁ δ' ἀνάπνευστος L1 P2 W (+ U8)        |
| 408 τι L1 P2 W                      | ν 6 γ' om. L1 L3 P2 W (+ P5 Z)             |
| β 134 δ' ὁ δαίμων L1 P2 W           | 92 ὄσσα πέπονθε L3 P2                      |
| 183 τῇδ' L1 W                       | 98 ποτεπεπηγῆναι L3 P2 (+ P6)              |
| 226 ἐνὶ L1 W (+ Mon.)               | 110 βορέας L3 P2                           |
| 285 οἶκ ἐπὶ L1 W                    | 113 γ' om. L3 P2 (+ P6)                    |
| γ 6 δ' ἐν L1 P2 W                   | 272 θοῖν κίων L1 L3 P2 W                   |
| 46 δέπα om. L1 P2                   | 303 ἐφαίνον L1 L3 W (+ P6)                 |
| 120 αὖ L1 W                         | ξ 526 κατελέξατο L1 L3 P W (+ H1 P5 P6 R9) |
| 325 ἔσπονται L1 P2 W (+ H3 m. 2)    | ο 3 ῥόστον L1 L3 W (+ ε)                   |
| 381 om. L1 P2 W                     | 80 ταρφᾶναι L3 P2 ταρφήναι W               |
| 461 σπλάγχχνα πάσαντο L1 P2 W       | 168 καὶ L3 P2                              |
| 476 ζεύξεσθ' L1 P2                  | υ 387 καταντησὶ L1 L3 W (+ Mon. R1 P1)     |
| δ 31 μῆν L1 P2 W                    | ψ 350 πλέον L1 L3 P2 W (+ L5 P1)           |
| 36 θοιγίσασθαι L1 P2 W              | ω 61 γ' ἐνόησεν L1 L3 W (+ L5 P1)          |
| 226 δημόσιον L1 P2 (+ Mon. m. 2)    | 124 θανάτοις μόρον L1 L3 P2 W (+ L5 P1)    |
| 242 τόδε ἔρξε L1 L3 W               | 208 κλήστον L1 L3 P2 W (+ L5 P1)           |
| 270 ἔωχε L1 P2 W                    |  |
| 414 ἐπειδὴ L1 P2 W (+ M2)           |  |
| 480 θεοὶ δώσουσιν ὁδὸν L1 P2 (+ L5) |  |
| 485 δὴ οὕτω δὴ L1 P2 W              |  |

(The collation of L3 was not carried further than was necessary to establish its relationship.)

This family consists of four xvth century MSS., without scholia, though possessing occasional corrections. Their fidelity is obvious, and it was unnecessary to recollate W, which rests on Ernesti's evidence.

*Peculiar Readings.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| i. Alexandrian :   | 204a add. (= ε 83, 157)   |
| γ 461 σπλάγχνα πάσαντο Ar. <sup>1</sup>  | *220 ἐλεσθαι for ἰδέσθαι (avoids neglect of ε)                                |
| ε 136 ἀγήρω (Ar. B447 sec. 72)   | 245 ξύσε for ξέσσε  |
| ζ 207 τῶ . τῶ μιν (Callistratus (τὸν cet.))  | 412 ἐμβρυχεν for βέβρυχεν   |
| ii. Ancient .  | 417 εἰ for ἦν   |
| α 167 ἐλπωρή   | 426 ῥανὸς for ῥανοῖς (as Stephanus .<br>'ῥανοῖς τε omnes' in my ed. is wrong) |
| τ 61 τρύπεζαν Athen. 12 A  | 445 πολύκλυστος for πολύλλιστος or -ον<br>(cf. h. Apoll. 347)                 |
| 163 εἰσὶ (schol. α 173 v.l.)   | 456 ἀνάπνευστος for ἄρ' ἀπνευστος   |
| iii. Eust γρ.:   | 472 πυκινὸς for γλυκερὸς (ὑπνος)  |
| δ 270 ἔτχε Eust.   | ζ 187 οὔτι for οὔτε   |
| ε 482 δὲ ἔλην Eust. γρ. Br US  | θ 186 βάλ(λ)ε for λάβε  |
| κ 175 ἐπελθεῖν Eust.   | 554 τέθενται for τίθενται   |
| λ 580 ἥλωσε Tzetzes  | ι 206 ἡῖδη for ἡῖδει, ἡεῖδει  |
| ξ 352 θύρηφ' Eust.   | 233 νέμων om.   |
| ω 426 ἀχαιοῖς Eust.  | 326 ἀποξῆσαι  |
| iv. Noteworthy :   | 404 ὀρφναῖην for ἀμβροσίην, as K 386 <sup>a</sup> l.                          |
| β 134 δ ὁ δαίμων for δὲ δ.   | 457 ἡλυσκίζει for ἡλασκ- (as Bekker)  |
| 183 τῇδ' for τῇλ'  | 533 ἐς εὐκτίμενον for ἐνκτίμενον  |
| 285 οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρὸν for οὐκέτι δηρὸν (ἐπὶ<br>δ. I 415, the same variant P41,<br>and cf. Φ 609) | κ 66 φίλοι εἰσὶν for φίλον ἐστὶν  |
| γ 5 δ' ἐν for δ' ἐπὶ   | 251 ἡαμεν for ἡομεν   |
| 381 om. (dispensable)  | ιβ. πυκνὰ καὶ ἔλην for φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῖ<br>(as 150, 197)                       |
| δ 31 μὴν for μὲν (as I 57, M318)   | 360 ἐπὶ for ἐνὶ   |
| 36 θοινήσασθαι for θοινηθῆναι  | λ 399 ἡέ σ' ὄγ' for ἡέ σέ γ'  |
| 226 δημόσιεν, cf. p. 28  | 403 γε μαχοῦμενον for μαχεοῦμενον (γε<br>μαχεύμενον Bothe)                    |
| *242 τόδε ἔρξε (cum ε)   | 439 χόλον for δόλον, as Φ 137 : (pre-<br>sumably λόχον was meant)             |
| ε 74 ἐλθὼν for ἰδὼν  | 560 δὲ μοῖραν for δ' ἐπὶ μοῖραν (pos-<br>sible)                               |
| 98 νημερτέα for νημερτέως (m.l.)   |   |
| 166 ἐρύξει for ἐρύκοι  |   |
| 189 ἵκει for ἵκοι  |   |

<sup>1</sup> This reading was omitted by error in my edition.

- 561 ἀλλὰ δεῦρο for ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο ο 102 λάβε δέπας for δέπας λάβε  
(? m. p.) 173 μέλλουσι (neut., post-Homeric)  
592 τὰς δ' ἄνεμος for τὰς (prob. right) 198 δνήσει for ἐνήσει  
629 πάρος περ for πρόσθεν π 181 νέον φάινες for φάνες νέον  
μ 36 ἀμείβετο for προσήνδα 256 μερμηρίζας for μερμηρίζαι  
68 θύελλα for θύελλαι 274 ἀτιμάσσονσι for ἀτιμή-  
148 κατόπιν (νηὸς) for κατόπισθε νεὸς 296 καλλείπειν for καλλιπέειν  
(posthomeric) ρ 201 γέροντες for μέδοντες  
347 ἔνθα καθείμην for ἐν δέ κε θέϊμεν 206 ὑδράοντο for ὑδρεύειν  
407 ἔθε' for ἔθει (new-Ionic) 271 ἐταίρων for ἐταίρην  
ν 27 δῖος for θεῖος τ 65 ἐνένισπε for ἐνένιπε (common)  
61 ὦ for τῷ (posthomeric, cf. κ 268) 224 ἰνδάλλεται ἦσθαι for ἰνδ. ἦτορ (?)  
138 αἰτῶν for αἶσαν 233 λεπὰς for λόπον (λέπος Galen)  
238 τὴν δὴ for τὴν δέ τε 504 τὰ δὲ for τὰ γὰρ  
385 σὺν θεῷ τὰ ἕκαστα for σὺν ἕκαστα θεῷ υ 96 ἐπὶ θρόνον for ἐπὶ θρόνον  
(an attempt at κατὰ μ.) 150 ῥύσαστε for ῥάσαστε  
ξ 28 θυμοὺς for θυμὸν φ 16 ὀρσιλόχοιο for ὀρτιλόχοιο (as f. 11  
79 αἴτις for αἰτὸς γ 489)  
139 ὀππότε ἔλθω for ὀππόσ' ἐπέλθω χ 40 ἔπεισθαι for εἰσεσθαι  
237 ἦνωγαν for ἦνωγον (= ἦνωγα<sup>ov</sup> or ψ 366 ὦμουιν for ὦμουιν  
τίττε *versu*) ω 345 τῷ for τοῦ (as ἀναγνόντι Eust. in  
269 ἦδη for ἔτλη (cf. ι 206) 346)  
ο 80 ταρφᾶναι for τραφθῆναι 458 ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἐῖσι for κακῇσι

Such a large category as the last in a family composed entirely of xvth century MSS. is noticeable. Coincidences with critics: one with Tzetzes λ 580, Stephanus ε 426, Bekker ι 457, Bothe (nearly) λ 403; but there are only two variants of linguistic interest (δ 242, ε 220), and the rest belong to the ordinary classes of association and graphical error.

*g* = L8 Be Ca L6 R1 R6 R9 R11 R14 R17 U1 V5 Z (P5 m. 2).

*Specimens of Agreement.*

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| α 175 μεθέπη L8 R14 (+ R7)     | β 31 μάθοιτο L8 R14                     |
| 276 μάγαρον L8 R14             | 190 σοι L8 Be R14                       |
| 314 δ' αἴτε προσέειπε L8 R11   | 251 πλέον ἐπιμάχοιτο L8 Be R14 U1 Z     |
| 316 τοι L8 R14 U1 Z            | 300 δ' εὔοντας L8 R14                   |
| 346 ἄρ' ἂν L8 Be R14 U1        | 327 ἐπὴν ἐπερίεται L8 Be (+ Pal. ἐπεῖν) |
| 367 ἀντίον ἦνδα L8 R14         | 404 ἴωμεν L8 R14 (+ C)                  |
| 381, 2 om. L8 U1               | 411 πέπυστο L8 Be R14                   |
| 388 ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν L8 R14 U1 Z | 417, 8 om. L8 R9 R14                    |
| 423 ἄρ' om. L8 R14 Z (+ U3)    | γ 73 θ' οὔτ' L8 Be R14 (+ P5 marg.)     |

- γ 146 οἶα L8 Be R14  
 151 εἰάσαμεν L8 Be R14 (+ Pal.)  
 314 δ' L8 Be R14 (+ Pal.)  
 358 πείσσεσθαι L8 Be R14 U1  
 490 ἄνεσαν L8 Be R14 (+ U7)  
 δ 60 δ' ἄμ' L8 Be R14  
 90 γὰρ L8 Be R14  
 212 ὡς L8 Be R14  
 278 ἐταίρους L8 R14  
 376 εἴ L8 Be  
 463 τὲ ὡς ἐχρῆν L8 Be R9 R14  
 535 ὡς εἶγε L8 Be R14  
 ε 195 ἐνθα καθήστο L8 R14  
 224 γενέσθαι L8 R11 (+ P2)  
 293 γ' ἐν L8 U1  
 ζ 27 ἵν' ὅπου L8 R14  
 116 ἔμπροσθε L8 R14 Z  
 160 ἐγὼν ἴδον L8 R11 R14 V5 (+ γ')  
 216 λούσασθαι L8 R11 R14 V5  
 (+ R5)  
 η 5 ἀπ' L8 R9 R14  
 6 ὁ ἔσφερρον L8 R9 R14  
 17 κερτομίους, ἐξερέοι L8 R9 R14  
 79 ἐς L8 R9 R14  
 θ 580 ἀνθρώποισιν ἅπασιν L8 U1 γρ. R11  
 ἰδ. δοιδὴν L8 R11 U1 (+ U3)  
 ι 206 πίνει L8 R11 (+ U7)  
 ἰλαίνεον  
 320 ἐλα ἰνεον L8: ἐλατίνεον R11  
 ἐλατίναιον Be U1 Z: ἐλαίνεον R1  
 R7  
 348 ἐκέλευθεν L8 R11 U1 (U7)  
 553 ἔρξας L8 R11 U1  
 κ 324 με λισσομέιη L8 R11 U1 (+ U7)  
 505 γενέσθω L8 R11 U1  
 λ 104 ἴκεσθε L8 R11 U1 (+ O)  
 284 μυνήων L8 R11 U1 (+ U7)  
 438 οὐνεκα L8 R11 U1  
 μ 9 προίην L8 R11 U1 (+ U6 uv.)  
 179 ἀνῆψαν L8 R11 U1 (+ U7)  
 290 ἰότητι L8 L6 R11 U1 Z  
 365a hab. L8 L6 Be R11 U1  
 369 ἰγδνμος L8 L6 R11 Z  
 374 ὠκα L8 L6 R11 U1 (+ R8)  
 441 χίρνβδης L8 R11 U1  
 ν 56 θεῖος L8 L6 Be R9 R11 (+ L9)  
 98 ὑποπεπτηγῆαι L8 L6 Be R11 Z  
 129 μοι L8 L6 R11 U1  
 132 ἀπηύρα L8 L6 R11 Z  
 193 μισησῆρσιν L8 L6 R9 R11 U1 Z  
 ξ 203 ἰθαγενέεσσιν L8 R9 R11 U1  
 (+ L4)  
 ο 27 τοῖ τι ἔπος L8 R1 R9 (+ Mon.  
 U5)  
 234 ἐνὶ L8 R1 R9 (+ Mon. H1)  
 246 οὐδῶ L8 Be R9 (+ H1)  
 π 13 πέσον L8 R1 R9 R11 (+ Mon.  
 U6)  
 131 εἴπ' L8 εἴπ' R1 εἴπ' R9  
 ρ 18 βέλτιον L8 R9 (+ U3)  
 43 post 44 L8 R9 (+ P5)  
 453 οὐδ' ἄλλω L8 R9 (+ P5)  
 577a hab. L8 R9 (P5)  
 σ 97 ἦλθεν ἀνὰ L8 R1 R9 (+ k)  
 105 κύνας τε σῖας L8 R1 R9 (+ k)  
 250 ἔχευε L8 R1 R9 (γρ. R12)  
 τ 17 καταθιόμεν L8 Be (+ U6)  
 155 ὁμοκλήσαντ' L8 R9 U1 Z (+ k)  
 224 αὐτῶν ἐγὼν ἐρέω L8 R6 R9 U1 Z  
 υ 34 ὦδ' L8 Ca R6 R9 U1 Z (+ k)  
 43 τόδε L8 Ca R1 R6 R9 U1 Z (+ M2  
 R2)  
 49 περ γὰρ L8 Ca R6 R9 U1 (+ R2)  
 191 συνβώτης L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 267 χείρας L8 Ca R1 R6 R9 U1 Z  
 274 παύσομεν L8 Ca R6 R9 U1  
 282 τε λύγχανον L8 Ca R6 R9 Z  
 288 ναίων L8 Ca R1 R6 R9 U1 Z  
 (+ U5 M2 R8)  
 327 κραδίην L8 Ca R1 R6 R9 U1 Z  
 (+ Mon.)  
 331 εἶεν L8 Ca R6 U1 Z (+ P6)  
 340 ὅπου L8 Ca R6 U1 Z, ὅππου Be  
 R1 (+ j)  
 346 γέλωτ' L8 Ca R6 U1 Z (+ Br)  
 374 ξείνω L8 Ca R1 R6 R9 U1 Z  
 379 ἔμπροσθεν L8 Be R6 R9 U1 Z  
 ἔμπαριον in ras. Ca  
 χ 110 σάκε τέσσαρα μὲν εἴλετο L8 Ca V1

- χ 109 *θάλαμον* om. δ' L8 Ca R6 R9 U1  
           Z (+R3 M4)  
 116 *ἀμύνασθαι* L8 Ca U1 Z  
 130 *δέ οἱ* L8 R1 U1 δ' *οῖη* in ras. Ca  
 138 *καί κ' εἰς* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 140 *ἐνθεν* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 144 *ἐνθα δυνώδεκα* L8 Ca R9 Z (+J  
           R3 R8)  
 186 *δέ λέλυντο* L8 Ca Z (+I5)  
 195 *μάλα πάγχυ* om. L8 Ca R6 U1,  
           in ras. R1  
 209 *ὅς*, om. σ' L8 Ca R6 R9 U1 Z  
 215 *τετελέσθαι* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 221 *τοῖσι δ'* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z (+H3  
           U2 U8)  
 254 *ἐπεῖχ'* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 270 *μυχὸν ἔνδον* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 295 *χαλκός* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 299 *δ' ἐφέροντο* L8 Ca R1 R9 U1 Z  
           (+U6)
- χ 303 *θορῶντες* L8 Ca L6 R9 U1 Z  
 330 *ἀλύσκαζε* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 333 *μερμήριξεν* L8 Ca R6 U1 Z (+O)  
 334 *μεγάλοιο* L8 Ca R6 U1  
 348 *περ αἰεδῖν* L8 Ca R6 U1  
 351 *ἐς ἐόν* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 (γρ. U5)  
 373 *ἄλλοις* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 377 *ὄφρα κ'* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 381 *βαθὲν δόμον* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 392-4 om. L8 Ca R6 U1 Z  
 401 *νεκύεσ(σ)ιν* L8 Be Ca R6 U1 Z  
           (κταμένους)  
 413 *τοὺς δὲ* L8 R1 τοῦσδ' ἡ Ca R6 U1  
           Z  
 418 *νηλιτίδες* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 425 *τιμῶσαι* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 440 *κατακοσμήσεσθε* L8 Ca R1 U1 Z  
           (+O)  
 443 *πασῶν* L8 Ca R1 R6 U1 Z  
 497 *δύας* L8 (-ος in ras.) Ca R6 U1

This large family—the largest, since *d'* has only 12 members—consists of an xith century parent L8 (long known as 'F') and twelve xvth century children. The family as a whole has no scholia. R6 only shows exegetical scholia to *a-δ, ψ, ω*. U1 is written by Rhosus. The parentage is regular for U1 R11 R14 Be Z; R17 is a fragment; Ca is constant in the later books, but not in the former; V5 to judge from my collations agrees with the juniors and occasionally with L8. The margin of P5 agrees with *g* (v. p. 48). The junior members where they differ from L8 thereby form a new family which I call *q*: as in the case of *b c* and *e* it is sometimes possible to trace the grafting out of L8: *e.g.*

*Examples of q developed out of g.*

- α 175 <sup>εἰς</sup>*μεθέπη* L8, *μεθέπεισι* U1  
 225 *χρεῶ* L8 R11, *χρειῶ* L8 corr. U1 Z  
 234 *ἐβόλοντο* L8 R1, *ἐβούλοντο* L8  
           corr. R11 U1 Z  
 279-292 om. L8, add. L8 m. 2, hab.  
           R7 R11 R14 U1  
 346 *φθονέεις* L8, *φθονέης* L8 corr. R14  
           U1
- 367 *ἀντίον ἦδα* L8 R14, *ἦρχετο μίθων*  
           γρ. L8, hab. R11 U1  
 381, 2 om. L8 U1. add. L8 m. 2, hab.  
           R1 R11 R14  
 388 *ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν* L8 R14 U1, *ἀντίον*  
           <sup>εἰς</sup>*ἦδα* L8 m. 2, R1 R11  
 441 <sup>εἰς</sup>*ἐπέρυσσε* L8. *ἐπέρισε* R1 R11 R14  
           U1



- € 123 ὥς for ἔως  
 130 ἔγωγ' for ἐγὼν  
 195 καθήστο for ἀνέστη  
 293 δ' ἐν νεφέεσσι  
 351 om. (perh. dispensable, prob.  
 owing to αὐτὸς, αὐτῇ)  
 428 πέτρην  
 ζ 27 ἴν' ὅπου (= ἴνα)  
 39 καὶ δ' ἐπὶ οἱ αὐτῇ  
 117 θεῖος for δῖος, cf π 1, σ 117  
 η 5 ἀπ' for ὑπ'  
 6 δ' ἔσφερον  
 17 κερτομίους ἐπέεσσιν (? ἀντιβόλησαι  
 16)  
 119 πέμπει for πέσσει  
 208 μοι for τοι  
 294 ἐρξέμεναι for ἐρξέμεν  
 341 ὠτρυνον for ὠτρυνον δ' (+ P5 P7  
 R10)  
 θ 133 ἀέθλων for ἀέθλον  
 286 νόσφιν ἔόντα for νόσφι κίοντα  
 377 σφαῖραν for σφαίρη  
 491 περ ἐὼν for παρών (+ L4)  
 ι 284 ὑπὸ for ἐπὶ (possible: sc. 'near')  
 308 ἐνέκαε for ἀνέκαε  
 320 ἐλατίνεον  
 353 ὁ δέ μ' αὐτίκ' ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν  
 for ὁ δὲ δέκτο καὶ ἔκπινεν ἥσυχτο δ'  
 αἰνῶς  
 448 ἀρνῶν for οἰῶν (against τ)  
 496 ἐπ' for ἐς  
 520 αὐτίς for αὐτὸς  
 553 ἔρξας for ῥέξας.  
 κ 38 τίμης (γρ. M2)  
 287 ἐν δόμασι for ἐς δόματα  
 505 γενέσθω for μελέσθω  
 λ 80 σοι for τοι  
 109 om. (dispensable), = μ 323 al.  
 147 εἰσείας  
 148 ἐνίσπη for ἐνίψει, cf. γ 101  
 196 γῶων for γοῶων or γοέων  
 262 ἔσχεν for ἔτεκεν  
 266a add. (= 261), possible  
 284 μινύων for μινυείω  
 λ 432 ἔργ' εἰδυῖα for λύγρ' εἰδυῖα  
 438 οὔνεκα for εἵνεκα  
 510 βουλῇν  
 554 ἐμέο for ἐμοὶ  
 μ 3 ἐς (= τ') for τ'  
 59 γὰρ μὲν for μὲν γὰρ  
 179 ἀνήψαν for ἀνήπτον  
 ν 56 θεῖος for δῖος, cf. ζ 117  
 98 ὑποπεπτηνῖαι  
 129 μοι for με  
 132 ἀπνίρα for ἀπνίρων  
 244 εὖ μὲν—εὖ δὲ for ἐν μὲν—ἐν δὲ  
 270 λαθῶν—ἀπνίρων for λάθον—ἀπνου-  
 ρας. For this inversion cf.  
 Θ 207, 256, ξ 377, ρ 245  
 ξ 45 αὐτοῦ for αὐτὸς  
 78 ἐνθ' for ἐν δ'  
 104 ὀρώται for ὄρονται  
 123 ἀγγελέων for ἀγγέλλων  
 168 μηδέ τι for μηδέ με  
 297 περάσειε for περάσῃσι (right)  
 304 κεφαλῆς for γλαφυρῆς  
 389 ἐλεῖσας for ἐλαίρων (vulg.)  
 455 κοίτην for κοῖτον  
 501 δ' ἵνα for δὲ θέειν (common)  
 526 καταρέζατο for καταλέξατο  
 528 στιβαροῖς—ὄμους for dative  
 532 ἵνα for ἵμεναι  
 ο 10 δὴν for τῇλ'  
 25 ante 24 (to give μεταλλᾷ a  
 government:)  
 143 om. (dispensable?)  
 285 παρέζετο for καθέζετο  
 290 πρηνμήσι ἔδησαν for προτοῖοισι  
 ἔδησαν  
 π 1 θεῖος for δῖος  
 357 κίχῃσαι for κίχῃναι  
 ρ 177 οἶκον δὲ ἕκαστος for πέποιτό τε  
 μύθῳ (cum τ)  
 233a add. (?)  
 278 ἀθθενέειν for ἀθθύειν  
 363 εἶεν for εἰσὶν  
 404 μάλα πολὶ (= μάλιστα) for πολὶ



- ρ 479 ἐρωγῶσ' (? = ἐρέ'γωσ') for ἐρύσσωσ'  
 525 πρόχην κυλινδόμενος for προπρο-  
 κυλινδόμενος  
 σ 24 αἴθις ἔσω μεγάρων for δεῖτερον ἐς  
 μέγαρον = ψ 219  
 107 ἐπαύρης for ἐπαύρη  
 117 θεῖος for δῖος  
 153 διὰ for κατὰ (vulg.)  
 256 ἐπέκλωσε for ἐπέσσενε (? right)  
 280 ἡδέ κεν for ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 τ 1 ἀπελείπετο for ἵπ-  
 17 καταθείομαι for καταθειόμαι  
 57 θρήνης-ῆεν for θρήνυν-ῆκεν  
 72 ἡ ὅτι τοι ῥυπαρά κατὰ χροὶ εἴματα  
 εἶμαι (? ἡ ὅτι τοι κατὰ δὴ ῥυπαρὰ  
 χροὶ εἴματα εἶμαι). ῥυπαρός is  
 not homeric  
 160 μέγας τε for μάλιστα (? ἡνὺς τε  
 μέγας τε)  
 \*341 οἶκω for κοίτῃ (cum Ὶ)  
 413 πόρε(ν) for πόροι  
 478 ἀντίον for αἰτίῃ  
 481 τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται for καὶ  
 μὴν  
 569 εἰ for ἡ  
 υ\* 42 τ' ἀέκητι for τε ἔκητι (avoiding  
 hiatus)  
 49 εἵπερ γὰρ (= περ) for εἵπερ  
 83 ἔχει for ἔχειν (right)  
 101 φανῆναι for φανήτω (? right)  
 110 μὲν for μί'  
 130 αὐτὸς for αὐτως  
 131 ἐμοὶ for ἐμῇ  
 150 ἐν δὲ for ἐν τε  
 188 ὅτε τις for ὅτις  
 267 χείρας for χειρῶν (unmetrical)  
 274 παύσωμεν for παύσομεν (? om. ἐν)  
 282 αὐτοὶ τε for αὐτοὶ περ (? τῇ)  
 335 om. (dispensable)  
 \*348 κρέα τ' ἥσθιον for κρέα ἥσθιον  
 (neglecting Ὶ)  
 υ 374 ξείω for ξείνοις  
 φ \*56 ἦρει for ἦρεε (right ?)  
 111 μ' ὦρσι for μύησι (?)  
 196 ἔνεικεν for ἐνείκαι  
 217 λέξω for δείξω  
 222 τήνδ' for τώδ'  
 261 ἐστάμεναι for ἐστάμεν (cf. η 294)  
 363 κατέδουσι for κατέδοιται  
 369 πιθήσας for πιθήσεις  
 400 ὀλητήρ for ὀλητής  
 χ 24 εὐτμήτους for εὐδμήτους  
 68 τῶν δ' αὐτῶν for τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ  
 84 περριρηδεῖς for -ης (as it were a  
 participle, like ἀσκηθεῖς often)  
 140 ἔνθεν for ἔνδον  
 200 om. (dispensable)  
 215 τετελέσθαι for τελέεσθαι (cf. α 201)  
 254 ἐπεὶ χ' for ἐπὶν (right)  
 295 χαλκός for χαλκὸν (common)  
 299 ἐφέροντο for ἐφέβοντο  
 373 ἄλλοις for ἄλλω  
 377 ὄφρα κ' for ὄφ' ἂν (? right)  
 413 τοὺς δὴ for τοὺς δὲ δὲ (to avoid  
 δὲ μοῖρ')  
 425 τιρώσθαι for τίονσαι (gloss)  
 ψ 28 ἀτίμεον for ἀτίμων  
 208 πρόσωπα for προσηγέδα  
 229 om. (dispensable)  
 270 ἀνέρας for ἀνέρες  
 367 ὦσε for ὦρσε, as often  
 ω 109 ἡέ που for ἡ ἴμμ'  
 214 πτολίεθρον for δόμον εἴσω (ex 377  
 etc.)  
 227 ῥνπόεντα for ῥνπόοντα  
 295 φίλον for πόσιν  
 304 γὰρ for μὲν  
 \*310 μέσφ' ὅτε for ἐξ οὗ (? right)  
 354 om. (ex homoeomeso)  
 364 καλὰ for πολλὰ  
 398 om. (ex homoeomeso)  
 457, 8 ποτὲ for τοτὲ

Considering the great number of these variants, there is little good in them. The omissions are nearly always explicable on graphical grounds.

We have instances of the process of filling digamma-hiatuses at υ 42, 348, a simple neglect, ι 448. Digamma is apparently observed ρ 177 τ 341: ἦρεi φ 56 seems correct for Homer, φανῆναι υ 101 is possible; κε is preferred to ἄν χ 254, 377. περάσειε is better than περάσῃσι ξ 297; but the two most interesting ll. are the particle μέσφα ω 310 and the verb ἐπέκλωσε σ 256.

Still the age of L8, its numerous progeny, and the fact that Demetrius Chalcondylas (p. 64) took a member of the family as the basis of his edition and therefore continued the *g* tradition as the printed vulgate till Barnes, make L8 the most important single MS. of the Odyssey.

The variants of the junior members (*g*) where they diverge from L8 will be found p. 56.

*h* = J U6 U8.

This family consists of the xiii<sup>th</sup> century fragment (ι 541-ω) U6, the xv<sup>th</sup> century U8, and the lost Sabbioneta MS. of unknown date J. I was at first disposed to think I had found the missing J in U8, which entered the Marciana by purchase in 1823 and presumably once belonged, like its companion, Iliad cl. ix. cod. 2 (U9), to S. Giovanni in Verdara at Padua. However, the discrepancies given below are sufficient to disprove this. J must either be lost or be one of three uncollated Odysseys: the Moscow MS., that at Madrid, and the second Breslau MS. The age of the Moscow MS. (s. xiii according to Vladimir) makes it rather an unlikely candidate; Heinsius' meeting with J in the xvi<sup>th</sup> century, whether in Italy or North of the Alps, is against the Madrid MS. However, a reinspection of the Weimar Aldine might alter the question.

*Specimens of Agreements.*

β 68 θέμιδος J U8 (cf. O87)	λ* 41 εἴματ' J U8 (cum ε)
γ 134 τῶν U8, J marg. (+ L2 Mo)	μ 422 ἐν δὲ J U8
204 πνέσθαι J U8 (= B119 etc.)	441 om. U6 U8 (+ P5) (? dispensable)
231 σαώσοι J U8 (+ C U5 uv.)	452 αἰσχροῖ J U8 for ἐχθρῶν (? = <sup>ασ</sup> ἐχθραῖ)
ε 248 ἄρῃρεν J U8 (+ K P7)	ξ 6 κατωρυχέεσσι λίθοισι U6 U8.
437 ἐπὶ φρεσὶ J U8 (ex 427)	J marg. (= ι 185)
ζ 54 ἐπικούρους J U8 (= P212)	21 ἐκτός U6 U8 (+ T) (- 16)
222 ἐνπλοκάροισιν ἐπελθὼν J U8	279 μ' ἐσάωσαν U6 U8 (+ L8 Pal.)
η 317 ἐς τό γ' U8 J marg.	324 τε αἶλις ἐσθλήτα θ' ἐφαίτην U6 U8
ι 301 ἦτορ U8 J marg.	381 σταθμὸν U6 U8 (+ Mon.)
κ 320 λέξεο J U8	

- ξ 396 οἴκαδε U6 U8  
 481 ἀφραδύς J U6 U8 (+*p*) (right)  
 ο 26 δώωσι J U6 U8: δώησι θεός Eust.  
 83 ἔργα J U8 for ἐν τι  
 119 κείθι με U8, J marg.  
 198 ἐνήκε U6 U8  
 208 φωνήσας U6 U8  
 285 ἡγὼ δ' εἰς πρύμνη κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο ἄγχι  
 δ' ἄρ' οὐτοῦ U6 U8 (=β417)  
 506 παραθείτην J U8  
 π 279 οὐχὶ U6 U8 (+*g*), cf. II 762 al.  
 291 ἔμβαλε δαίμων U6 U8 (+ Mon.)  
 = τ 10  
 305 πειρηθῆμεν U6 U8 (+ P2 V2)  
 ρ 185 ἵμεναι U6 U8 (+*k*)  
 276 λίσσεο U8, J marg. and cf. Ψ 739  
 E 811  
 409 ὑπέθηκε J marg. U8 ras. (in  
 textu *k*)  
 σ 15 ῥέξα J U8  
 σ 57 ἀτασθαλέων J U8  
 τ 184 ὀπλοτέρω J U8 (a syntactical  
 correction)  
 371 οὔτ' ἐς τὰ δόματα J U8  
 396 ὥς κέν τε θεός U8 J marg.  
 υ 88 ἀν for αἶ U8 J marg.  
 χ 235 ἀποτίνων J U8 (+ L4)  
 385 πολλῆς J U8  
 ψ 14 αἰσιμος J U8  
 175 ὅστις U8 J marg.  
 179 ἐκθέσθαι J U8 (+*p*)  
 188 μετεχιάσειεν U8 J marg.  
 ω 192 πᾶς U6 U8  
 201 δ' ἐπὶ U8 J marg., δ' ἐν J  
 215 ἔπειτα U8 J  
 285 σ' ἐν U8, J marg.  
 382 ἔγηθες U8, J marg.  
 394 θάμβους J U8  
 416 μύχμη U8 J marg. μυχμῶν J  
 534 ἐκ τεύχεα ἔπτατα χειρῶν J U8

### Characteristics of *h*.

- i. Alexandrian :  
*None.*
- ii. Ancient :  
 γ 248 ἄρηνεν Αρ I ex.  
 κ 320 λέξεο (?) : λέξο Ατ.)
- iii. Eust. γρ. :  
 γ 204 πνθέσθαι (κατὰ ἑτεροῦν γραφὴν  
 Eust.)
- iv. Noticeable :  
 The list of 'Agreements' may  
 suffice. Association plays the  
 greatest part : one reading,  
 ξ 481, is right.
- ζ 222 ἐπελθών Eust.  
 ξ 6 κατωρνήεσσι λίθουσι Eust. L4 ss.  
 324 τε ἄλις ἐσθῆτά θ' ἵφαντήν Eust.  
 481 ἀφραδύς Eust. (+*p*)  
 ο 26 δώωσι (δώησι Eust.)

The connection between the members is loose : U6 agrees so often with P5 etc. as to be a regular member of that family (*j*, v. pp. 45 *sq.* ; J exhibits a marked leaning to *e* ; here it is not followed by U8, and therefore clearly is not identical with it.

- β 37 δ' ἐνὶ *e* J  
 γ 219 οὔτ' *e* J T  
 315 δὴ *e* J Mon.  
 484 ἀέκοντε ο *p* J  
 γ 490 ὁῶκεν *p* J R5  
 δ 252 ἔχρισ' *e* J  
 ε 221 μ' ἐνὶ *e* J  
 θ 84 χερσὶν ἐλθὼν φᾶρος *e* J I.2

348a add. *φ* J L2  
 λ 513 τρώων *φ* J P1 (right)  
 π 305 πειρηθείημεν *ε* J H3 (= <sup>η</sup>-είμεν)  
 310 μετέχουσιν *ε* J for μέγ' ἔχουσιν  
 ρ 158 ἢ ὁρώων *ε* J

ρ 568a hab. *φ* J Mon.  
 σ 242 οὐδ' ὅππῃ οἱ νόστος *ε* J  
 263 μάλιστα *ε* J *ι*  
 275 προπάρουθε *ε* J  
 345 γένοιτο *ε* J

and cf. further σ 364, 369, 386, 403, τ 44, 209, 252, 532, 534, υ 134, χ 24, 29.

Υ8, without the doubtful support of J, has some value, as the following peculiarities show :

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| i. Alexandrian :                                    | ε 210 ἰμείρει for ἐέλδαι (cf. N 813 Ξ 269 etc.) |
| None.   | 338 σχεδὺς πολυδέσμον εἰπέ τε μῦθον. cf. 33     |
| ii. Ancient :                                       | θ 148 ἢ ὅτε περ ποσσὶν τε ῥέξῃ (? om. τε)       |
| ξ 156 αἰὲν ἐν schol. (κακῶς)                        | 233 ἐπηετανῇ fem.                               |
| 162 βωμὸν Julian                                    | 294 ἔρχεται for οἴχεται                         |
| 486 θέμεσε (? θέμισσε) : θέμωσε Ar. codd.           | 341 εἰσορόουσθε for εἰσορόωτε                   |
| λ 158 πρῶτον Strabo, Porphyry (+ PS)                | 396 δ' ἄρ αἰτὸν for δὲ ἑαυτὸν                   |
| π 249 σάμον (Apollodorus ap. Strab. 453)            | ι 393 σιδήροιο κράτος. as Nauck.                |
| iii. Eust. γρ. :                                    | 405 σέ γε for σεῦ (? ἀφαιρεῖ sim. for ἐλαίνει)  |
| δ 526 δὲ εἰς  | 523 τε for σε                                   |
| ε 204 ῖν (for δῃ : avoids hiatus)                   | κ 20 κελεύθως for -θα                           |
| 342 ἔρξον   | λ 396 προτηνύδων                                |
| ξ 325 μου   | μ 20, 36, ο 62 προτηνύδα for μετηνύδα           |
| θ 93 εἴβων  | ν 46 καταδήμων for μεταδ-                       |
| κ 374 ἄλλα φρονέων (Eust. κατὰ τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων) | 282 ἐπήλυθε with ed. pr. (right)                |
| λ 510 τρώων   | ρ 221 φλοιῇσι for φλιῇσι                        |
| ν 250 μείδησεν                                      | σ 35 ἐπεφώνει                                   |
| ξ 140 μητρὸς ἐσαῦτις                                | 40 γελαιοντες, as Knight                        |
| π 19 μογήσοι  | 402 πρὶν γ', as Knight                          |
| ω 276 διπλωίδας (v.l. Eust.)                        | τ 44 καταλέξε' for -λέξει                       |
| iv. Noticeable :                                    | 137 δόλω  |
| δ 484 προσείπα for -ον                              | 234 ὡς for τῶς                                  |
| 511 δγλαὸν for ἀλμυρὸν                              | 455 ἀμφιέποντο                                  |
| 826 ἔσπετο, as Nauck                                | χ 466 ἐξελάσας for ἐξάψας                       |
|   | ω 5 τόφρα γε for τῇ ῥ' ἄγε                      |
|   | 112 αἰγῶν for οἰῶν                              |

The alternative to the Aristarchean l. on ι 486 is important, if the form be uncertain; if σάμον π 249 is ordinary association from Σάμος or

the effect of Apollodorus, who shall say? Anticipations are noticeable. Nauck at δ 826 ι 393, Payne Knight at σ 40, 402. Ἐπήλυθε ν 282 is usually printed.

J has two noticeable readings :

θ 392 φᾶρος ἑκαστος with ed. pr. for π 317 νηλιτέες, for νηλιτεῖς, as Hesych.  
ἑκαστος φᾶρος II. 179, 82 (perhaps ancient)

Several 'obeli' are reported from J by Heinsius<sup>1</sup>; U6 has obeli to ρ 150 sq., but U8's large signs (// and =) are lectionary not critical; e.g., ξ 375-7, π 247 (here U5 has an obelus equally non-critical), 318.

*i* = M2 R1

This is the first of several small families (the others are *l* and *m*), or rather coincidences which it seemed desirable to indicate by a separate letter. The xiii<sup>th</sup> century MS. M2 (amply equipped with scholia) seems to have influenced the xv<sup>th</sup> century R1 (which we have already seen among the descendants of L8): their agreement is denoted by *i*.

*Specimens of Agreement.*

α 315 μηκέτι (+ <i>b h r</i> )	θ 54 κατὰ M2 R1 (+ P5)
β 40 μάλα (+ <i>f h</i> )	341 εισορώοιτε M2 R1 (-όοιτε <i>d e f</i> )
99 εισόκε τέν (+ H3 R7)	569 ραίσεσθαι M2 R1 (+ P2 R17 U2)
245 μαχέσσασθαι (+ L4 R4 U1 al.)	ι 262 καὶ θεοὶ ἄλλοι (+ <i>f k</i> )
γ 32 ἐνθα δὲ (+ <i>f</i> U8)	267 ἤλθομεν M2 R1 (+ <i>k</i> P6)
101 μι μνήσται M2 (+ U8) μίμνησαι R1	271 θ' ἰκέτησιν M2 R1 (+ <i>f k</i> P6)
(μοι μνήσται vulg.)	κ 412 σπαίρουσιν M2 R1 (+ <i>b</i> ) Eust.
153 ἀμφιελίσσας M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> U8)	μ 84 εἰσαφίκηται M2 R1 (+ <i>b f</i> )
256 γ' om. M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> )	327 δὲ ἕως μὲν M2 R1 (+ <i>b</i> )
δ 292 τίγ' M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> γρ. 4)	ν 84 πρύμνης M2 R1 (+ <i>e</i> )
317 ἦλθον M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> )	267 προσιώντα M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> )
420 ἀμείβηται M2 R1 (+ R7 U8)	ξ 134 ἐρύειν M2 R1 (+ <i>k</i> )
Eust.	ο 434 ἀμείψατο M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> )
452 εἶθ M2 R1 (+ P2 R5)	506 παραθείην M2 R1 (+ <i>b c</i> Mon.)
485 δὴ οὖτω M2 R1 (+ <i>d</i> )	π 56 θέλον M2 R1 (+ <i>c</i> )
508 μίμνε M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> R5 R7)	66 σοι M2 R1 (+ <i>e g k</i> ), as Voss.
812 κέλη M2 R1 (+ R5)	ρ 199 θυμῆρες M2 R1 (+ <i>f g</i> U5)
845 μεσσηγύς τ' M2 R1	σ 51 προσέφη M2 R1 (+ I4 L8)
ε 67 μεμήλει M2 R1 (+ R11, γρ. H3	263 μάλιντα M2 R1 (+ <i>e j</i> )
R7)	413 hab. M2 R1 (+ <i>g j</i> )
221 θεός M2 R1 (+ <i>j</i> )	ν 43 τῷδε M2 R1 (+ <i>g</i> )
356 ἄλλον M2 R1 (+ <i>f</i> )	53 ἀποδύσσαι M2 R1 (+ J M4 U2)

<sup>1</sup> λ 38-43, 157-9, 602-4, τ 306, 346-8.

These examples prove that, if this pair do not show any great independence, they do not incline so far to any one family as to be merged in it (out of 41 exx.  $i=b$  in 4,  $f$  in 14,  $g$  in 5,  $h$  (U8) in 5).

*Characteristics.*

i. Alexandrian :	δ 845 μεσσηγύς τ'
<i>None.</i>	ε 104 οὐδ' (H3 marg.)
ii. Ancient :	λ 545 τῇ for τήν
<i>None.</i>	π 66 σοι as Voss.
iii. Eust. γρ. :	ρ 62 κύνες δύο for δύο κύνες, cf. β 11
δ 420 ἀμείβηται	υ 188 ὅτε for ὅτις
κ 412 σπαίρουσιν	M2 sol.
ξ 142 οὐδ' ἄρα γρ. H3 K U5	iii. Eust. γρ. :
iv. Noticeable :	ρ 599 διεκλινήσας γρ. U5. gl. H2 K V3
γ 342 σπείσαν τε πίωνθ' (right ; σπείσαν τε πίων L4)	φ 89 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς for ἀλλ' ἀκέων Eust. (μεταγράφοντες)

$j = H1 P5 P6 R7 U6 U7.$

P6 and U6 (defective,  $\iota$  541- $\omega$ ) are s. xiii ; H1 (written by Rhosus, P5 (the rubricator and corrector resembles Rhosus' hand), R7 (by Rhosus) U7 ( $\alpha$ - $\psi$  341) are all s. xv or s. xvi. U6 has abundant scholia, P6 on  $\alpha$ - $\gamma$  48, P5 in the early books. The rest are without them.

*Specimens of Agreement.*

$\alpha$ 201 τέλεσθαι P5 R7	ε 221 θεός P5 R7 U7 (+ $i$ Pal. m. 2)
$\beta$ 219 ante 218 P5 U7	302 ἀνατλήσειν P5 R7 (+ W, Pal. ss.)
300 θ' om. P5 U7 (+ P1 R5)	ζ 269 σπείρας R7 U7
376 ἰάψῃ P5 U7	η 52 μάλα τηλόθεν R7 U7 (+ P1)
γ 128 νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλὴν P5 U7	109 πόντον P5 R7 U7 (+ $\alpha$ )
(+ $g$ )	θ 17 ἄρ P5 P6 (+ R4)
131 βῆ δ' ἐν P5 U7 (+ P1)	257 γλαφυρόν P5 R7 U7
266 καταμνήστρη P5, γρ. κατα R7	288 ἰχαιῶν R7 U7
δ 58 τίθη P5 R7 U7	332 τε καὶ P5 R7 U7
84 ἐρέβους P5 U7	565 ἀγύσσεσθαι P5 R7 U7 (+ L4)
398 γυναικῶν P5 U7	ι 10 φορέεσι P5 R7 U7
497 παρήες P5 U7, R7 marg. (+ $g$ )	329 κόπρον P5 R7 U7 (+ L8)
821 τὸν P5 P6 R7 (+ Pal.)	383 ἐέρυσαν P5 R7 U7 (+ R10)
ε 119 θεοῖς P5 R7 U7 (+ P3)	κ 39 γε P5 P6



*Peculiar Readings.*

- Alexandrian :
- σ 64 βασιλῆε (fort. Ar.)  
 335 κεκοφῶς Ar.
- ii. Ancient :
- β 376 ἰάψῃ Strabo, Apoll. lex.  
 θ 288 ἰχανῶν for ἰσχ- ; Choeroboscus  
 An. Ox. ii. 222, 6  
 κ 39 δῆμον for γαῖαν ; Dio of Prusa  
 λ 598 ἔπειτα δάπεδον (ἔπειτα δάπεδόνδε ε).  
 δάπεδον Aristotle  
 ξ 228 τ' om.. Clement Alex.  
 π 181 ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν, Julian  
 τ 446 δ' om. (+ Mon.), Porphyry
- iii. Eust. γρ.
- κ 174 που Eust  
 331 ἀλεύεσθαι γρ. U5  
 389 ἀνέωγε Eust.  
 σ 407 θεὸς Eust.  
 τ 288 ἐπισπένδων, γρ. U5 (as Knight)
- iv. Noticeable :
- δ 58 τίθη  
 84 ἐρεβούς (ἰραβούς Pal.)  
 398 γυναικῶν for θεάων (= δ 305 al.)  
 θ 257 γλυφυρὸν for -ῆν  
 κ 39 γε for τε  
 430 μιν for σφέας  
 λ 68 μεγάροις κατέλειπες for μεγάροισιν  
 ἔλειπες  
 232 ἅμα πύσας πίνειν for πιέειν ἅμα  
 πύσας  
 243 περιστάθει for -θη  
 526 ἄλλοι μὲν for ἐνθ' ἄλλοι  
 547 δὲ δίκασαν τρώων for δὲ τρώων  
 δίκασαν (δίκη does not make  
 position)  
 μ 108 μεμνημένος for πεπλημένος
- μ 205 οὐκέτι χερσὶν ἐρετμὰ προήκισι  
 χερσὶν for οὐκέτ' ἐρετμὰ προήκεα  
 χερσὶν ἔπειγον (χέρσος perhap-  
 caused the confusion)  
 ξ 476 ἐπὶ φοι ὑπερθε (ἔπειτα g)  
 π 145 μινύθει for φθινύθει  
 176 γένεια for γένειον  
 230 ἔδοσαν for ἔπορον (gl.)  
 ρ 122 πᾶντα κατὰ μοῖραν for πᾶσαν ἀληθ-  
 εῖην (= η 497 al.)  
 167 θειοιο for μεγάριοιο  
 σ 51 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε πολίτλας δῖος  
 Ὀδ. for τοῖς δὲ δολοφρονέων μετέφη  
 πολύμητις  
 88 τῶνδ' for τῶδ'  
 100 ἀνισχόμενοι for ἀνασχόμενοι  
 341 κατὰ for διὰ  
 388 χαλεπῶ ἡνίπαπε μῦθος for ἔπεα πτε-  
 ρόεντα προσηύδα  
 τ 24 ἀλλ' εἴ τις τοι for ἀλλ' ἄγε τίς τοι  
 (γρ. Br)  
 144 ὁππότε for εἰς ὅτε  
 171 τὸν μῦθον ἐνισπῆσω σ δ' ἄκουσον  
 for ἐρέω ὅ μ' ἀνείρμαι ἡδὲ μεταλλάξ  
 (= μ 37)  
 230 ἑόντες as Heyne (right) : ὄντες, cet  
 272 ὄνδε δόμοιδε for πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ.  
 (+ Mon.), = ρ 527  
 432 παρνησὸν for παρνησοῦ  
 444 ἦλθε ποσσὶν for ἦλθε ποδοῖν  
 474 οὐ σέ τ' ἔγωγε for οὐδέ σ' ἔγωγε  
 525 ἱεμένω for ἡὲ μένω (? ἱεμί ω-φυλάσ-  
 σειν)  
 υ 135 αἰτιῶντο for αἰτιώφο  
 340 ἐφθίεται for ἦ φθίεται  
 φ 183 ἑόντων for εὔιτος  
 χ 129 φρίσσασθαι for φράζεσθαι  
 ψ 294 φᾶος for δᾶος

Transpositions (λ 232, 547, μ 205) and alternative phrases (δ 398, ρ 122, σ 51, 388, τ 171, 272) are characteristic of these variants. One τ 230 coincides with Heyne and is printed.



*Peculiarities of the individuals.*

- P 6: ι 302 ἀνήκεν for ἔρυκεν, as E. M. P 5: β 416α αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κοπή-  
and Schol. A 173 B 5 λυθὼν ἡδὲ θάλασσαν (= 407)  
κ 110 τοῖσιν Ar. οἷσιν cet. ε 136 ἀγῆρων Ar.  
υ 23 τετληκνῖα, as Plutarch

*Examples of further development of this family.*

H1 P5 R7 U7 are severely and exhaustively corrected throughout, and that into *g*. The collation was made at the time of writing, and in the corrections we may easily see John Rhosus. The rubricator, who is the corrector of P5, has a hand like Rhosus'; H1 is corrected both by Rhosus and another; R7 by Rhosus. U7 is somewhat later, and perhaps a copy of text and variants together. In the companion book to R7, viz. Vat. 1626 (= 'V18' of the Iliad), Rhosus refers to his second copy: correcting Ψ 253, *sq.* which are dislocated in 'V18' he says οὕτως κείται ἐν ἑτέρῳ βιβλίῳ and again οὕτως εὗρον ἐν ἑτέρῳ βιβλίῳ. This second copy we see in the case of the Odyssey was a member of the *g* family, and therefore perhaps the original of U1 (= Marc. 456, containing both Iliad and Odyssey), which is in his hand, *e.g.* R1 (bought from Argyropoulos, v. p. 10) or R6. U1 bears the coat and ex-libris of Bessarion and is therefore older than his death in 1472; but was unavailable in 1477, to which year Vat. 1626 and 1627 are dated at Rome.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| γ 73 θ' οἷ τ' P5 marg. <i>g</i>                         | ξ 455 κοίτην P5 ss. <i>g</i>              |
| ε 59 τηλόθι H1 P5 ss. <i>g</i>                          | ο 24, 25 β' α' P5: 25, 24 <i>g</i>        |
| 77 αὐτὸν P5 marg. <i>g</i>                              | 40 ἐνθα κεν P5 marg. <i>g</i>             |
| 130 περὶ τρώπιο <sup>ον</sup> ς H1 περιτρόπιον <i>g</i> | 197 ἐσμὲν H1 P5 marg. <i>g</i>            |
| 133 ἀπέφθιθον <sup>εν</sup> H1 ἀπέφθιθεν <i>g</i>       | ρ 525 πρόχην κυλινδόμενος P5 ss. <i>g</i> |
| 135 φίλεον <sup>λέεσκον</sup> H1 φιλέεσκον <i>g</i>     | σ 24 αὖτις ἔσω μεγάρων, γρ. P5, <i>g</i>  |
| 150 ἦι, γρ. ἦεν H1 ἦεν <i>g</i>                         | 59 red dot P5, om. <i>g</i>               |
| 158 δερδέσκετο <sup>κ</sup> H1 δερκέσκετο <i>g</i>      | υ 101 φανῆναι P5 ss. <i>g</i>             |
|   | ω 398 red dot P5, om. <i>g</i>            |

$k = L_4 L_5 \text{ Mon } P_7 R_{12} m \ 2.$

*Specimens of Agreement.*

- |                                    |                                    |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| α 71 πᾶσιν ἐν Mon. m. 2 L5 (+ b i) | β 151 πολλὰ L4 ras. L5 P7 (+ b R7) |
| 93 ἡμαθόεσσαν Mon. m. 2 L5 P7 (+ ? | 235 οὔτι L4 L5 (+ P3)              |
| Pal. U5 corr.)                     | 245 μάχεσθαι L5 Mon. (+ P2 P6)     |

- β 275 σ' ἔπειτα L5 Mon. (+ R11)  
 400 εἰναιεταόντων L4 P7 (+ Pal.)
- γ 2 φαίνοι L4 L5 (+ Pal. U1)  
 267 δ' ἄρ' L4 L5 (+ Pal. T U1)  
 462 ἔπειρον L4 L5 ss. (+ R11)
- δ 149 τοι L4 L5 (+ d U1)  
 389 ὥς L4 L5 (+ P2 P4 P5)  
 495 δάμεν L4 P7 (+ T)  
 573 κατήλυθον L4 L5 Mon. (+ f Pal. R11)  
 582 τελέσσας L5 Mon. P7 (+ R4 R5 R10 R11)  
 659 μνηστῆρας L4 L5 (+ i Pal. T)  
 665 τοσσῶνδ' L4 Mon. P7 (+ j L8 Pal. T)  
 679 διὰ L4 L5 P7 (+ Pal. T R11)  
 771 ἀρτύνει L5 Mon. P7  
 780 ἄρ L4 P7 (+ o T)
- ε 60 ὀρώρει L5 Mon. (+ g)  
 82 πάρος γε L5 Mon. (+ g i)  
 115 ἦν L5 Mon. (+ g)  
 150 ἦεν L5 Mon. (+ g)  
 260 ἐπ' L5 Mon. (+ j L8)  
*ih.* αὐτῆς L5 Mon. (+ L8)  
 300 μῆ μοι L4 L5 Mon. (+ f T U5)  
 369 ἄλλα L4 L5 (+ f R11 T)  
 372 om. L5 Mon. (+ L8)
- ζ 2 βεβρυμένος L5 Mon.  
 159 σε ἔδνουσι L4 L5 Mon. (+ M3 OT)  
 180 ἦσι L5 Mon.  
 213 om. L5 Mon.  
 232 περιχεύη L5 Mon. m. 2  
 241 ἐπιμίξεται L5 Mon. corr. (+ o)  
 310 ποτὶ L4 P7 (+ U1)
- η 213 πλείω L5 Mon.
- θ 33 δηθὰ L5 Mon.  
 53 ἡρτύνοντο L5 Mon. (+ U1)  
 206 πάλην L4 L5 Mon. (+ R10 T)  
 226 οὐδέ τι L4 L5 (+ P5 U1)
- ι 215 οὐδέ L4 L5 Mon.  
 263 ἀτρεΐδαι L5 Mon. (+ P2 U3)  
 267 ἦλθουμεν L5 Mon. (+ i P6)
- κ 42 συγχέρας L5 Mon. (+ g R10)
- κ 348 τέως, om. μὲν L4 L5 Mon. (+ Pal. U1 U7)
- ξ 67 αὐτόθι γήρα L4 Mon. (+ h T U1)  
 134 ἐρύειν L4 L5 Mon. (+ i)  
 ο 516 μνηστῆρσιν ἐν L4 L5  
 π 73 ἐγὼ L5 Mon. (+ U3)  
 176 ἐθειράδες L4 L5 Mon.  
 438 ὅς κ' ἐπὶ L4 L5 (+ R12)  
 461 δι' L4 L5 Mon. (+ j)
- ρ 42 ἄψ ἐφάμην ὄψεσθ' L4 L5 Mon. (+ P2)  
 119 δάμησαν L4 L5 Mon. (+ f, g)  
 150 τῆς L4 L5 (+ Br V4)  
 154 τοι L5 Mon. (+ j)  
 183 ὠτρύνοντ' L4 L5 Mon. (+ j l')  
 185 ἵμεναι L5 Mon. (+ j)  
 241 πῖονα δημόν L4 L5  
 322 τ' om. L4 L5 Mon.  
 409 ὑπέθηκε L4 L5 Mon. (+ h marg.)  
 567 ῥέζοντα L4 L5 (+ g)
- σ 88 ἦλθε L4 L5 Mon. (+ g)  
 97 ἦλθεν ἀνά L4 L5 (+ g)  
 105 κείσο L4 L5 (+ M2)  
*ih.* κύας τε σῖας L4 L5 (+ g)  
 118 Ἀμφινόμος I4 L5 (+ U8)  
 238 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔκτοσθεν μεγάρων εἴ ναιε-  
 ταόντων L4 L5 (+ U8)  
 326 ἐνένειπεν L4 L5 (+ U2)  
 374 χῶρος L4 L5 Mon. (+ R12 U2)  
 383 οὐτιδανοῖσαν L4 L5 Mon. (γρ. R12)
- τ 73 ἱκάνει L4 L5  
 122 om. L4 L5 Mon.  
 137 δόλον L4 L5 Mon. (+ j)  
 192 γένητ' L4 L5  
 200 γαίης L4 L5 (+ j)  
 222 τοι L4 L5  
 227 δαίδαλος L4 L5 (+ O)  
 317 μοι L4 L5 (+ U6)  
 403 θείαι L4 L5 Mon. (+ j)  
 407 ἐγὼ δὲ L5 Mon. (+ j)  
 518 πανθαυρή L4 L5
- υ 188 ἐπ' εἶρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης I4 L5  
 204 δέ μοι παρειαὶ L4 L5 (+ U8)  
 259 καθείς L4 L5

v 329 νοστήσειν L4 L5	φ 223 ὄδυσῃα—δαίφρονα L4 L5
369 ἀνδρῶν οἱ L4 L5	336 αὐτοῦ L4 L5
374 θαύμαζον L4 L5	395 κέρας L4 L5 (+ U8)
φ 17 ὄφειλε L4 L5 (+ U8)	χ 157 θύρας L4 L5
86 δειλοὶ L4 L5	ω 303 ἀγορεύσω L5 Mon. (+ a)

The xth century MS. L4 (Ludwich's 'G'), the oldest of the Odysseys, the xivth cent. Munich MS. Mon., the xvth century Florentine L5, and the xvth century fragment P7 (a-κ), all well-characterised MSS., may be united into a family. R12 also, a xvth century member of c, was corrected by Rhosus into Mon.

The connection, as may be seen from the list given above, is not close: in the earlier books L5 leans to Mon. or its correction, in the latter to L4; k leans among the families to g, and L5 by itself coincides with U1 (δ85 ὄθι, 132 χεῖλε' ἐκεκράαντο, 264 ἔργα, 292 τόδ', 359 ἀφυσσόμενοι R11 U1 = g). The family has no signs nor regular scholia. Mon. itself is corrected by a xv-xvi cent. hand into d.

*Peculiar Readings.*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| i. Alexandrian.   | ζ 2 βεβαρημένος for ἀρήμενος (βεβαρη-<br>μένον is a variant on βεβαρηότα<br>τ 122) |
| ι 24 σάμος as Apollodorus                                   | 180 ἦσι for σῇσι (posthomeric)   |
| κ 416 αὐτήν At.   | 213 om. (dispensable)  |
| ii. Ancient.  | 232 περιχεῖν for περιχέεται  |
| λ 74 κακκῆαι : ἡ κοινῇ, Herod. Apoll.<br>lex.               | η 213 πλείω for πλείον'  |
| 298 τυνδάρεως gen.  | θ 108 θαυμασέοντες for θαυμανέοντες  |
| ν 216 ἔχοντες Plutarch                                      | 186 ἔλε for λάβε   |
| φ 86 δειλοὶ Herod. Eust.                                    | 214 οἷσιν for ὄσσοι  |
| iii. Eust. γρ. :  | *371 ὀρχήσεσθαι for ὀρχήσασθαι   |
| δ 771 ἀρτύνει Eust.   | κ 103 ἦνπερ for ἦπερ   |
| θ 128 πολὺν φέρτατος Eust. (ex 129)                         | 551 ἐνθενδε for ἐνθεν περ  |
| ο*243 τίκτεν  | λ 343a add. καὶ μύθοις ἐκέκαστο παλαιὰ τε<br>πολλὰ τε εἰδὼς (= η 157)              |
| ρ 26 διέκ for διὰ, γρ. H3 V3                                | 487 αἷτις for αἰτίκ'   |
| υ 369 ἀνδρῶν οἱ (κατὰ δώματ'), γρ. c (cf.<br>298 and σ 417) | μ 36 δῖα θεάων for πότνια Κίρκη  |
| 374 θαύμαζον, γρ. H3 Eust. (= α382)                         | ξ 263 μὲν for μάλ'   |
| φ 223 ὄδυσῃα δαίφρονα Eust.                                 | ο*516 μνηστῆρσιν ἐν for μνηστῆρσ' ἐνὶ<br>(abolishes digamma)                       |
| χ 157 θύρας   | π 14 ἀντίον (+ ρ)  |
| iv. Noticeable :  | 241 πίονα δημόν for πίονι δημῷ   |
| ε 372 om. (+ L8) (? dispensable)                            | 322 γῖρ for γάρ τ'   |

π 567 ῥέζοντα for ῥέξαντα	τ 222 τοι for οἱ (obliterates digamma)
σ 383 οὔτιδανοῖσιν for οὐκ ἀγαθοῖσι (possible)	υ 188 ἐπ' εἰρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης for ὅτις σφέας εἰσαφίκεται
τ 122 om. (dispensable, but prob. ex homoeoarcho)	φ 366 αὐτοῦ for αὐτῇ
ι 92 γένετ' for πέλεν	χ 255 ἀκὴν ἐγείνοντο σιωπῇ for ἀκόντισαν ὥς ἐκέλευεν

There is nothing remarkable here except οὔτιδανοῖσιν σ 383 ; ὀρχήσεσθαι θ 371 might be regarded as a survival of an aorist in σε ; the other linguistic variants are for the worse, as ζ 180, ο 516, τ 222. Ordinary association appears λ 343a, μ 36, υ 188, χ 255.

The members of the family have more value, and the best claim among copies of the Odyssey to the title of Independent MSS.

L<sub>4</sub>

## i. Alexandrian :

- α 225 δαῖ Ar., δὲ cet.  
λ 531 ἐξέμεναι Did. ἐξίμεναι cet.  
π 2 κηαμένω Ar. (λ 74 ν 26) κει- cet.  
τ 116 μηδέ μοι Ar., μηδ' ἐμὸν cet.

## ii. Ancient :

- β 126 ποθῇ Apoll. Dysc., ποθῇν cet.

## iii. Eust. γρ. :

- δ 168 τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας, γρ. H<sub>3</sub>  
\* ζ 298 ἡδὲ ἔρεσθαι ῥ6 for ἡδ' ἐρέεσθαι  
φ 220 ἐς αὐτόλυκόν τε καὶ νῆας Eust.  
(μετ') cf. τ 394

The v.l. ζ 298 suggests the possibility of a digamma in ἔρεσθαι. The etymology appears undecided.

## iv. Noticeable :

- ι 368 ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε for ἀμείβετο  
νηλεί θυμῷ (= δ 471)  
κ 15 μόνον for νέας (some objection  
was felt to νέας : cf. πάλι)  
21 om. (dispensable)  
310 ἐν προθύροις for εἰνὶ θύρῃσι (as  
220)  
λ 180 ἀμειβομένη προσέειπεν for ἀμείβετο  
πότνια μητῆρ  
388 ὅσσοι ἀριστοὶ for ὅσσοι ἄμ' αὐτῷ  
μ 5 ἐρύσσαμεν for ἐκέλασμεν  
π 280 αἰπὺς ὀλεθρὸς for αἰσιμον ἥμαρ
- α 318 ἔστω for ἔσται  
γ 396 om. (? dispensable)  
δ 162 ἔσεσθαι for ἔπεισθαι  
235 ἄλλοι for οἶδε (ex 236)  
398 ἀμειβομένη προσέειπε  
508 ἔμβαλε for ἔμπεσε  
ε 222 ταλασίφρονα for ταλαπενθέα (not of  
things in Homer)  
η 161 om. (? dispensable, or owing to  
ξεῖνον—ξεῖνον)

Association accounts for most of these variants.

*Mon.*

- i. Alexandrian :
- μ 313 *ζαῆν* Ar., *ζαῖν* cet.  
 [ο 297 *φερῦς* Mon. m. 2, but the original reading was *φερῦς* or *φενῦς*, not *φειῦς*]
- ii. Ancient :
- None*
- iii. Eust. γρ. :
- ο 168 *διὸς* for *θεὸς* Ἰ' 13  
 υ 55 *ἀπέστιχ'* Ἰ' 19, cf. O 572  
 ι 99 *ἔσπερ* Eust. for *ὥσπερ*, cf. σ 122
- iv. Noticeable :
- θ 209 *ἀνδρῶν* for *ἀνῆρ*  
 π 285 *ὑψηλὸν* for *ὑψηλοῦ*  
 315 *κτήματα* for *χρήματα* (common)  
 432 *τ' ἐκπαύλως* for *τε μεγάλως* (possible)
- ρ 114 *μεγαλήτορος* for *ταλασίφρονος*  
 245 *ὑβρίζεις φορέων* for *ὑβρίζων φορέεις*, cf. ρ 69  
 348 *προίκτη* for *παρεῖναι* (ex 352)  
 358 *ἔως* for *ὥς* cet. (right)  
 σ 200 *εἰπέ τε μῦθον* for *φώνησέν τε*  
 τ 30 *θαλάμων* for *μεγάρων*  
 51 *προδόμῳ* for *μεγάρῳ*  
 305 *δὴ* for *τοῖ* (τῇ, μοι)  
 420 *πίονα* for *ἄρσена*  
 φ 6 *ἐπικαμπέα* for *εἰκαμπέα* (late)  
 35 *τραπέζης* for *τραπέζῃ*  
 146 *αἰὲν* for *αἰεὶ*  
 282 *ἦ* for *εἶ* (right : a common error)  
 296 *μεγάρους* for *μεγάρῳ*  
 ψ 156 *κάλλος πολὺν χεῖεν* for *χεῖεν πολὺν κάλλος*  
 354 *ἀμφοτέρῳ* for *ἀμφοτέροι* (right)

The readings at ρ 358 υ 199 φ 282 ψ 354 are to the credit of Mon.

*L5.*

- i. Alexandrian :
- δ 705 *ἔσκετο* Ar. (Pal. corr. Br interlin.)
- ii. Ancient :
- ε 72 *σίον* for *ἴον* as Ptolemy Euergetes (cf. *θρύον* R11, p. 57)  
 σ 179 *ἀπονίψασθαι* Apoll. lex.
- iii. Eust. γρ. :
- π 330 *νόσφι πόληος* γρ. P2 (= a 185 al.)  
 ψ 322 *ἡερόεντα*, γρ. KV1
- iv. Noticeable :
- β 144 *αἶκε Ζεὺς δώσησι* for *αἶ κε ποθε Ζεὺς δῶσι* (poss. as ed. pr.)
- ξ 33 *ἔσσι* for *ἔσσαι*  
 ι 38 *ἐπείκειν* for *ἐφέηκειν*  
 433 *ἐλίσθεις* for *ἐλυσθείς*, *ἐλιχθείς*  
 λ 14 *κιμαρίων* for *κιμμερίων*  
 π 44 *διόμεν* for *δήομαι*  
 72 *ἀπαμύνεσθαι* for *-ασθαι*  
 142 *σίγ' ἐπέρχου* for *σύγε ᾤχεο* (to avoid hiatus)  
 σ 186 *ἔσεσθαι* for *ῖεσθαι*  
 τ 227 *δαίδαλος* for *δαίδαλον* (possible)  
 χ 80 *οἷεί χαλκῶ* for *αἰλτο δ' ἐπ' αἰτῶ* (= a 99 al.)  
 239 *μελάθρον* for *μέλαθρον*, cf. the other variants

The preservation of Ptolemy Euergetes' preference on ε 72 is the characteristic of this MS. The ll. at β 144 τ 227 are noteworthy.

## P7.

κ 239 δέμας τε for τρίχας τε, γρ. U5

κ 240 καὶ τρίχας for καὶ δέμας

Among the extensive corrections applied to R12 (s. xv., see under c p. 25) by its writer Rhosus are some which coincide with *k* or its parts :—

ξ 134 ἐρύειν *k* (+ *i*) : ἐρύσας R12 (+ U2)

π 432 τ' ἐκπάγλως Mon., δὲ μεγάλως, γρ.

τ' ἐκπάγλως R12

ρ 426 χαλεπήν Mon., γρ. R12

567 ῥέζοντα L4 L5, R 12 ss.: ῥέξαντα

σ 356 μεγάλθυμον Mon., γρ. R12

383 παυροτέρουσι καὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν Mon.  
οὐτιδανοῖσιν L5 ; γρ. πωροτέρουσι

καὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ὁμιλεῖς R12 :

παύρουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῖσι cet.

υ 315 θυμῶ Mon., γρ. R12

358 οἱ δέ τε Mon., γρ. R12

369 ἀνδρῶν οἱ *k*, γρ. ἀνδρῶν οἱ κατὰ

R12 : μνηστήρων cet.

χ 162 ἔντεα Mon., γρ. R12

ω 262 εἰπέμεν Mon., γρ. R12

 $l = P1 R2.$ 

This family, like *i*, approximates to a typographical expression. It may, however, provide a connection for the somewhat characterless xiiiith century MS. P1 (Ludwich's 'D'). R2 has no scholia.

*Specimens of Agreement.*

δ 497 ἐν om. P1 R2 (+ P6 q)

826 ἔπεται P1 R2 (+ q) γρ. U5

ε 409 κῦμα P1 R2 (+ *d m*)ζ 101 ἥρξατο P1 R2 (+ *d m*)

η 152 δηρὸν P1 R2 (+ M3 P6)

309 μὲν τι P1 R2

θ 73 ἐνῆκεν P1 R2, γρ. V4

ι 103 ἔσβαινον P1 R2, as Nauck

118 πολλοὶ add. P1 R2 (+ Br)

μ 238 πᾶσαν P1 R2 (+ *a*)ν 86 θίεν P1 R2 (+ *a* Br)438 ἐῖδ' εὔστροφος P1 R2 (+ *a* Br)

π 14 κινῶς P1 R2 (+ H3 U1)

ρ 112 ἦ ἐμὲ P1 R2 (+ U1)

(R2 was not collated after τ.) In other places R2 often adheres to *q*.

P1, which has some coincidences with *a* (see p. 18) and *m* (p. 54) offers of itself

μ 22 δις θανέες Apollonius

μ 64 αἰὲν for αἰεὶ (printed)

 $m = M3 V4.$ 

These two xiiiith century MSS. are both fragmentary. M3 has *a-i*, V4 ε 45-ω 59. The portion available for comparison is therefore ε 45-ι.

*Agreements.*

ε 198 ἀντίος M3 V4 (+ H3)

321 γ' ἄρ' M3 V4

ε 337 ποτὶ ἦν M3 ποτὶ <sup>iv</sup> V4 (for ποτὶ ἦν)

378 γρ. ἀνοισί M3 V4

- € 409 κῦμα M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ *d* I)  
 479 μὴν M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ *o* P<sub>1</sub>)  
 ζ 60 εὐόντι<sup>a</sup> M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ P<sub>1</sub> R<sub>8</sub> T)  
 61 ἔχοντι<sup>a</sup> M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ *g* P<sub>1</sub> R<sub>8</sub> T)  
 88 om., add. mg. M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (om. H<sub>2</sub>)  
     ex homoeotel. with 90  
 101 ἡρξάτο M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ *d* I)  
 159 σ' ἐδνοισι M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> Apoll. Dysc.  
 η 35 δῶκε κρονίων, γρ. M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ R<sub>4</sub>):  
     in text. P<sub>7</sub>  
 86 γρ. ἐληλέδατο M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub>  
 152 δηρὸν M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ *l* P<sub>6</sub>)  
 213 καὶ om. M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub>  
 298 ἀπεμείβετο M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub>  
 342 ὤρσεο M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ R<sub>2</sub>)  
 θ 18 τῷ γάρ, γρ. M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (in text. R 11)  
 251 παΐξατε M<sub>3</sub> V<sub>4</sub> (+ L<sub>8</sub>)

After ι V<sub>4</sub> seems to incline to *a*. Both MSS. have scholia, V<sub>4</sub> some signs (see p. 15).

The coincidence with Apollonius ζ 159 is noticeable.

*o.*

This family, partly of *c* stock (cf. p. 24), partly of unknown source, contains the divergent members of *c* and the following peculiar readings:—

- i. Alexandrian:
- ξ 104 ἐσχατιήν Ar.
- ii. Ancient:
- € 314 ἐπασσύμενον (+ U<sub>7</sub>) evidently the same as ἀπεσσύμενον the reading of Demetrius Ixion 431
- ξ 134 ἐρύσειν (ἐρύσαι: οὕτως αἱ πᾶσαι σχεδόν schol.)
- iii. Eust. γρ.
- τ 72 οὐ λιπόω Eust. γρ. U<sub>5</sub> (+ Mon)  
 Λιπόω seems Alexandrian
- iv. Noteworthy:
- δ 17 διός for θεός
- € 119 εἰνιάσθαι (this not εἰνώασθαι is the reading)
- 272 τε ὁρῶντι
- 296 πῆμα for κῦμα, cf. P<sub>99</sub>
- 334 αἰδήσασα for αἰδέεσσυ
- ζ 22 ναυσικλειτοῦ δόδμαντος ('Οδόμαντος is perh. ancient)
- ι 116 ἀλάχεια
- κ 329 ἀκῆλατος
- 425 ἔποισθε (with θ' ἄμα?)
- λ 98 ἐγκατέθηξ'
- 115 δῆη, δῆει for δῆεις
- \*124 τοὶ δ' ἴσασι, to avoid hiatus
- 530 ἐπέτελλεν
- ο 354 φθεῖραι
- π 105 μ' ἐν πληθύνῃ
- 115 κασιγνήτους
- 215 ὤρσε (+ *e*)
- ρ 87 ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον (= 90)
- 472 βλήσεται
- τ 81 πύμπαν
- 158 ἀνευρίσκω
- 446 ἐς λοφίην
- υ 9 ὁπρύνετο for ὀρίνετο, cf. T<sub>272</sub>
- ω 4α τὴν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων πέτετο  
 ταχὺς ἀργειφόντης (+ K<sub>U</sub>8) =  
 € 49
- ω 72 σου for τοι
- 332 μ' ἐν

*M(3) only.*

θ 63 μοῖρ' for μοῦσ' c. schol.

ι 462 δὴ βαῖον (schol. B 380 οἱ μὲν τὸ πλῆρες φασι βαιόν)

*R10 only.*

θ 182 ἄχομαι Et. Flor. Milleri (ἄχθομαι)

ο 411 ἐπέεσσιν for βελέεσσιν

χ 461 ἀντίον ἦδ' αἶα for ἄρχ' ἀγορεύειν

*R12.*

ο 399-401 this sign in marg., ξ

In the text and among the frequent v. ll. are one or two novelties.

A source of tradition, otherwise unknown, was extant about 1300-1400, which gives these far from negligible contributions.

*p.*

Descendants of U5, partly having absorbed the corrections of their archetype (see p. 30), partly differentiated from an unknown source. The members are of s. xv or xvi. R3 was written in 1422, K in 1469.

*Agreements.*

α 185 ἐφέστηκεν Br M4 R8

196 πον Br K M4 R3 R8 U9 (+ d  
part)

β 137 τοσοῦτον Br M4 R8 U9

257 λύσατο Br M4 R3 R8 U9 (+ P7)

300 θ' ἔσονται Br M4 (from the  
ligature εν-)

γ 213 μητίσασθαι Br M4 R8 U9

490 παρ ξείνια δῶκεν M4 U9

δ 2 ἔλον Br M4 R8 (+ α R11 U (6))

141 γενέσθαι Br M4 R3 R8

153 πικρὸν Br M4 R3 R8

ρ 14 μῆνιέ M4 R3 Br corr.

*Peculiar Readings.**i. Alexandrian :*

γ 199, 200, 244-6, δ 158-160, ζ 275-8,  
ν 320-3, 333-8, ρ 150-65,  
475-80, σ 330-2 ath. Ar.;  
bracket *p*. (See the full table  
p. 32 which shows how the sign  
in some cases survives only in a  
member.)

*ii. Ancient :*

μ 235 μὲν, schol. μ 85

φ 216 τηλεμάχῳ, schol. T 298

*iii. Eust. γρ.*

σ 126 τοιοῦτον for τοῖον γὰρ, Eust.

*iv. Noteworthy :*

\*δ 141 γενέσθαι for ιδέσθαι (suppresses  
digamma)



δ 461, 631 ἀειρόμενος	τ 358 τοῖο for σοῖο
707 χρεῶν for χρεῶ	529 ἀποινα for ἔδνα (ex A 13 al.)
*ε 34 γ' εἰκοστῶ (suppresses digamma)	φ 49 τῶ for τόσ <sup>σφ</sup>
300 μὴ νν μοι (= μοι) <sup>ννν</sup>	192 σφιν (= μιν) <sup>σφ</sup>
ζ 127 ἀπεδύετο for ἐπ-	χ 198 ἀνερχομένη
θ 437 γύστριν (perhaps Alexandrian as subst.)	ω 161 ἐνίπτομεν (common)
π 105 πλῆθὺς for πλῆθιν (perhaps from the belief that -αῖατο was singular)	398 ὀδυσσεῖ (correction of the strange ὀδυσσεῖς)
ρ 555 πεπαυθείς	437 φθόωσι
	539 προίει

*q* (=g-L8).

The cases in which *q* shows the corrections of L8 have been already given (p. 37); we have now to illustrate the manner in which the members of *q* hold together, where we cannot trace the process of their differentiation from L8.

γ 22 γὰρ bis Be R 14	η 258 οἶπω τὶ Be R9 R14 Z
ε 356 ἄλλος R11 U1 ss.	ι 496 ἐπ' Be R11 U1 Z (+ M(3))
455 ὁδε R6 R17 (+ R2)	κ 161 κατὰ κιῆστιν R11 U1 (+ R2 U7)
ζ 15 ρ' R1 U1 V5 (+f)	λ 74 ὄσα R11 U1 (L4 corr.)
43 οἱδὲ R11 U1 V5 (+f)	92 hab. R11 U1 (+ U5)
57 ἐφοπλίσεως R11 V5 (+ R2 P7 Mon. Pal.)	ο 157 κιχὼν Ca U1 Z (+ R2 L4 Mon.)
109 ἀγνή R11 V5 (+f)	π 459 ᾗδὲ R1 U1 Z
180 τῇσι R11 V5	ρ 46 om. Ca R6 U1 Z (+ R2)
217 θέως R11 U1 V5	381 πείθω R6 R9 U1
275 καὶ κέ τις R11 U1 V5 (+ H3 m 2)	387 καταίστην R6 R9 U1
281 ἄξει R11 V5	χ 146 om. Ca R6 U1 Z
η 67 τίει R11 U1 (+ H3)	317 om. Ca R6 U1 Z
107 καὶ ῥοσέων R1 καίροσε R14 καὶ ῥ' ὄσον δ' R9	401 κατὰ Ca R6 U1 Z (+ U2 U6)

The peculiar readings of *q* are these :—

i. Alexandrian .	ω 29 ᾗν Eust.
<i>None</i>	33 ᾗραo Eust.
ii. Ancient :	217 ἔτι γροίη Eust., as Voss
<i>None</i>	iv. Noticeable :
iii. Eust. γρ.	ε 184 δὲ νν (= δὲ, cf. δὴ K) for νν
197 ἐσμέν (+ / marg.)	260 αἰτοῖς for αἰτῇ (+ R2 R5)
395 κέρ' αἶπες (κεραῖπες quidam ap. Eust.)	455 ὦδε for ὠδεε
	ζ 217 θέως for δῖος

η 258 οὐπω τι (= οὐ <sup>πω</sup> πο τι)	φ 385 ἔργον
θ 501α (= 508)	386 om. (formula)
ι 385 ἱμάντα	χ 50 οὔτι (χατίζων)
437 om. (? dispensable)	138 κ' εἰς for χ' εἰς
λ 82 ἴσχω (implying ἤμενοι?)	146 om. (dispensable)
544 ἐφeskτήκει	317 om. (dispensable: perhaps ex homoeomeso, κακῶν ἄπο, ἀεικέα πο-)
ν 229 ἀντιβολήσας (implying κακὸν νόει?)	351 ἐὼν sine εἰς
σ 282 οὔ	401 κατακτ.
υ 46 om. (dispensable, but possibly ex homoeomeso: τίς τε, τ' ἐστὶ, or certainly 152 before 153)	ω 53 om. (? dispensable formula)
123 ἐνέκαιον	153 ἀρτέναντες
157 ἦδὲ πίθοντο (right)	484 om. (dispensable)
φ 253 ἦδη	491 om. (κίόντες, κίεν, ὄσι, ὥς)

Omissions are a feature of this family: few, however, if any, can be defended. Chance has preserved the right division of syllables υ 157.

The individuals have some peculiarities:—

RII: ε 72 θρύου for ἴου, with gloss ῥήγανον. I do not know if the gloss is intended for πηγάνου or ὀριγάνου; both herbs are often mentioned by Galen in conjunction with σίον.<sup>1</sup> The latter it is well known was desired by Ptolemy Euergetes and actually stands in L5.

83 στεναχῆσι, as Aristophanes  
κ 351 οὔτε ἄλα δὲ, as Zenodotus

#### UI.

ε 123 ἀγνή, as Herodian (ἀγνή H2)

r = H2 O P3 V1 V3

This family consists of the children of Pal. where they depart from their parent, whether in obedience to the alterations made in Pal. in the xvth century<sup>2</sup> (for which see above p. 21), or following some other unknown source. The latter may have been *d*, with which O P3 often coincide (see p. 21).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> e.g. vi. 638 Kuhn.

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps earlier, but the facsimiles ap. Molhuysen do not allow me to appreciate the age of the correctors.

<sup>3</sup> Some further agreements among the members may be collected ζ 61 ἐχοντά O ἐχουσα made into ἐχονσα H2; η 13 πῦρὰν ἔκαιε H2 V1; ο 28 ἀνηστῆρες H2 OP3; 192 ἀέκοντε H2 O (+al.); 234 ἐρινύς H2 P3 V3; 297 φρένας H2 sol.

i. Alexandrian:	<i>a</i> 297 <i>νηπιόσιν</i> (+ <i>N</i> corr.)?
<i>None</i>	<i>β</i> 105 <i>παρὰ τοῦτο</i>
ii. Ancient:	<i>λ</i> 375 <i>προφρόνεως</i> (unmetrical)
<i>λ</i> 591 <i>ἰθύσει</i> Teles.	<i>μ</i> 186 <i>παρέπλετο</i> (?)
<i>χ</i> 130 <i>ἄγχ' αὐτοῦ</i> , An. Ox. i. 253. 1	<i>ν</i> 4 <i>ἦκες</i>
<i>ω</i> 244 <i>ἀδαημοσύνη</i> Apoll. lex. in v.	<i>ξ</i> 377 <i>χαίροντες</i> . . ἔδουσι for <i>χαίρονσι</i> . .
	<i>ἔδοντες</i> : cf. p. 39
iii. Eust. γρ. etc.:	<i>ο</i> 345 <i>ὦτιν'</i> for <i>ὄντιν'</i>
<i>ν</i> 342 <i>πόρησι</i> Eust. (δίδωσι)	349 <i>ῆ</i> for <i>εἰ</i> (right)
<i>φ</i> 216 <i>ἔσεσθε</i> Eust.	<i>π</i> 370 <i>τείως</i> sine <i>μὲν</i>
	<i>φ</i> 329 <i>δέ κ' ἐλέγχεα</i> , as Voss for <i>δ' ἄν</i>
iv. Noteworthy:	<i>χ</i> 56 <i>ἄσσα</i> for <i>ὄσσα</i>
<i>α</i> 87 <i>κεν ἴκηται</i> for <i>κε νέηται</i>	<i>ψ</i> 238 <i>ἀπέβαν</i> for <i>ἐπ-</i>

O alone:—

i. Alexandrian:	iii. Eust. γρ.:
<i>γ</i> 246 <i>ἀθάνατος</i> Aristoph., <i>ἀθανάτοις</i> cet.	<i>ρ</i> 232 <i>πλεῖρως</i> Eust. (fort. Ptol. Ascal.)
<i>ζ</i> 74 <i>κοῦροι</i> for <i>κούρη</i> : <i>κοῦροι-φέρων</i> Aristophanes	iv. Noteworthy.
ii. Ancient:	<i>π</i> 238 <i>ῆ κεν</i> (+ <i>H</i> 3) for <i>εἰ κεν</i>
<i>ε</i> 331 <i>προέηκε</i> Plut. <i>vit. Hom.</i> ii. 109	<i>χ</i> 345 <i>μετόπιν</i> for <i>μετόπισθ'</i> (post-Homeric)

P<sub>3</sub> alone:—

ii. Ancient:	iv. Noteworthy:
<i>λ</i> 134 <i>ἔξαλος</i> Herod.	<i>π</i> 316 <i>δεδάεσθαι</i> for <i>-υσθαι</i>

This is not a despicable harvest off a xvth century group. "H *ο* 349 and *ῆ κεν π* 238 are correct; *δέ κ' φ* 329, *ἀδαημοσύνη ω* 244, *ἔξαλος λ* 134 as good as the contrary: *ἰθύσει λ* 591 is perhaps an accident, *τείως π* 370 is once nearer to *τῆος*. The survivals in single MSS. of the xvth century, such as O and P<sub>3</sub>, are remarkable.

These 13 families and 4 sub-families include all the collated MSS. with the exception of the scraps P<sub>8</sub>, R<sub>13</sub>, R<sub>15</sub>, K<sub>16</sub>, the s. xiii-xiv fragment R<sub>5</sub> (a-ζ 285) and the xivth century Hamburg MS. T. The connection of L<sub>8</sub> Be Z, Pal. V<sub>3</sub>, U<sub>5</sub> K was established by Ludwig ed. pp. xiii-xv. La Roche (ed. pp. xiv sq.) connected V<sub>1</sub>, V<sub>3</sub>, Pal.; H<sub>3</sub>, U<sub>2</sub>, U<sub>6</sub>; U<sub>1</sub> Z. The other identifications in either edition can hardly stand.

R<sub>5</sub> has some independence:

*Peculiar Readings.*

α 117 κτημάτεσσιν	δ 89 θεῖσθαι for θῆσθαι
297 νηπιαχέμεναι (if for νηπιαχενέμεναι, intelligible)	123 τῇ δ' ἄρα γ'
β 105 ἀναλύεσκεν R5 ἀνλύεσκεν Ar. (schol. τ 150)	192 ἐρέωμεν
198 οὐ τ' ἄρ	226 δηιωθέντα (conceivable with ἐν for δ δ')
γ 86 γάρ ῥα	468 ἔειπε γρ. H3 Zen. (on 379)
103 μου μνήσας	606 ἀπείριτος
133 οὐδὲ bis	608 κυκλιάται for κεκλιάται
177 ἐς δὲ ἐρυνθῶν (cf. schol. H3 μίμας δὲ ὄρος ἐρυνθῶν ἰωνίας κατεναντίας χίον. Even so we expect ἐκ for ἐς)	664 δέ μιν quidam ant.
447 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχχν' ἐπάσαντο (= 461)	807 θεὸν Eust.
	ε 59 τηλόθε for τηλόθι
	ζ 122 ἀοιδὴ R5
	210 ἦν ἀνέμοιοι

Its connections are with *o* (β 255 δ 12 ; *a* 246 it shares with R10 Apollodorus' reading *σίμω*) and *r* (*a* 50 β 161 δ 796 *a*). Traces of tradition persist β 105, δ 468, 664, 807.

I have not been able to place T.

## III.

The relative importance of these families may be seen in the following table :—

	ALIX	ANG.	EUST. γρ.	NOTICFAULI
<i>a</i>	2	1	4	36
<i>b</i>	0	2	4	72
<i>c</i>	3	1	0	16
<i>d</i>	4	4	4	99
<i>e</i>	2	3	2	57
<i>f</i>	3	3	6	79
<i>s</i>	4	6	7	174
<i>h</i>	0	2	6	55
US	0	5	11	31
<i>z</i>	0	0	3	7
<i>j</i>	2	7	5	37
<i>k</i>	2	4	8	27
L4	4	1	3	16
L5	1	2	2	12
Mon.	1	0	3	20
<i>l</i>	0	0	2	0
P1	0	1	0	0
<i>m</i>	0	1	0	0
<i>o</i>	1	2	1	24
<i>g</i>	9 (signs)	2	1	19
<i>q</i>	0	0	5	28
<i>r</i>	0	3	2	13

The last category was partially analysed in § II. It seems better not to subdivide it numerically.

If we compare these figures and the similar list of features of the MSS. collated for the Oxford *Iliad* (*C.R.* 1899, 111),<sup>1</sup> the following observations are suggested.

The number of MSS. and families is 72 and 17 in the Odyssey, against 107 and 15 in the *Iliad* (but it must be remembered that the 107 MSS. used for the 1902 *Iliad* are only about half of the total number extant). The number of coincidences with ancient readings is about the same, and the third category is not materially different. The fourth, unconfirmed peculiar readings, is larger in the Odyssey, probably because the total of MSS. is smaller. Had there been more MSS., fewer of these readings would have been peculiar.

The differences in the paradosis of the *Iliad* and the Odyssey follow from the lesser popularity of the latter. At all periods, apparently, the Odyssey was considered inferior to the *Iliad*: in the first instance no doubt on account of the historical importance of the Siege of Troy compared with the *τεπαιτεία* of Odysseus' nostos, but also on moral grounds, in proportion as the character of Achilles is better than that of Odysseus (Plato, *Hippias min.* 363 B). The *Iliad* had a military value, Plut. *τ. Alex* 8 (πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον).<sup>2</sup> The output therefore of the *βιβλιοπῶλαι* was less, and has left its traces in our materials: 200 mediaeval MSS. of the *Iliad* against 70 of the Odyssey, 42 *Iliad* papyri against 18 of the Odyssey,<sup>3</sup> the scanty Odyssey scholia, and the absence of a carefully edited copy of the Odyssey like the Ven. A of the *Iliad*, all tell the same tale. Therefore the sources of the text of the Odyssey were fewer and closer together. The members of the families *a b c d e f g j* announce themselves at sight and fall into their place with no ado. While this facilitates the

<sup>1</sup> I repeat the table given *C.R.* *l.c.* of the five principal families of *Iliad* MSS.

	ANCIENT.	PAR.	EUSE.	UNCONFIRMED
<i>c</i>	2		8	28
<i>f</i>	2		4	8
<i>s</i>	2		5	40
<i>h</i>	49		7	64
<i>ι</i>	6		8	27

<sup>2</sup> The rival view, that the Odyssey is moralising, is of course maintained by Aristotle in the *Poetic.*, and elsewhere: Anth. Pal. ix. 522 Ὀδυσσεύης δὲ τὸ σῶφρον γυμνασία.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say in the two *B m* *etc.* quoted below (p. 63). The real totals I cannot estimate, but they are probably even more in favour of the *Iliad*.

task of the collator, it impoverishes the character of the tradition. There are two marked absences: in the *Iliad* the most remarkable result of collation was the family *k*, which contained a very high proportion of Alexandrian readings; there is no such family in the *Odyssey*. Secondly, in the *Odyssey* there are no independent MSS. In the *Iliad*, V1, V10, V16, U1 were as characterised as any family; in the *Odyssey*, the MSS. which resist classification, R5, T, and practically P1, have few peculiarities; the MSS. which may most justly be called independent are the members of *k*, viz. L4 L5 and Mon., and further U8. Everything is on a smaller scale. Again it may be observed that in the *Odyssey* excellence and age go together. The oldest, MS. L4 is of some distinction, while its brother D (Laur. 32, 24) of the *Iliad* is practically null. The xith century L8 is the most influential single MS.; the xiiiith century Pal., H3, U5 are heads of families and also contain the best scholia; the family *a*, wholly xiiiith and xivth century, has good connections; while the xvth century MSS., with the exception of the scholia and signs in the progeny of *e*, and some members of *j*, might be dispensed with. In the *Iliad* the xvth century MSS. are among the most remarkable. Notice also must be taken of the facility for collation given by the limited tradition, and how the scribes availed themselves of it: many MSS. are so closely and systematically corrected that, what between text and margin, they contain the whole tradition: *e.g.* P5, Br, M1, M2, M3, M4, U1, U3, U4, U7, R3, R4, R7, R8, R9, R10, R12, R17, L2, O, H1, Ca, Mon., V4.

The attempt to connect the families among themselves and to continue them further back does not lead to certain conclusions. The following details may be given:

In the first 12 books *a d* agree 10 times, *d l* agree 9 times, *f l* agree 10 times, *g j* 21 times.

Agreements among the other families do not rise above 7. We see therefore that the powerful L8 goes far to capturing *j* with its two s. xiii members P6 and V6; the xiii-xiv cent. *a* lends some descent to the plebeian *d*; *f* reinforces the desolate M2 R1, and *l*, the poor family constructed out of P1 and R2, is countenanced by *d* though not by *a* (*ad* agree 3 times). *k*, the family which includes the oldest MS., the s. x L4, is equally balanced between *f* (5) and *g* (6); and no doubt if we had older MSS. we should find them more independent, the process of collation having had five or six centuries less to exert itself in.

Of the ancestors of these groups nothing can be said. We must await the evidence of the Papyri (§ IV).

In the meantime two other testes must be heard: Eustathius and the editio princeps.

*Eustathius.*

We miss Neumann's useful collection of Eustathius' readings on the Iliad (*Eustathios als kritische Quelle für den Iliastext*: 1893. With his conclusion p. 154 that Eustathius used for the Iliad a MS. resembling 'L,' that is *h*, I cannot agree); I have therefore had to tabulate Eustathius' readings as far as  $\mu$  (the force of nature could no further go), with these results: Eustathius agrees with *a* in 18 cases, *b* in 13 cases, *c* in 15 cases, *d* in 25 cases, *e* in 25 cases, *f* in 38 cases, *g* in 32 cases, *h* in 7 cases, *i* in 26 cases, *j* in 28 cases, *k* in 35 cases, *l* in 13 cases, *o* in 6 cases, *p* in 9 cases, *q* in 8 cases, C in 3 cases, L4 in 12 cases, L5 in 2 cases, U1 in 1 case, U8 in 10 cases.

This plainly is no result: *f k g* come in the first rank, *j i d e* in the next: the rest nowhere. Either, if Eustathius used one single MS. at all, it was one unlike any we have, which seems improbable (as most of his readings are covered by one family or another), or he used no one in particular. This conclusion, suggested by La Roche, ed. p. vi is supported by his unmethodical system of citation, and his divergences in quoting the same passage in different places. The point is fortunately of no great importance, as his unsupported readings are not many (see below). In the list above it may be noted how unsubstantiated *h* appears, and how poor a show the derived families *o p q* make. This perhaps agrees with their origin, children of xith and xiiiith century MSS. Eustathius of course lived in the xiiiith century.

Readings in Eustathius which appear nowhere else are (in books *a-μ*).

*a* 41 ὁππότε ἄρ'  
78 τὸν υν.  
347 οὐ δὴ  
*β* 105 παραθείη  
192 κ' om.  
336 ὁπνίει υν.  
382, 393 ἦδ' αἰτ'  
*γ* 166 ἄ δὴ

*γ* 188 ἐλθεῖν  
283 σπέρχωσιν  
383 τῇν  
422 ἐλάσει  
*δ* 26 τώ γε  
114 ἀκούων  
195 μιν  
416 καὶ for αὐθι δ', as Bentley

δ 433 ἦεα	ι 148 σφισι
443 τίς γὰρ ἄν	108 φυτεύονται
509 ῥ' om.	262 μητιάσθαι
521 αὐτὸς for ἦτοι	278 ἐτέρων
595 γ' om.	458 ποτὶ for διὰ
644 γε	κ 25 προσέηκεν
673 ἦδὲ κέλευον	31 ἐπῆλυθε
744 τι	433 ἐλίφους for λύκους
ε 208 παρ' ἐμοὶ	λ 3 τεθέμεσθα (=τ' ἐθέμεσθα, as a l cet.)
210 ἦς for τῆς	136 δ' ἐταῖροι for δὲ λαοὶ
η 90 αἶδ' for ταὶ δ'	515 προθέεσκεν ἔδν
261 ἔρχεσθον	μ 120 αἵτοῦ
η 41 εἶασεν	200 πᾶσιν for ἐπ' ὧσιν (graphical. ω = α)
180 μέγαλα	229 χερσὶ λαβὼν υν.
277 ἡμετέρῃ	441 χαρὶβδεως
315 κ' om.	
θ 12 πύθεσθε	
39 πάντεσσι	

These lections call for no comment. Some are probably misprints.

To these readings may be added the mentions made by Eustathius of critical signs (see p. 33), and his statement (1921.57) that some MSS. contained pictures of the Homeric house (τ. on χ 126). There is such a diagram in H3 on σ 102, a plan of the house in R4 on σ 110, and a sketch of the axes and the bow in P6 on φ 136. The iota subscript sometimes quoted from Eustathius is an accident due to his age or the age of the copy of his commentary. As a scholiast, a reporter of the opinions of ancient grammarians, the scanty amount of Odyssey scholia gives Eustathius an importance he has not in the Iliad. A new edition, long a desideratum, is promised by Edgar Martini, *Rhein. Mus.* 1907. 295 sq.

### *Editio Princeps.*

Homer was first printed at Florence in 1488 (Legrand, *Bibliothèque Hellénique* i. 9) under the editorship of Demetrius Chalcondyles. We are not told what MSS. Demetrius used, but it is not difficult to discover them. A collation of the fine copy in the Queen's College Library with the Odyssey yields the following results:



	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>α</i>	6	3	4	2	3	3	6	1	0	2	1	4	0	0	0
<i>β</i>	6	4	4	2	4	4	6	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
<i>γ</i>	3	1	3	1	4	1	9	1	3	2	2	2	0	0	0
<i>δ</i>	6	5	5	3	10	10	8	0	5	6	5	3	2	1	2
<i>ε</i>	2	1	0	3	1	3	4	1	1	5	4	3	1	1	1
<i>ζ</i>	1	3	1	3	3	6	7	0	6	5	3	3	0	3	1
<i>η</i>	3	5	3	4	4	3	6	0	3	2	3	3	0	1	1
<i>θ</i>	7	2	3	8	5	2	18	0	6	11	2	5	0	0	1
<i>ι</i>	5	3	1	2	4	2	9	0	5	4	3	3	3	5	2
<i>κ</i>	2	1	1	2	3	0	12	0	4	7	12	3	0	1	4
<i>λ</i>	5	4	7	6	8	1	15	0	4	7	12	3	0	1	4
<i>μ</i>	5	4	7	6	8	1	15	0	4	7	12	3	0	1	4
<i>ν</i>	1	3	1	3	2	5	12	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	2
<i>ξ</i>	2	9	5	5	9	5	15	3	3	0	5	3	1	0	3
<i>ο</i>	0	5	3	4	9	5	16	3	1	2	6	3	1	0	3
<i>π</i>	4	4	4	4	8	5	17	0	3	3	6	5	2	4	2
<i>ρ</i>	5	1	3	4	4	2	16	0	2	4	7	2	0	0	0
<i>σ</i>	4	2	5	6	5	5	28	0	6	13	9	7	2	2	0
<i>τ</i>	2	0	3	4	11	3	31	0	10	6	3	0	0	1	3
<i>υ</i>	3	1	3	4	12	3	30	0	10	0	3	0	0	1	3
<i>φ</i>	4	1	2	3	5	3	8	0	3	7	2	0	1	0	3
<i>χ</i>	6	2	3	1	7	2	23	1	2	8	2	1	0	0	0
<i>ψ</i>	6	1	4	1	6	1	20	0	0	13	4	1	2	0	1
<i>ω</i>	1	3	3	3	6	6	19	0	1	3	1	1	1	0	1
	89	68	78	84	141	81	350	10	83	125	107	63	17	22	41
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>q</i>

The printed book agrees overwhelmingly with *g*, and is to be reckoned as another child of that mighty parent L8. The agreement begins to be striking from *θ* onwards, and reaches its maximum in *σ*, *τ*, *υ*, *χ*. Among the other families *e* comes next; the rest are on a level, with the exception of *h*, the members of which were perhaps unavailable. The derived families *o p q* also are feebly represented: *m* and *r* gave no results. Demetrius tells us he was eclectic, and used Eustathius and the commentators to form a readable text: *πραεφ.* (Legrand p. 14) σφόδρα γὰρ ἡμῶν πλειόνων ἕνεκα διὰ σπουδῆς ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν διορθώσασθαι τὰ τε Ὅμηρου ποιήματα, προσχρησαμένοις καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Εὐσταθίου ὑπομνήμασιν καὶ τὰ τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιημένα.

The modern vulgate of the *Odyssey*, from 1488 to 1711 (the date of Barnes' edition), was therefore founded on the family *g*.

The lections in the ed. princeps not found in manuscripts are these:

γ 144 ῥέζειν for ῥέζει

δ 123 τῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑδρήστη, om. ἄμ'

162 πομπὸς for πομπόν

ε 295 τ' ἔπεισεν

347 τι om.

η 33 ἔλθαι

ε 99 νηυσὶ δ' ἐν	ο 198 ἀνήσει
λ 344 ἔμμιν	557 ἐπίαυεν (misprint for ἐνίαυεν)
ο 26 τι for τοι	π 417 ἐνέειπτεν as often

Other vv. are doubtless misprints. These readings are very unimportant, and show that, as we might expect, Demetrius did not find it necessary to correct the *Odyssey* as he corrected the *Hymns* (ed. 1904, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv).

## IV.

## THE PAPYRI.

Out of the considerable number of *Odyssey* papyri which have so far (1910) been published,<sup>1</sup> the following offer variants of sufficient importance to require quotation :

- P 1 = Ox. Pap. 773 : β 304-410 : s. ii A.D.  
 P 2 = Ox. Pap. 774 : γ 226-231 : s. iii A.D.  
 P 3 = Mus. Brit. Pap. 271 : γ 267-497 : s. i. A.D. : published by Kenyon, *J. Ph.* xxii. (1894), 238 sq., Wessely, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer* vi. 1 sq. : has scholia and signs.  
 P 4 = Ox. Pap. 565 : δ 292-302 : s. ii-iii A.D.  
 P 5 = Ox. Pap. 775 : δ 388-400 : s. iii A.D.  
 P 6 = Fayûm Towns 7 : ζ 201-328 : s. i A.D. early.  
 P 7 = Ox. Pap. 778 : κ 26-50 : s. ii-iii A.D.  
 P 8 = Fayûm Towns 157 : κ 366-402 : s. i-iii A.D.  
 P 9 = Ox. Pap. 569 : λ 195-208 : s. ii A.D.  
 P 10 = Ox. Pap. 780 : λ 471-545 : s. ii A.D. (?)  
 P 11 = Fayûm Towns 310 : λ 557-610 : s. i-ii A.D.  
 P 12 = Berlin (?) 154a : ξ 15-441 : s. vii-viii A.D. (?). (Ludwich's A) : publ. by Landwehr, *Philologus* xlv. (1885), 585 sq.  
 P 13 = Amherst 23 : ο 161-210 : s. iii-iv A.D.  
 P 14 = Cairo Museum 10397 : ο 216-253 : s. ii A.D. Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1st ser. vol. 5 (1904), p. 1 'Greek Papyrus from the Cairo Museum, etc.' by E. J. Goodspeed.  
 P 15 = Ox. Pap. 571 : π 1-8 : s. i-ii A.D.  
 P 16 = Ox. Pap. 782 : ρ 137-193 : s. iii A.D.  
 P 17 = Ox. Pap. 783 : ρ 410-428 : s. i B.C. (late)  
 P 18 = Ox. Pap. 572 : σ 1-93 : s. iii A.D.  
 P 19 = Hibeh 23 : υ 41-68 : B.C. 285-250.

<sup>1</sup> See the Comptes rendus of Cionetti and Blass, *Atten. per Pap. ant. Egitto*, 1903 and 1904.

- ̳ 20 = Ox. Pap. 448 : χ 31-ψ 242 : s. iii A.D.  
 ̳ 21 = Geneva (?), Nicole *Revue de Philologie* xviii. 101 (1894) : γ 364-402  
 (? age).  
 ̳ 22 = Tebtunis vol. iii. (ined.) : α 81-102 : s. ii B.C.  
 ̳ 23 = Ox. Pap. vi. 953 : δ 97-259 : s. ii A.D.  
 ̳ 24 = Ox. Pap. vi. 956 : ψ 309-356 : s. ii-iii A.D.  
 ̳ 25 = Pap. Berlin 10568 (*Berliner Klassikertexte* v. p. 4) : τ 534-599 : s. iv-v  
 A.D.  
 ̳ 26 = Pap. Leipzig 3 (Blass, *Berichte der sachsichen Gesellschaft d. Wiss.* 1904,  
 pp 211 sqq.) : η 67-126 : s. iv. A.D.

These MSS. I have classified under three headings (1) Alexandrian readings (2) readings unattested but possible (3) coincidences with later MSS.

ALEXANDRIAN.	UNATTESTED.	COINCIDENCES.
̳ 1 —	β 401 [εἰ] δομένῃν ?	β 368 δάσονται <i>c d i k l</i> 407 om. <i>k</i> L3 M3 Pal.
̳ 2 —	γ 228 θεος ε... (s fort. ex ι)	γ 227 εἰπας P1 corr.
̳ 3 —	γ 415 τοῖς δ' ἐπιθ' (?) 483 <sup>τ</sup> δ. 487 om. 492 ποικίλα βαῖνον	γ 286 κ]ακεῖ[νος : κακ οτ κακ <i>c k</i> K T al. 364 ὀμηλικίη L1 P7 U1 Eust. 469 ποιμένα : ποιμένα <i>g</i> H3 Mon. Pal. 472 ἐνοικοδοῦντες <i>g k</i> 479 ἂν (?) <i>i</i> L4 R5 R7 T 490 ὁ δὲ τοῖς πᾶρ ξείνια θῆκεν <i>c f</i> L5 U8
<i>dipleae</i> vv. 321. 357. 396, 400, 417, 458, 461, 472, 484, 486.		
̳ 4 —	—	δ 292 τάγ' <i>f i</i> P1
̳ 5 —	—	δ 399 om. L4 U8
̳ 6 ζ 290 ἐμεῖο Zen, with <i>a e i</i> H3	ζ 288 ἀμφιδύον (?) ζ 328 οὐδε (?)	ζ 296 διελθωμεν <i>a</i> M4 * 298 ἡδὲ ἔρεσθαι L4
̳ 7 —	κ 38 εσσι (??) 46 τε	κ 31 ἐπέλαβε <i>c i p</i> L4 Pal. 34 ἐπεσσι L8 42 νεοτομεθα <i>i q</i>
̳ 8 —	κ 377 . . μ ωσταμενη	κ 368-72 om. <i>c f i k j</i> Pal. Eust.
̳ 9 —	—	λ 207 ἰκ[ελ]ον <i>c</i> P1 al.

ALEXANDRIAN.	UNATTESSED.	COINCIDENCES.
Ϝ 10 —	λ 532 <sup>ων</sup> <i>πρωεσσι</i> (?)	λ (539 <i>βιβωσα</i> vulg.) 545 <i>μεν</i> superscr.; <i>β, g j</i> (544 <i>αφεισθηκει</i> vulg.)
Ϝ 11 — λ 604 ath., om. c L7 Pal.	—	λ 588 <i>θ' c e g i j</i> (603 <i>θαλίης</i> vulg.)
Ϝ 12 —	ξ 17 <i>πανροτερον</i> (?) 36 <i>προειπε</i> (?) 50 <i>εστορε</i> ] <i>σαν δ'</i> 73 <i>ἐς</i> om. 408 <i>τετυκαιμεθα</i>	—
Ϝ 13 —	ο 206 <i>ἐπὶ</i> (as Duntzer)	ο 168 <i>διὸς</i> Mon 172 <i>μοι</i> Porph.
Ϝ 14 —	ο 222 <i>τ'</i>	ο 217 <i>ἐποτρυνων b c e i k</i> (220 <i>ἦδ' ἐπίθοντο</i> vulg.)
<i>signus</i> : diplae ο 247, 250		
Ϝ 15 —	—	(π 1 <i>κλισίης</i> vulg.)
Ϝ 16 —	—	(ρ 187 <i>γενέσθαι</i> vulg.)
Ϝ 17 —	ρ 417 <i>αλλοι</i> (?)	—
Ϝ 18 —	σ 78 <i>αλλ. . . . .</i> (name)	σ 65 <i>εὐρύμαχός τε καὶ ἀντίνοος</i> <i>b c e g i j</i> Mon.
Ϝ 19 —	υ 45 <i>θαρσει</i> (?) 46 <i>ε[ειπεν]</i> for <i>οἶδεν</i> 48 <i>πον]</i> ων 51 <i>βοας κα[ι ]τα[</i> 51a <i>]ειως απ[</i> 52 <i>ῥ]προς ε . . ν επικ[</i> 53 om. (dispensable) 55a <i>]ρος με[</i> 58a <i>]σθεν ακην εχον οι[</i> 68 <i>κομιζε</i> for <i>κομισσε</i>	υ 55 <i>ἀπέστιχε</i> Mon.
Ϝ 20 —	χ 130 <i>ἀγχοῦ τη[ς</i> λ 186 <i>δε ελιντο</i> 251 <i>μηδ' αμα</i> 252 <i>αγ]εθ' α εξ</i> (?) 274 <i>τῶ]νδ'</i> 287 <i>θερσει [τ' ἀκριτομ]υ[θε</i> ψ 192 <i>οφρατελεισ[σα</i>	χ 37 <i>τε α j k</i> Eust. 128 <i>ειτος εισαι α j</i> Mon. Eust. ε 234 <i>οφρῖδης</i> : <i>ᾠφρα ἰδης α j</i> Br 255 <i>εκελευσεν α j</i> 275 <i>βεβλήκειν j</i> Mon. 278 <i>ἄκρην α</i> Mon. P5 287 <i>πολι κέρτομε d e</i>

ALEXANDRIAN.		UNATTESTED.	COINCIDENCES.
ϣ 21	—	γ 372 θαμβησε δε λαος αχαι- ων 373 θαυ]μασεν 394 μελιγδεα οινον ερυθρον 400 παρ δε] οι	γ 373 ἐπεὶ P7 ss. Eust. (395 τ ἐπιον θ' vulg.)
ϣ 22	—	α 85 οπτι for ὄφρα 91 σπε(ι)πειν 92a add. (= δ 321)	—
ϣ 23	—	—	δ 249 κατεβη K 251 ανερωτων (ἀνηρώτων <i>d fi</i> ) (252 ἐγών ἐλόεον vulg.) 254 μή με H3 corr.
ϣ 24	—	ψ 345 ρ' om.	ψ 317 μεγάλα <i>cdf</i> Mon. U8 318 ἀφίκοντο <i>g j h</i> Mon. Euse (320 om. vulg.)
ϣ 25	—	τ 581 om. (dispensable)	—
ϣ 26	—	η 95 ερημαδατ'	η 86 ἐηλλάδατ' ss. uv., i.

These characteristics may be summed up as follows:—

	ALEXANDRIAN	UNATTESTED	LATER MSS
ϣ 1	—	2 1	2
ϣ 2	—	? 1	1
ϣ 3	—	? 4	6
ϣ 4	—	—	1
ϣ 5	—	—	1
ϣ 6	1	2 2	2
ϣ 7	—	2 2	—
ϣ 8	—	1	1
ϣ 9	—	—	1
ϣ 10	—	2 1	1
ϣ 11	1	—	1
ϣ 12	—	2 5	—
ϣ 13	—	1	2
ϣ 14	—	1	—
ϣ 15	—	—	—
ϣ 16	—	—	—
ϣ 17	—	? 1	—
ϣ 18	—	1	—
ϣ 19	—	10	—
ϣ 20	—	7	7
ϣ 21	—	4	1
ϣ 22	—	3	—
ϣ 23	—	—	3
ϣ 24	—	1	2
ϣ 25	—	1	—
ϣ 26	—	1	1

The strongly-marked character of  $\mathfrak{P}_3$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}_{19}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}_{20}$ , and  $\mathfrak{P}_{21}$  is evident. The novelties of  $\mathfrak{P}_{19}$  it must be remembered are mainly the addition of new lines. The papyri it is plain offer the same genus of variant as the minuscules.<sup>1</sup> They show, however, little tendency to continue one minuscule family back rather than another: the coincidences of  $\mathfrak{P}_3$  and  $\mathfrak{P}_7$  are about evenly spread:  $\mathfrak{P}_{19}$  has one coincidence with Mon.,  $\mathfrak{P}_{20}$ , which is the most fertile in anticipations, agrees 5 times with  $\alpha$ , 5 times with  $j$ , 3 times with  $k$ . The length of the fragment gives some weight to these figures, but the evidence as a whole comes to very little.

$\mathfrak{P}_3$  is important for its scholia, only too scanty. The diplac in  $\mathfrak{P}_3$   $\mathfrak{P}_{14}$  deserve notice: the strictly non-critical signs were the first to go: among the minuscule MSS. of the Iliad and Odyssey few survive (on  $\kappa$  232-40, 244-7 in L8,  $\phi$  10-13 in H3). The most striking feature of the papyri is the practically entire absence of Alexandrian connection, whether as anticipation or as obedience: this characteristic is common to the Iliad papyri, and clearly negatives the view—if any disproof be needed—that the late-classical and mediaeval vulgate was formed under the influence of Alexandria.

## V.

The ears bound into sheaves, a report may be expected on the harvest. The most vital and interesting information we may hope from new collations is upon the extent to which phonetic development in the Homeric text took place during the diplomatic period, in other words, how far the paradosis was still working in the age of Triclinius and Tzetzes. I do not mean itacisms or trivial vowel-changes such as  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\eta\sigma\iota$ , but substantial signs of the survival of the epic dialect:  $\gamma$ g. how at  $\beta$  211 H3 has  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ , while its children insert  $\gamma'$ ; the absence of the usual augment, as  $\beta$  2;  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega\mu\iota$  resisting  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\iota\mu\iota$   $\chi$ 7, and  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\eta\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  holding out against  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ; primitive vowels visible in  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ ,  $\gamma\omicron\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$ , and a number of singular alternatives,  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron$  cf. pp. 28, 40). This subject, however, must be treated with the whole evidence together, the Iliad as well as the Odyssey, and would far outrun the limits of an article.

<sup>1</sup> Omissions:  $\beta$  407 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  1.  $\gamma$  487 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  3.  $\delta$  399 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  5.  $\kappa$  368-72 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  8.  $\lambda$  604 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  11, and  $\tau$  581 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  25. Linguistic survival (<sup>2</sup>  $\xi$  298 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  6, deterioration  $\gamma$  472 in  $\mathfrak{P}$  3. Additions:  $\epsilon$  51 a. 55 a. 58 a in  $\mathfrak{P}$  19.  $\alpha$  92 a in  $\mathfrak{P}$  22.

Two points may properly be considered here: omissions of lines, and the extent to which Alexandrian readings have made their way into our MSS.

*A.—Omissions.<sup>1</sup>*

Omissions of one or more lines are usually determined by graphical conditions, *i.e.* various forms of homoeoptosis, which in hexameter verse especially has an extensive and subtle effect.<sup>2</sup> Deduction made of all such cases, the omissions in our mediaeval MSS. are considerable. A second distinction has to be made between omissions which interrupt the construction and sense, and those which do not. The former, which are comparatively few, must be regarded as casual inexplicable errors—a category which has to be admitted. Such are β 271 (*r*), ε 235 (*q*), κ 21 (L4), μ 441 (*r* U8), π 318 (Mon.), τ 458 (R4 V4), υ 83 (*dr* P1), φ 302 (*q*), 386 (*q*).

The rest, though the propriety of the omission of some of them is disputable, do not absolutely interfere with the continuity. They amount to about 240. These may be classed under these heads: (1) Formulae, which may be inserted or omitted without damage to the context: (2) lines found in other places and more in place there (a well-known Alexandrian category): (3) supplements to the sense or syntax. Further, a few correspond to atheteses or other ancient criticisms, though the great majority are independent.

*Formulae.*

α 148 κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο om. L4 L6 R5 R6

β 393 ἐνθ' αὐτ' ἀλλ' ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη om. L4 M2

426 ἔλκον δ' ἰστία λευκὰ ἐνστρέπτοισι βοεῖσι om. H3 (= o 291)

γ 396 οἱ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος om. L4

<sup>1</sup> La Roche, *ed. praef.* pp. xii, xiii has a simple enumeration.

<sup>2</sup> Four cases may be distinguished: homoearchon, homoeomeson, homoeoteleuton, and one which I must call 'heads and tails,' *i.e.* where the end of one line affects the beginning of the next, or *vice versa*. Homoeomeson is exceeding powerful.

(1) Homoearchon: α 381, 2 δ 432, ? ε 29 λ 218, 407 ξ 434 ρ 338, 339 τ 458 υ 83 φ 109, 334, 335 χ 146 ω 276, 533. (2) Homoeomeson: β 408 θ 182, 435, 436 ι 426, 563 λ 517, 518 ξ 476 ο 451 ρ 277, 314, 395, 547 τ 466 υ 46, 152 φ 122, 123, 302, 318 χ 317, 329 ψ 178, 179 (?) ω 217, 398. (3) Homoeoteleuton: α 139 δ 75, 293, 753 ε 247 η 80, 288 ι 89, 361, 437 λ 513-515 ο 48 σ 119, 120, 155 φ 109, 189 ψ 241, 242. (4) 'Head- and Tails': δ 432 ζ 21 κ 402 λ 545 ν 258-261 σ 119, 120 τ 18 ω 354. These examples are taken from the Oxford edition. The MSS. exhibit an infinity. For a list from the Hymns, see *J.H.S.* xv. 272 sq.

- γ 416a αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο om. *io* P2 P7 R14 U8  
 487 δύσέτο τ' ἡέλιος σκυῖωντο δὲ πᾶσαι ἀγνιαί, om. Ψ3  
 493 ἐκ δ' ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου om. all but *fxi*  
 δ 57 δαιτρός δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰέρας  
 58 παντοίων παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει χρύσεια κύπελλα om. *a b c g* R5  
 (= α 141, 142) τὸ δίστιχον ἀπαρκεῖ Athen.  
 399 τοί γαρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω om. Ψ5 L4 U8  
 θ 27 ὄφρ' εἴπω τὰ με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνώγει om. *q* L4 and Pal. m. 2  
 464 Νανσικία θύγατερ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο om. R9  
 ι 30 ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι λιαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι om. all but *o* Br C P1 V4  
 531 υἱὸν Λαέρτew Ἰθάκη ἐνὶ οἰκί' ἔχοντα om. all but P3 P7  
 547 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης om. *g* U5 U8  
 κ 265 καὶ μ' ὀλοφνρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα om. all but *k p* L2 U2  
 368-372 χέριβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχύψ' ἐπέχευε φέρουσα κτλ. om. Ψ8 *efijk* Eust.  
 430 καὶ σφας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα om. *cfk*  
 456 διογενὲς λαερτιάδῃ πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ om. all but *g p* L2 P6  
 470 μηνῶν φθινόντων περὶ δ' ἤματα μακρὰ τελέσθη om. all but *a b d g l*  
 482 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα om. L4 Pal. P3 U5 U8  
 504 διογενὲς λαερτιάδῃ πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ om. *g j* L4 Pal. R2 R10 U8  
 λ 60 *id.* om. all but *g o* L2 P6 U7  
 92 *id* om. all but *q* U5 Eust.  
 μ 6 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βῆμεν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης om. all but *ce g*  
 147 ἐξῆς δ' ἐξόμενοι πολὺν ἄλα τύπον ἐρετμοῖς om. all but *b i p q*  
 ξ 154 ἔσσαι με χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνα τε εἴματα καλά om. *b c g h i k*  
 ο 63 τηλέμαχος φίλος υἱὸς Ὀδυσσεύος θεῖοιο om. all but *efj*  
 139 εἶδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθείσα χαριζομένη παρόντων om. all but *d f g h*  
 143 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδντύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο om. *g*  
 ρ 49 εἰς ὑπερῶ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν om. *ce* Eust.  
 σ 59 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὁμοσάν τε τελεύτησάν τε τὸν ὄρκον om. *g* P5 Eust.  
 τ 153 μηνῶν φθινόντων περὶ δ' ἤματα μακρὰ τελέσθη om. *d j k* P1  
 φ 270 τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ἔδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν om. *r* R7  
 χ 191 υἱὸς Λαέρταο πολέτλας διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς om. *c g h i j k* R4  
 ω 53 ὁ σφιν ἐνφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν om. *q*  
 121 Ἀτρεΐδῃ κῦδιστε ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων om. all but *b c d f* P1 P6 U8  
 143 μηνῶν φθινόντων περὶ δ' ἤματα μακρὰ τελέσθη om. *ce g h*  
 542 διογενὲς λαερτιάδῃ πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ om. RS

(2) Phrases which though not absolutely formulaic occur twice or more.

- β 4 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα (= ε 44)  
 191 πρῆξαι δ' ἔμπης οὔτι δινῆσεται εἵνεκα τῶνδε (= Α 562)  
 429 ἡ δ' ἔθεν κατὰ κύμα διαπρήσσονσα κέλεθον (= Α 483)  
 δ 783 πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν ἀνά θ' ἰστία λευκὰ πέταυσαν (= θ 54 al.) om. *a k g* H3 Pal.  
 Eust. περιττὸς δοκεῖ οὔτος ὁ στίχος schol., cf. δ 58 above



- ε 157 δάκρυσι καὶ στοναχῇσι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων (=88) om. *a i i j* L4 Pal.  
 ζ 313-315 εἴ κέν τοι κείνῃ γε φίλα φρονέησ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ κτλ. (=η 75-77) om. *a g i j k*  
 η 225 κτήσιν ἐμὴν δμῶας τε καὶ ὑπερεφές μέγα δῶμα (=τ 526) om. R9 (a supplement  
 of the accusative)  
 θ 303 βῆ δ' ἵμεναι πρὸς δῶμα φίλον τετυγμένους ἦτορ (=β 298) om. all but *d j r*  
 C P7 R7  
 κ 201 κλαῖον δὲ λίγεις θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες  
 202 ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ τις πρῆξις ἐρίγνετο μυρομένοισιν (=568) om. *g* L4 R2 V4  
 253 ξεστοῦνεν λίεσσι περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ (=211) om. all but *p* L2 P7  
 315 καλοῦ δαιδαλέον. ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνης ποσὶν ἦεν (=367) om. L4 T U8 Z om. Ar.  
 475-479 ὥς ἔφην αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γ' ἐπεπειθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ  
 ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμῶν κτλ. (=183-186) om. *f* H3 Eust.  
 λ 109 ἡελίον ὅς πᾶντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πᾶντ' ἐπακοίει (=μ 323) om. L8  
 343 ὅς δ' ἡ φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν προγενέστερος ἦεν (=η 156) om. *b c e*  
 604 παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου καὶ Ἡβης χρυσοπεδύλου (=Hes. Theog. 952) om. *c*  
 P11 L7 Pal. *ath.*  
 μ 140 νῆι τε καὶ ἑτάροισ' αὐτὸς δ' εἴ πέρ κεν ἀλίξεῃς  
 141 ὅψ' ἐ κακῶς νέαι, ὀλέσας ἅπο πάντας ἑταίρους (=λ 113, 114) om. *b g i j* Eust.  
 207 μιλίχοις ἐπέεσσι παρασταδὸν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον (=κ 547) om. L4  
 ν 289 καλῇ τε μεγάλῃ τε καὶ ἀγλαῇ ἔργα ἰδνίη (=π 158) om. L4 Pal.  
 347 ἀγρόθι δ' αὐτῆς ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἡροειδές  
 348 ἱρὸν νυμφάων αἰ νηίδες καλέονται (=103, 104) om. *g k* L7  
 428 ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων οἳ τοι βίοντα κατέδουσιν (=396) om. *o* U5  
 ξ 369 τῷ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν παναχαιοί  
 370 ἥδ' ἐκε καὶ ᾧ παιδί μέγα κλέος ἦρατ' ὀπίσσω (=α 239 ω 32) om. *b g i k* Eust.  
 515-517 αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν ἔλθουσιν Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος νῖός κτλ. (=ο 337-340) om. all but  
*a d f l*  
 ο 113-119 δώρων δ' ὅσ' ἐν ἐμῷ οἴκῳ κειμήλια κεῖται κτλ. (=δ 613-619) om. *b i* H3 L5  
 π 317 αἶ τέ σ' ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ αἰ νηλίτιδές εἰσιν (=τ 498 χ 418) om. *a l* L4 R6 U1  
 ρ 402 δμῶων οὐ κατὰ δώματ' Ὀδυσσῆος θεῖον (=σ 417) om. *g* Mon.  
 σ 413 Νίσου φαίδιμος νῖος Ἀρητιῶδα ἀνακτος (=π 395) om. all but *g i j* Pal.  
 τ 291 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ πρὶν ἀπέπεμψε· τίχῃσε γὰρ ἐρχομένη νηῖς  
 292 ἀνδρῶν Θεσπρωτῶν ἐς Δουλίχιον πολίπευρον om. *h j k* (=ξ 334, 335)  
 υ 145 ἔγχος ἔχον ἄμα τῷ γε δύν κένες ἄργοι ἔποιτο (=β 11) om. *d* L5 P1  
 φ 66 ἀμφίπολος δ' ὄρα οἳ κεδνὴ ἐκάτερθε παρέστη (=σ 211) om. *c* M2 Mon. Pa.  
 U5 U8  
 219 οὐλὴν τὴν ποτὲ με σῖς ἤλυσεν λευκῷ ὀδόντι  
 220 Πυρρησιόδ' ἐλθόντα σὺν νύσῃσι Αἰτολῆκοιο (=τ 394, 395) om. Mon. U6  
 386 ὥς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῖθος (=ρ 57 al.) om. *g*  
 χ 43 πάπτηνεν δὲ ἕκαστος ὅπῃ φύγοι αἰπὴν ὀλεθρον (=Ξ 507) om. all but *d f r*  
 ψ 48 αἶματι καὶ λίθῳ πεπαλαγμένους ὥστε λέοντα (=χ 402) om. all but *d f r*  
 126 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐμμεμῶτες ἄμ' ἐψόμεθ' οὐδέ τί φημι  
 127 ἀλκῆς δεινέστεσθαι, ὥση δ' ἐνυμῖς γε πάρεσται (=Ν 785, 6) om. all but *p* U2 U8  
 Eust.

- 163 ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθον βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος (= γ 468 al.) om. *e*  
 ω 479 οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον μὲν ἐβούλεσας νόον αὐτῇ  
 480 ὥς ἦτοι κείνους Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀποτίσεται ἐλθών; (= ε 23. 24) om. *a*, 480 om. U6

(3) The third class consists of such omissions as are not explicable by graphical considerations, and do not fall under (1) and (2); and must therefore be regarded as cases of dispensable supplement: viz. a line or lines not strictly essential to sense or grammar (s.=sense, g.=grammar) but which assist one or the other.

- β 140 ἱμὰ κτήματ' ἔδοντες ἀμειβόμενοι κατὰ οἴκους om. U5 (s.)  
 421 ἀκραῇ ζέφυρον κελάδοντ' ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον om. *d* (s.)  
 γ 42 Παλλὰδ' Ἀθηναίην κούρην Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο om. O (? g.)  
 209 πατρί τ' ἐμῷ καὶ ἐμοί· νῦν δὲ χρὴ τετλάμεν ἔμψης (g.)  
 om. R12<sup>1</sup> περιττός, ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ schol. H3  
 358 Αἴγισθον δολομήτην ὃ οἱ πατέρα κλυτὸν ἔκτα (s.) om. *k*  
 381 αὐτῷ καὶ παιδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτῃ (s.) om. *f*  
 δ 75 ὅσσα τάδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβος μ' ἔχει εἰσπορόντα (s) om. Pal.  
 273 Ἀργείων Τρώεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες (s.) om. H3 Pal. R11  
 303 Τηλέμαχος θ' ἦρωσ καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός (s.) om. L4 L6  
 δ 330 δῆμῳ ἐνὶ Τρώων ὄθι πάσχετε πῆματ' Ἀχαιοί (s.) om. R9  
 432 καὶ τότε δὴ παρὰ θίνα θαλάσσης εἵρηνύροιο (s.) om. *a b c g i j k*  
 ε 469 αἶρη δ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ ψυχρὴ πνέει ἡῶθι πρό (s.) om. C  
 ζ 213 Ναυσικαία θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο (g nom.) om. *k*  
 η 5 ἴσταντ' ἀθανάτοισι ἐναλίγκιοι οἳ ῥ' ὑπ' ἀπῆνης (s.) om. L4  
 161 οἷδε δὲ σὸν μῖθον ποτιδέγμενοι ἰσχανόωνται (s.) om. L4  
 θ 58 ἀγρομένων· πολλοὶ δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν νέοι ἡδὲ παλαιοί (s.) om. *a b d g i L4*  
 430 καὶ οἱ ἐγὼ τόδ' ἄλυσον ἐμὸν περικαλλὲς ὀπίσσω  
 431 χρίσειον ὄφρ' ἐμέθεν μεμνημένος ἥματα πάντα  
 432 σπείδῃ ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ Διί τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν (s.) om. U5 Z  
 κ 6 ἔξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἔξ δ' υἱέες ἡβώωντες (s.) om. T (or ex homoeomieso with γ)  
 λ 546 τείχεσιν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος· ἔθηκε δὲ πόντινι μήτηρ (s.) om. U5  
 ν 82 πάντες ἄρ' ὀρμηθέντες ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἱμάσθλης (s.) om. *a*  
 391 σὲν σοὶ πύτνα θεὰ ὅτε μοι πρόφραυσ' ἐπαμύγους (s.) om. U5  
 ἱππονοεῖται ὁ στίχος schol.  
 ο 345 ἄνδρες ὄντιν' ἴκηται ἄλῃ καὶ πῆμα καὶ ἄλγος (s.) om. *g k*  
 π 19 μοῖνον τηλύγετον τῷ ἔπ' ἄλγει πολλά μογήσῃ (s.) om. *d*  
 50 ὀπταλέων ἃ ῥα τῇ προτέρῃ ἐπέλειπον ἔδοντες (s.) om. *d g P1 R1*  
 357 νῆμα παρερχομένην, τὴν δ' οὐκ ἐδίναιτο κίχῃναι (g. accus.) om. U5  
 ρ 432 αἴψα μάλ' Ἀλγυπτίων ἠνδρῶν περικαλλέας ἀγρούς (g. accus.) om. *a d l*  
 565 τῶν ὕβρις τε βίη τε σιδήρεον οἶρανὸν ἵκει (s.) om. *b c i j* H3 Mon.  
 σ 131 πάντων ὅσσα τε γαίῳ ἐπι πνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει (s. gnome) om. H3 L8 Pal. U5  
 Plutarch

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps in obedience to the scholion.

- σ 309 αἶα πάλαι περίκῃλα νέον κεκασμένα χαλκῶ (s.) om. R2  
 τ 62 καὶ δέπα ἔνθεν ἄρ' ἄνδρες ὑπερμενέοντες ἔπινον (s.) om. d l  
 77 τοίφ' ὁποίος ἔσι καὶ ὅτεν κεχρημένος ἔλθοι (s.) om. d l  
 122 φῆ δὲ δακρυπλῶειν βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνῳ (s.) om. k  
 υ 335 γήμασθ' ὅστις ἄριστος ἀνὴρ καὶ πλείστα πόρῃσιν (? g. object to κατάλεξον)  
 om. g  
 φ 244 ἐς δ' ἄρα καὶ τῷ δμῶε ἵτην θείου Ὀδυσῆος (s.) om. Mon.  
 308 εἰς Ἐχετον βασιλῆα βροτῶν δηλήμονα πάντων (s. or g. ?) om. a k o Br  
 χ 200 ὥς ὁ μὲν αἰθι λείπειτο ταθεῖς ὀλοῶ ἐνὶ δεσμῶ (s.) om. g  
 ψ 320 πάντας· Ὀδυσσεὺς δ' οἶος ὑπέκφυγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ (s.) om. all but a j p US

Coincidences with ancient atheteses are few (γ 209, δ 58, 783, λ 604, ν 391), and it is by no means certain that if the scholia were fuller the coincidences would be more numerous. The additions, however, are identical with the class of lines which Alexandrian criticism endeavoured to indicate if not to expel by means of its symbols. The MS. evidence seems to show that the Homeric vulgate was still alive in the middle-ages, and that the tendency was to its increase, whether by formulae, lines found in other passages, or additions thought desirable to ease the grammar<sup>1</sup> or to amplify the sense. The evidence we have collected shows how near the process was to completion; only certain MSS. resisted it; and resistance to the process is what we mean in this case by 'omission.' Each passage the textual critic must consider on its merits, for abundance is as natural to epos as terseness; but on the whole the MS. omissions do not seem to admit of another explanation than that of imperfectly accomplished amplification. We cannot credit the mediaeval scribes with consciously assisting this process: the additions, ascribed even by the Alexandrians to *τινές*, accrued in the course of history, through the agency of the reciter, as long as the poems were recited; and in later times through the private reader, who added what he took for omissions to his copy. *Collation* incorporated these additions with the body of the text, and collation is the sphere of the scribe. The converse process, viz. addition of lines in a minority of MSS., or in isolated MSS., may be studied in the apparatus.

#### B.—*Survivals of Aristarchean Readings.*

The Aristarchean readings which are found in our MSS. are shown in the following table. Aristarchus has been treated as generously as

<sup>1</sup> For instance, to provide a pendant verb with an accusative.

possible, and scholia with οὐτως or ἡ γραφή have been invariably taken as giving Aristarchus' reading. The total, however, is so small (151 recorded readings as against 664 on the Iliad) that the results may justifiably be suspected. It might be maintained that Aristarchus neglected the Odyssey, or left his judgment upon it to be inferred from his pronouncements on the Iliad, though there is no direct evidence for such a view. But the remarkable paucity of readings, from π onwards, and the total absence of any on υ and ψ, make the ordinary view much more probable, namely that we have lost a great deal of material bearing upon the Odyssey. This coincides with the smaller number of Papyri and MSS., the scanty scholia, and the relative brevity of Eustathius. The figures therefore might seem negligible considering the scanty data; but it is to be noticed that the percentage of total survivals is nearly the same in the Odyssey as in the Iliad:

Iliad 55 per cent. ( $\frac{9}{11}$ ),<sup>1</sup> Odyssey 56·6 per cent.

When these survivals themselves are analysed the results are somewhat different:

			ILIAD	ODYSSEY
All MSS.	..	.	18	27 p.c.
Minority	...	...	36	50 p.c.
Sporadic	...	..	45	22 p.c.

(Decimals are neglected.) The total of Aristarchean survivals in either poem is therefore very much the same; but the Aristarchean reading has forced its way into unanimity or into a considerable number of MSS. more frequently in the Odyssey than in the Iliad; the number of casual or sporadic survivals is less in the Odyssey than in the Iliad.

This result agrees with the facility with which the Odyssey MSS. fall into families, and with the comparative absence of independent MSS.

*Summary of Aristarchean Readings found in MSS. of the Odyssey.*

	READINGS.	CONFIRMED.		ALL MSS.	MINORITY	ONE	TWO
α	10	4	=	1	2	1	
β	4	3	=	—	3	—	
γ	14	6	=	1	5	—	
δ	19	11	=	3	4	4	
ε	15	7	=	—	4	3	
ζ	7	4	=	1	1	2	
η	6	3	=	1	2	—	
θ	8	5	=	2	3	—	

<sup>1</sup> C.R. 1899, p. 432

	READINGS.	CONFIRMED.		ALL MSS.	MINORITY.	ONE OR TWO
ι	8	6	=	1	5	—
κ	10	7	=	2	3	2
λ	14	9	=	4	3	2
μ	6	4	=	—	2	2
ν	2	2	=	—	2	—
ξ	7	4	=	2	2	—
ο	5	2	=	1	1	—
π	2	2	=	1	1	—
ρ	2	2	=	—	2	—
σ	4	1	=	1	—	—
τ	5	4	=	2	2	—
υ	—	—	—	—	—	—
φ	1	—	—	—	—	—
χ	1	0	—	—	—	—
ψ	—	—	—	—	—	—
ω	1	0	—	—	—	—
	151	86		23	47	16

## VI.

What is the origin of the variants in the diplomatic Homeric text—the variants in general and the Alexandrian variants in particular? I endeavoured *C.R.* 1900, p. 291 to explain the Alexandrian variants in the Iliad MSS. as the result of the ‘adscription and absorption of marginal readings.’ This explanation did not satisfy Mr. Walter Leaf who (*Iliad* vol. ii. 1902, p. xxiii.) says ‘this seems to me to explain nothing, for it raises the obvious question, whence came these variants?’

The origin of variants in literary texts where there are not special conditions involved, such as in the case of Homer recitation, or double editions, incomplete draughts, and other specific circumstances, such as are sometimes involved, is to be sought in the accidents natural to transmission by hand-labour: omissions, transference, substitution of one word for another; and in the comment of the reader.<sup>1</sup> The spread and

<sup>1</sup> This is often invoked by Galen xvi. 202 φαίνεται τοίνυν προσγραφέν υπό τινος, αὐδὲς δὲ εἰς τοῦδαφος ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου μεταθεῖσθαι; cf. also 909. xvi. 634 δῆλον ὅτι παραγέγραπται τοῦτο πρὸς τινος: τάχα δὲ τις καὶ προσέγραψεν ἔνεκεν ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθαμεν ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἐν τοῖς μετωπίοις τὰ τοιαῦτα προσγράφειν. εἰτά τις τῶν μεταγραφόντων . . . εἰς τὸ ὕφος αὐτὸ μετέθηκεν. The meaning of ἔδαφος is ‘text,’ κείμενον, not as in the Lexx. ‘original’: as i<sup>4</sup>. xvi. 837 μέλανα μὲν ὑπὸ Καπίτωνος ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔδαφει, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέτωπον [margin] ὑπὸ τοῦ Διοσκουρίδου, or simply ‘manu-script.’ i<sup>4</sup>. 468 ἄλλοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιοῖς ἔδαφοις γεγράφθαι οὕτω φασιν: cf. also 468, 634, xviii. 2. 863, 909. Another word for ‘text’ is ὕφος: xvi. 80 ἐνίστε γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς πράγματος διττῶς ἡμῶν γραζάντων. εἰτά τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας γραφῆς κατὰ τὸ ὕφος οὕσης. τῆς δ’ ἐτέρας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν μετωπίων . . . ὁ πρῶτος μεταγράφων τὸ βιβλίον ἀμφότερα ἔγραψεν. Schol. Pind. Ol. v. 1 αὐτῇ ἢ αὐτῇ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἔδαφοις οὐκ ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Διδύμου ὑπομνήμασιν ἐλέγχετο Πινδαρου. Cf. further for μέτωπον Galen xvii. 2. 114, μετώπια xvii. 2. 194, μετώπιον and νῆτον (teigum) xv. 624.

intercommunication of variants is due to the process habitual in the ancient book-world known as *collation* (*ἀντιβολή*, *ἀντιβάλλειν*, *συναντιβάλλης* *C.I.G.* xii. 132. 5).<sup>1</sup>

Let us hear Strabo. Strabo (790) says there were two writers in his day who composed a book on the Nile. The books were almost identical, *πλὴν γὰρ τῆς τάξεως τά γε ἄλλα καὶ τῇ φράσει καὶ τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει ταῦτά ἐστι κείμενα παρ' ἀμφοτέροις*. 'Therefore,' says he, 'I, having no copies at hand for collation, collated the one with the other' (*ἀπορούμενος ἀντιγράφων εἰς τὴν ἀντιβολὴν ἐκ θατέρου θάτερον ἀντέβαλον*). Which the plagiarist was he leaves to the oracle of Ammon. This anecdote is intelligible only if we realise that an ancient historian or geographer, wishing to utilise the statements of a given book for scientific purposes did not venture to do so until he had procured a second copy of the book in question, and by a collation of the two copies eliminated graphical errors. He would naturally erase or correct the errors he found in one copy in the sense of the more correct version of the other.

To do so was indeed the duty of the publisher himself, but a duty often neglected, as Strabo again tells us (609) in his celebrated account<sup>2</sup> of the Peripatetic corpus which was brought to Rome by Tyrannio and published by *βιβλιοπῳαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων, καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ*. Where this had not been done the published book was *ἀδιόρθωτον* (or *ἀνεπανόρθωτον*, as Galen xvi. 80), or, to use a more technical term, *ἀστιγές*, 'unpointed.'

This expression we find in Stephanus of Byzantium:<sup>3</sup> *Ἀνακτόριον . . . καὶ Εὐγένιος δέ, ὁ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι σχολὰς διακοσμήσας ἐν συλλογῇ λέξεων διὰ διφθόγγου φησιν. ἔοικε δὲ ἀστιγεῖ (ἰ.λ. ἀγενεῖ) ἐν τετυχηκέναι βιβλίῳ, ἡμεῖς γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ἰ εὗρομεν.—Βάβρας . . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βαβράντιος, εὗρηται καὶ ἰσοσυλλάβως ἢ κλίσις ἐν ἀστιγεῖ (ἰ.λ. ἀγενεῖ).*

<sup>1</sup> Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, pp. 265 *sqq.* has some patristic examples.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated by Plutarch, *Sulla* 26.—In the anecdote above Diels (*Rh. Mus.* xxv. 11 n.) mis-sings the point thinks *ἀντιγράφων εἰς τὴν ἀντιβολὴν* a 'later addition'. As if such additions were made! Strabo, who is full of 'readings,' *γραφαί*, *οἱ μεταγράφωντες*, etc., has at least two references to *ἀντίγραφα*: the MSS. of Thucydides (374) which gave the form *Μεθώνη* for *Μεθάνα*, and the ancient MSS. of Homer (550). The earliest occasion in antiquity when a graphical error enters into consideration appears to be Polybius xii. 4 n. 4 *τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν εἴς εἴπειε δῆπου τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι τὸ διάπτωμα, τοῦ δὲ γραφέως ὁμολογουμένως* (a numerical discrepancy in I phorus).

<sup>3</sup> Some of the following passages were utilised by Lehrs, *Aristarchus* p. 348, and before him by Vilkinson, *Diatriba*, pp. 135 *sqq.* Few have made their way into the manuals.

ἀρινεῖ) βιβλίῳ. In ἀγενεῖ we have a gloss, and ἀρινεῖ shows how it came in.<sup>1</sup>

Στίζειν 'to prick' has various meanings in palaeography: to punctuate, to put in accents and breathings, and to 'dot' words requiring correction and so to correct them. For the second sense I borrow Epiphanius IV. p. 3, Dind. from Gardthausen *Gr. Pal.* p. 282: ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες κατὰ προσωδίαν ἔστιξαν τὰς γραφάς, καὶ περὶ προσωδίαν τάδε. The wail of the scribe 'Επιθίου 'Αθηναίου στίξαντος τὴν Καθόλου has more point if we suppose him adding προσωδίαί to the Προσώδια (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 206):

ταυτολόγων κανόνων φεῦ πληθύος ἡδ' αἰδήλων  
 ξυσμάων <sup>2</sup> λεπτοὺς τὰς ἐχάραξε δόναξ·  
 ὄμματά <sup>3</sup> μου κέκμηκε, τένων, ῥάχης, ἰνίων, ὄμοι·  
 τῆς καθόλου δὲ φέρω τὴν ὀδύνην καθόλου.

The exuberance of Comatas' metaphors (*ib.* xv. 38) makes it uncertain if he punctuated, accentuated, or corrected; he may have done all three.

εὐρών Κομητῆς τὰς Ὀμηρεῖους βίβλους  
 ἐφθαρμένας τε κοῦδαμῶς ἐστιγμένας,  
 στίξας διεσμύλευσα ταύτας εὐτέχνως,  
 τὴν σαπρίαν μὲν ῥίψας ὡς ἀχρηστίαν,  
 γράψας δ' ἐκαινούργησα τὴν εὐχρηστίαν.  
 ἐντεῦθεν οἱ γράφοντες οὐκ ἐσφαλμένως  
 μαθητιῶσιν ὡς ἔοικε μανθάνειν.

The same achievement is sung in 36 and 37.<sup>4</sup>

Στίζειν is used of correction literally when it implies the denoting of a faulty word by dots and other small signs which warn the reader, or carry his eye to the correction in the margin. I have been shown minute single dots placed above faulty words without further correction. It is

<sup>1</sup> Under Γεδρωσία Stephanus has the usual expression: ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῦ Πολύστορος διὰ τοῦ π εὐρέθη ἡ πρώτη συλλαβή, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀδιόρθωτον τὸ βιβλίον.

<sup>2</sup> Ξυσμοί, 'scratches,' are probably accents. Vat. 1553 (theol. s. x-xi) has an index; ἔχει ἡ δέλτος αὕτη φύλλα **CC** διακόσια ἐνεήκοντα· θ' ἐξ αὐτὰν ἀξυστα (i.e. rough, unlexigated; one of the eight remains, in this condition). Στίγματα could mean letters in general: Aelian ap. Suid. in 'Αναδεύειν Καταδεύειν, Στίγματα).

<sup>3</sup> Scribes' eyes suffered from the white material: Galen iii. 776 πρῶτον μὲν τῶν γραφένων καὶ μάλιστ' ἦταν ἐν λευκαῖς διφθέραις γράφασιν, ὥς κάμνειν ῥαδίως αὐτῶν τὴν ὄψιν.

<sup>4</sup> Even the 'interlinear gloss' finds its expression in literature: schol. I. Geophr. 275 καὶ αἱ αἰ μὲν λεξείς οὕτως ἔχουσι, περὶ ὧν οὐκέτι γινώσκω γράφει σὺ δὲ ταυτὰς ἀέσθον τῶν στίχων.

unnecessary to labour a point familiar to all palaeographers. I refer to MS. Munich 17 (quoted below), and Galen xvi. 80, Dioscurides' procedure : γράφει οὐκ ἐπίσκληρος ἀλλ' ἐπίσκληρον διὰ τοῦ ν̄, καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λ ἄνωθεν ἐπιθεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιστίζει (sc. λ̄). Cf. xvii. 557 al. Joann. Alex. p. 6 (whom I borrow from Lehrs) uses καταστίζειν. A book which had undergone revision might be called κεκωλισμένον, 'compared clause by clause'; ἐν τοῖς κεκωλισμένοις ἀντιγράφοις Proclus in *Plat. remp.* ii. 218. 1 Kroll, *κεκώλισται* schol. Nub. Vesp. ad fin.

The possessor then of a βιβλίον ἀστιγὲς or ἀδιόρθωτον proceeded to a collation of his own. This is implied by Strabo, and is carried out before our eyes by Galen. This most learned and conscientious of men has the following references to 'copies' in Kuhn's first 14 volumes :

vii. 659 (Hippocrates) γράφεται δὲ διχῶς ἢδε ἢ ῥήσις, ἐπὶ τισι μὲν ἀντιγράφοις οὕτως, ἐπὶ τισι δὲ ἄνευ τοῦ εἰσίν.

892 οὐκ οἶν ἐμελλε παραλείπειν τινα δύσπνοιαν· ἀλλὰ τις τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλιογράφων ἤμαρται, ἐπεὶ θ' οὕτως ἔχον ἔφθασεν ἐκδοθῆναι τὸ βιβλίον ἐφυλάχθη τε εἰκότως μέχρι δεῦρο τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τὸ σφάλμα, τινῶν μὲν ὀλιγῶρος ὁμιλούντων τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίοις ὡς μήτ' εἰ λείπει τι, μήτ' εἰ δι' ἑτέρου γράμματος εἴρηται γνωρίζειν· ἐνίων δὲ γνωρίζοντων μὲν ἀλλὰ προσθεῖναι τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ τολμώντων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁμοίως τοῖς τῶν οἱ πρόσθεν εὐχερεῖς ἦσαν, οὐδ' ἔτοιμοι παραγράφειν παλαιὰν λέξιν ὡσαύτως γεγραμμένην ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις, ἀλλ' ἐπισημῆσθαι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν ἦν, ὡς ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἑλλιπῶς, ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐπιδημιῶν τελείως ἢ διαίρεσις γέγραπται. His severity with regard to the reader and student is to be noticed<sup>1</sup>. Sim. 893. The following instances display his own exactitude :

896 ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ ἀξιόπιστοτάτοις τῶν ἀντιγράφων παραλείπεται : sim. 899, 900.

vi. 473 ἀρχὴ δὲ ἐστὶ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ διαίτης βιβλίου] κατὰ μὲν ἕνα τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἢδε —, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἢδε —.

512 ἐν τισι δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐδ' ὅλως αἱ ζεαὶ φέρονται, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸ ταῖς ἡρεταῖς ἐν τισιν οὐχ οὕτως ἀλλὰ χρεῖαις γέγραπται.

727 γέγραπται μέντοι διττῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦνομα, γαλεοὶ μὲν ἐν τρυπὶ συλλαβαῖς κατ' ἕνα, γαλεώνυμοι δὲ ἐν πέντε κατ' ἄλλα.

514 ζεῖαν ἢ ζεῖαν. ἐκατέρως γὰρ εἰρίσκεται γεγραμμένον, ἐν τισι μὲν εἰς ἑ καὶ ἰ τῆς προτέρας συλλαβῆς τελευτώσης, ἐν τισι δὲ μόνον εἰς ἑ. Cf. 541 (Holkades), 641.

xii. 401 ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις εἶρον οὐχ ὕδατι, ἀλλὰ στέατι ἀρκτηίῳ.

553 ἐν τισι δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ μετ' ὄξους ἀλλὰ μετ' ὀξυκράτου γέγραπται.

814 γέγραπται μὲν ἐν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ παλαιότερα παραβλητικῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπερθετικῶς παλαιότατα. Cf. 939, 945.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The director of Laur. 32. 9 apologises for exactly this error in the case of his scribe : 1250 v. 'δεῖ ταῦτα σκοπεῖν (sc. the marks to rectify the text) ἡδὲν τῷ γραφεῖ μεσόμενον διὰ τὸ κακείνον οὕτως εὐρηκέναι καὶ τῷ σφάλματι δι' ἄγνοίαν αὐτὸν προσσχέειν.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν ἄλλῃ, however, which occurs so frequently among his prescriptions in vol. xiii., means ἐν



xiii. 23 ἔν τισι δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐρεγμοῦ γέγραπται.

39 ἢ κατὰ τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ κωδυνῶν ἀριθμὸς ρκ'. ἀλλὰ δραχμὴ γέγραπται.

Cf. 105, 215.

153 πρόκειται τῷ ἀφορισμῷ σχεδὸν ἐν ᾧ πασι τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις· οὕτω δὲ καὶ λυγμός.

537 ἐν ἄλλῃ ἀντιγράφῳ εὖρον λεπίδας ἐρυθρᾶς λίτραι α'.

726 τοῦ κατὰ τινα μὲν τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἀπεστιγμένον τὸ δ' γέγραπται, κατὰ τινὸς δὲ γραμμὴν ἄνωθεν ἔχον μακράν, ὥστε ἥτοι μέρη δ' σημαίνειν ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς τὸ δ'.

269 γράφεται δὲ οὐ μόνον βοτάναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεδίοις ὠδίπῳς ὁ στίχος.

810 καὶ τι κατὰ τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐκ ἀξιόπιστα σ' εὖρον.

971 ἔν τισι τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως κ' εἰσὶ γεγραμμένοι, καθάπερ ἐν ἑτέροις ῥή.

To such trouble was this encyclopaedic physician put by the uncertainty of ancient books. He and others, it is well known, wrote out their prescriptions in full (*ὀλογραμμάτως*), and when that was useless, in verse (Galen in heroic hexameters!) in order to guarantee the proportions. His investigation of the Hippocratean text (vol. xv sq.) was not undertaken with a philological or antiquarian object, but to guarantee the correctness of the medical encyclopaedia.

The practice of collation, implied by Strabo and carried out by Galen, was continued until the invention of printing, and even after. A much read book, like the Bodleian Plato (Clarke 39) bears the learning of nearly twenty readers. In the Odyssey we have seen how the older MSS. as L8 of s. xi, Pal., U5, and others of s. xiii. are overlaid with strata of corrections; how new families (*o p q r*) are produced by the incorporation of these corrections; and how many Renaissance MSS. exhibit every variant and its opposite, that is the whole tradition, between two covers (p. 61). The results of this habit are palpable, but explicit references to sources, if not rare are so far uncommon that a small collection may not be out of place. Any working palaeographer can add to it. (I omit *ἐν τινι*, *ἐν ἄλλῃ* and *γρ.* as too frequent.)

### *S. X and XI.*

Heidelberg 398 (Arrian, etc.) ff. 40, 54 διώρθωται οὐ παρὰ σποιδαῶν ἀντίγραφον.  
Vat. 1524 (theol.), f. 31 r. ἐξ ἑτέρου ἀντιγράφου.

ἄλλῃ ἀντιδότῳ. Βιβλίῳ etc., as is shown by the alternatives *τινές* 893, *ἐν ἄλλαις γραφαῖς* 779, 838, *ἐν ἄλλαις συναγωγαῖς* 836. — Γραφή = prescription, *or iohu in e*, as well as *γρσφή* = reading, is unknown to our lexica.

Vat. 126 (Thuc.) ἐν ἄλλωι ἀντιγράφω.

Ven. 454 (Iliad), f. 248 v. πολὺς δια τοῦ ι εἶχε το ἀντιβόλον, f. 246 r. τα βιβλία δασειαν εἶχον εἰς το ἦ, f. 322 r. οὗτος ο στιχος [Ω 558] οὐχ ευρεθη εν τω παλαιω

### S. XIII.

U5 (Ven. 613), f. 11 v. οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐν ἐτέρω βιβ<sup>λ</sup> οἱ στίχοι [α 93, 94]

### S. XV and XVI.

Munich 17 : f. 171 ἐξισώθη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντίγραφον ὡς ἦν δυνατόν· ἦν γὰρ διεφθαρμένον ἐν τισι τόποις, f. 235 id. and διὸ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν πολλοῖς χωρίοις τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐστίχθη, f. 277 id. and ὅπου δὲ δυσνοητῶς εἶχεν κοκκίδια [scarlet dots] ἐτέθησαν, sim. ff. 449, 452, 465, 467. (From Hardt's Catalogue.)

Vat. 1626 (Iliad a. 1477) :

ψ 255 sq. οὕτως κεῖνται ἐν ἐτέρω βιβλίω. *ib.* οὕτως εὗρον ἐν ἐτέρω βιβλίω.

Br (Brussels 11290)

f. 180 r. κ 547, 549, 551, 553, 555 are repeated after 556; both here and where they occur before they are marked in red, with this note : οἱ στίχοι οἶτοι οὗς ὁρᾷς δια κοκκινου στιγμῆς [red dots] εἰσὶν ἔμπροσθεν γεγραμμένοι· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀντίβόλον εἶχεν <sup>ὅπι</sup> <sup>σθε</sup> ἔμπροσθεν· οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχει καλῶς. (Cf. R9 at φ 353a οὐκ οἶδα εἰ στίχος.) On ο 27 : interlin. <sup>π</sup> λει τὸ ἔπος ἐν ἄλλω βιβλίω.<sup>1</sup>

Vat. 1404 (var.) s. xiv ἀντιβλήθεν ὄλον.<sup>2</sup>

H1 θ 508 ἀλλ' ἀχοῦ εὗρον οὕτως τὸν παρὸν στίχον.

L8 τ 291, 2 m. r. *vacant secundum alios codices.*

Such is the origin of variants in general. Is it also the origin of the variants in Homer? The source of the Homeric variants is two-fold and consecutive—oral and manual; the alternatives which sprang to the lips of Bards and Homerid reciters and later rhapsodes; and the contributions of the scribes who propagated the poems and their readers in historical times.

<sup>1</sup> Equivalents for λείπει are numerous; in the Odyssey MSS. the condemnatory word is split and one syllable is placed before, the other after, the superfluous line: e.g. *va . . . cat* α 87 Br, α 93. β 408 O, cf. *vacat* L8 ρ 233, 577 al., *vacant* μ 221 U3, *βακατ* ρ 91 R10, ἀρ . . . γός θ 501 U1, *παρ . . . ἔλκει* π 179, ψ 48 O, *ὑπέρ . . . ἐστι* B 637 U 13. *Περὶ σός* is common.

The reverse, a space left accidentally blank, is apologised for with λήθη ('λήθη' Roe 18 a. 1349 f. 90 r.); *λάθος* Ven. ix. 16 (s. xv.) f. 246 v. excuses a repetition. A bolder tone is sometimes taken: Vat. 1347 (s. xv.) *τέλος+καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐφεξῆς οὐχ εὗρον ἐν ἀντιγραφοῖς, ὥστε καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη παρέλιπον. εἰ δὲ εὗρον οὐκ ἂν ἀπώκησα γράφειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ πρῶτα. ὅστις δὲ ἐντεύξεται τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦτ' οὕτως ἀτελεῖ συγγνώμην ἔχεται, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἄλλον μεταγραφέτω οὐκ ἐνδεᾶ, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτοις ἀρκοῦμαι, χαίρετωσαν γοῦν οἱ ἄλλοι.*

<sup>2</sup> So the s. x. Paris Demosthenes 2934: ἀντεβλήθη at the end of the *Παραπρέσβεια*. *Διάρθω- μένον* (-ωται) which does not necessarily imply collation is more common; see the fac-simile of the Bodleian Plato praef. p. v; add Ven. 454 f. 17 r. *ω*. Such expressions as *ἕως ᾗδε ἦλθον* Barocci 121 f. 57 v. are probably attributable to a reviser.

The MS. variants in Homer are amply accounted for by these conditions. Do they also explain the 55 or 56 per cent. of Aristarchean readings in our MSS? Aristarchus' readings, it is now admitted, were all or nearly all taken from MSS. extant in his time. One might therefore suppose that the 55 per cent. were direct descendants of these MSS., circulated and propagated on the usual lines. Several considerations, however, impede this conclusion. In the first place, the maximum of extant Aristarcheanisms is only 55; the remaining 45 have been hardly treated, if the ordinary processes of copying are invoked to account for the facts: moreover out of these 55 per cent. only about  $\frac{1}{4}$  are universal,  $\frac{1}{2}$  are found in about half the MSS., and the remaining  $\frac{1}{4}$  are sporadic. Unassisted clerical tradition would hardly have rejected 45 per cent. altogether, and another 14 per cent. all but entirely. Secondly, there are no traces of these survivals where on this theory we should most expect to find them—in the papyri. It is notorious that in the papyri—from s. iii B.C. to s. v A.D.—the Alexandrian readings are practically *nil*. We cannot, if we advance that the actual Aristarcheanisms have been propagated by ordinary processes, explain this gap of eight centuries. As far as we can follow antiquity, up and down, the manuscripts of the poems show no sign of contact with Alexandria. Thirdly, the view, perhaps the common one, that this percentage is due to the direct effect of Aristarchus' edition (and that of the other Alexandrians) is negatived by the very doubtful character of that 'edition.' To 'affect' the publishing trade, Aristarchus' *ἔκδοσις* must have been a real edition, copied and floated in considerable numbers<sup>1</sup>: if such had been the case (1) the papyri must have shown at least some trace of it, and they do not; (2) its readings could not have been doubtful. Once issued a book was stereotyped: as we say, *littera scripta manet*. When Polybius (xvi. 20) wrote to Zeno to point out mistakes in his book, Zeno admitted them *γνούς ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν μετέθεσιν διὰ τὸ προεκδεδωκέναι τὰς συντάξεις*.

But it is notorious that Aristarchus' readings were a bone of contention between his immediate disciples, Dionysius of Thrace and

<sup>1</sup> Such as those of Hippocrates by Artemidorus and Dioscurides: Galen xv. 23 *Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Καπίτων ἔκδοσιν ἐποίησατο τῶν Ἱπποκράτους βιβλίων, εὐδοκιμήσασαν οὐ μόνον παρὰ Ἀδρ. αὐτῷ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὁδὸν καὶ γὰρ ἰκανῶς ὑπὸ πολλῶν σπουδασούμεν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ Διοσκουρίδου. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρω μετέγραψαν, ὑπαλλάττοντες τὰς παλαιὰς γραφάς . . . πρὸς δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τῇδε τὴν γὰρ προκειμένην λέξιν ὑπῆλλαξε Καπίταν, ὡδὶ πως γράψας.*

Ammonius, the latter his actual successor in the school.<sup>1</sup> How could such a dispute have lasted for a moment if Aristarchus' edition had existed and been available for reference? It has been suggested that there was no 'edition,' and that *ἔκδοσις* meant the act of editing—a criticism, in the active not the concrete. This was actually the case with Crates of Mallus whose diorthosis of Homer consisted of eight books.<sup>2</sup> The definiteness of the expressions by which Aristarchus' *ἐκδόσεις* are quoted (v. *C. R.* 1901, p. 256) seems to forbid this extreme view. Did then the edition once exist and was it lost? Galen (xv. 23) gives a choice of explanations of the loss of a treatise: the writer had no successors, or did not publish in his lifetime; or his writings were despised and forgotten, or malicious enemies hid or destroyed them; or fires and earthquakes, as had lately happened at Rome, destroy libraries. The fire at Alexandria in 47 B.C. has been thought of by Wilamowitz (*Hom. Untersuchungen* 297), but that is too late to account for the dispute between Ammonius and Dionysius. Aristarchus had disciples, he was very celebrated, no *φθονερός* hid or destroyed his editions. Had they been lost, for any reason, how could they have been quoted, as they are? A suggestion made (*C. R.* l.c.) in 1901, is still the best I can offer, namely that the Aristarchean *ἔκδοσις* consisted in a copy of the *κοινή* with critical signs on the margin making reference to his commentaries—the obelisk and the asterisk to atheteses of lines, the diplae to judgments about words and forms. As there were two 'editions,' with doubtless different *σημεῖα*, and as the reference in the *σημεῖα* need not be immediately clear, there was room for dispute: to settle these disputes and also to relieve the learned public of the necessity of consulting Aristarchus' commentaries, Didymus and Aristonicus compiled their manuals. This suggestion appears to be confirmed by Pap. Tebtunis 4, which, of s. ii B.C., the century of Aristarchus, has a vulgate text with critical signs.

Upon any hypothesis, the influence of Aristarchus down to the point at which the papyri stop was *nil*. Why then does it work in the

<sup>1</sup> The uncertainty is not unlike that as to Chrysippus' teaching upon phlebotomy: Galen xi. 151 δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῶν [τῶν μαθητῶν] οὐδενὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον ὅτι μὴδ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς συμφορηταῖς μὲν τοῦ Ἐρασιστράτου μαθηταῖς δὲ Χρυσίππου τοῦ Κνιδίου, οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴ πρῶτον τὸ δόγμα τοῦτ' ἦν καὶ χρῆσθαι φλεβοτομίᾳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ὁμολογεῖται περὶ τῆς Χρυσίππου γνώμης οὐδέν. The explanation also seems the same, Chrysippus' works were lost: *ib.* 221 ἥδη πάντα ἀπολάλει καθάπερ τὰ Χρυσίππου κινδυνεύει παθεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> συνετάξε διόρθωσιν Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας ἐν βιβλίοις θ'. Suidas in v.

Byzantine period, s. x-xv A.D., in the irregular proportions we have calculated? My answer is that given (*C.R.* 1900, 385), that the Alexandrian readings in our text are escapes from marginal scholia. Brief critical scholia, consisting almost entirely of readings, are given us occasionally in the papyri:  $\mathfrak{P}^3$  of the *Odyssey* (s. i A.D.),  $\mathfrak{P}^{14}$  of the *Iliad* (s. ii A.D.),  $\mathfrak{P}^2$  (s. v A.D.),  $\mathfrak{P}^{21}$  (s. ii-iii A.D.), (*C.R.* 1904, 140). They must have become more frequent towards the end of the Old World, the period when independent commentaries were fused into running annotation. This period may have varied with different authors: we see Proclus (d. 485 A.D.) manufacturing scholia on *Orpheus* (*C.Q.* 1908, 65). In the case of Homer we find Stephanus of Byzantium quoting the commentaries of Epaphroditus and Philoxenus as still extant in his day. The body of scholia in the Ven. A of the *Iliad* were prefaced by an epitome of Proclus' *Chrestomathia*; they can therefore hardly have come into existence before s. vi. This is exactly the period between our last papyri and our earliest minuscules (the first is the codex Mureti of the *scholia minora*, s. ix). During this period the Alexandrian readings were brought into systematic proximity to the text of the poem, the scribe as he contemplated his archetype and the owner as he read his Homer were liable to be affected by them: *εἰς τοῦδαφος ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου τε καὶ τοῦ κυρίου μετατίθεται*. While the 'scholia' were a separate book, the *ὑπόμνημα* of an Antoninian grammarian, this was not equally the case. The phenomenon comes under the general law of the relation between text and comment. The intrusion of the Alexandrian reading varies directly with the abundance of the comment: in the *Odyssey*, where scholia are scanty, intrusions are few; in those books where the scholia are fewest intrusions are *nil*.

A particular case of this law is to hand in our principal Homeric MS., Ven. 454 of the *Iliad*. This great book was, as I hope to have shown, *J. Ph.*, 1899, 161 sq. written all by one scribe, in three portions: text, outer or minuscule scholia, inner or semiuncial scholia. The scribe corrected the text he had written at two moments, which may be distinguished by the colour of the ink of the corrections: first, as he wrote the text itself, second, as he wrote the inner or semiuncial scholia. The inner scholia are in close proximity to the text, and where we find an Alexandrian reading in these scholia and the same reading superscribed as a correction over the text, both in the same tint of ink, it can hardly be denied that the scholia

suggested the correction.<sup>1</sup> The reader may now examine the facts in Domenico Comparetti's facsimile.

The cases are these :

A 124	που Ar. A ss.	M 161	βαλλομένων Ar. A ss.
B 798	ἤδη μὲν Ar. A ss.	404	οὔδ' Ar. A ss.
801	προτὶ Ar. A ss.	N 10	ἀλαοσσκοπὴν Ar. A corr.
Γ 99	πέπασθε Ar. A ss.	28	ἡγνοίησαν Ar. A ss.
295	ἀφυσσόμειοι Ar. A ss.	103	παρδαλίων Ar. A marg.
362	αὐτῇ Ar. A ss.	627	περ Ar. A ss.
E 661	βεβλήκειν Ar. A ss.	O 301	αἶται Ar. A ss.
842	ἐξενάριζεν Ar. A ras.	737	τι Ar. A marg.
Θ 513	πίσσοι Ar. A ss.	P 202	εἶσι Ar. A ss.
I 112	πεπίθωμεν Ar. A ss.	231	τῷ Ar. A ss.
K 79	ἐπέτραπε Ar. A ss.	Σ 100	ἄρεω Ar. A ss.
291	παρίσταο Ar. A marg.	477	κρατερὸν Zen. A ss.
463	ἐπιδωσόμεθ' Ar. A marg.	T 391	ἐν κορυφῇς Ar. A ss.
515	ἀλαὸς σκοπιὴν Ar. A corr.	X 2	ἀνεψίχοντο Ar. A ss.
Λ 184	ἀστεροπὴν Ar. A ss.	247	κερδοσύνης ant. A ss.
230	ἴων Ar. A ss.	Ω 616	Ἀχιλῆιον ant. A ss.

It is unfortunate that we cannot exhibit the next stage, a copy of Ven. A containing these corrections as part of the text, but no MSS. known depend directly on Ven. A: the family *p* is a kind of collateral descendant. However the process of absorbing corrections has been amply illustrated from the Odyssey MSS.

My answer then to Mr. Leaf and to Herr P. Caer (who has treated the subject in his *Grundfragen der homerischen Kritik*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 41 sq.) is that the Aristarchean readings whether in the Iliad family *h* or in the MSS. generally of both poems are due in the first place to the ancient and mediaeval habit of collation, and specifically to the position of the Aristarchean readings on the margins of the texts. The mental habit of the monk, wavering over his much laden archetype is given in the remark of R9 on φ 353*a*. οὐκ οἶδα εἰ στίχος.

<sup>1</sup> I said the contrary *loc. cit.* p. 171; but in the light of the experience gained by combining collations into apparatus, I take the statement back.



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THE  
DOLMENS, TOMBS OF THE GIANTS,  
AND NURAGHI OF SARDINIA

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## THE DOLMENS, TOMBS OF THE GIANTS, AND NURAGHI OF SARDINIA.

OUR campaign of 1908 in Sardinia began at the end of September and lasted altogether till the middle of November. On the 13th of October I was joined by Mr. F. G. Newton, architect to the British School, whose skilful handiwork in the shape of many drawings of the dolmens, Tombs of the Giants, and Nuraghi we visited together there will be occasion to admire in what follows. On October 20 the Director arrived from Malta and joining forces with us stayed in the island till November 8, when the duties of the School called him back to Rome. To him we were able to announce several interesting discoveries and our exceptional good luck continued right to the end of our sojourn in Sardinia.

The retiring British Ambassador in Rome, Sir Edwin Egerton, followed our varying fortunes with his usual enlightened and cordial interest. Again in the island we experienced many deeds of kindness and hospitality both from persons in authority and from the simple villagers of the mountains. Unfortunately for us Professor Taramelli was absent at the Archaeological Congress at Parma, and a long and severe illness—now happily recovered from—deprived us of the pleasure and profit of Cavaliere Nissardi's company on one or other of our various rounds. Once more we experienced at Gennamari and at Iglesias the courteous hospitality of the Hon. T. A. and Lady Idina Brassey. While at Gennamari we went in company with Mr. Brassey and Mr. P. R. Papillon to visit the great Giant's Tomb of San Giovanni near Arbus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For this tomb see my paper on 'The Tombs of the Giants and the Nuraghi of Sardinia in their West European Relations,' reprinted from *Memnon*, vol. ii. fasc. 3, 1-31.

*The Nuraghe of Voes.*

The Nuraghe of Voes which is shown looking north-west in Pl. I. Fig. 1 lies in the midst of the Bitti uplands and in the territory of Nule at a distance of two hours from the village of Osidda in a south south-easterly direction. The Nuraghe is surrounded by a maze of sheep-folds on the south and west sides. The north and east sides are free. To gain an idea of the building as a whole it will be necessary to draw attention to the Plans shown in Fig. 1 (below to left). What we have before us is a massive triangular building of a strongly fortified character with entrance on the south side. On the ground floor are four circular chambers with beehive ceilings. The principal one is at the centre and the three others are within the angles of the triangle. The rounding off of these angles simply reflects externally the circular shape of the chambers within. The advantages of rounded external contours over sharp angles is amply illustrated here. And we know what a rôle the rounded bastion played all through the later history of fortification in Europe.

Let us then imagine ourselves as entering by the now badly preserved outer portal on the south side. We find ourselves in a small court elongated right and left, and open to the sky. At either end of this court is a doorway leading into a circular chamber, one within the left and one within the right end of the base of the triangle. We, however, pass right on in front and enter a second doorway. This forms the entrance to a short corridor of massive arched construction having a guardian's niche half-way along on the right hand side and a stair gallery of similar construction going up to the left. Going on we enter a circular chamber with beehive ceiling, a niche right and left, and a third niche at the back end of the room. This chamber is entirely dark except for the dim light which enters by the door.

The stair going up to the left in the passage and winding up to the right in the thickness of the wall once led to an upper storey with a central beehive chamber corresponding to the lower one. This upper chamber is no longer preserved. To judge, however, by the analogy of many other Nuraghi the upper chamber had a window and probably also a central hearth in the middle of the floor. In that case the beehive roof would have had in the centre an aperture for the exit of the smoke. In a

large Nuraghe like the present one the upper floor with its possibility of windows was probably the living part of the house. The greater security of the upper storey is in accordance with the fortress character of the building. The ground floor was very likely occupied by the guardians and dependents and the men folk generally. There also would have been the household store rooms and cellars. The three beehive rooms—one within each of the three rounded bastion-like corners of the building—are probably such cellars. The one on the right hand side of the entrance court is of exceptional interest. It is of oval shape in its ground plan. In the thickness of the wall on the opposite side of it is a small watch-room with a loop-hole in the outer wall. If the aperture was not originally there we may have simply to do with one of the usual secret treasure closets. The greatest surprise here, however, was the long curving corridor or gallery on the left hand side, by which we are able to leave the chamber. Over halfway along it is a loop-hole for light on the right hand side. On getting to the end of the corridor we emerge into a beehive chamber which turns out to be the one in the north end of the building. Part of the ceiling of this has fallen in.

On the left hand side and about a third of the way along reckoning from the entrance to this chamber is an exit door. From this a gallery answering to the one just described goes along in the thickness of the west wall of the building, but to one's surprise it stops short before coming to the chamber on the left hand side of the entrance court. This probably means that the gallery was used as a retreat, possibly for women folk in time of war. The entrance to it could in that case be guarded from within by one or two men.

Let us now return to the entrance court and to the chamber on the left hand side of that just referred to. The roof of this has fallen in and the entrance corridor from the court is blocked. In the right hand wall of this corridor we could, however, make out that a stair-gallery went up, with a perceptible inclination to the left. In the left hand wall of the stair some way up is a doorway with a short passage. This emerges on a long corridor within the west wall of the building similar to the one just described and almost vertically above it. The prolongation of the stair corridor past this doorway forms a deep niche from which the stair could be guarded in time of danger.

Pl. I. Fig. 2 gives a view of the Nuraghe looking north. In front

towards the left are the massive remains of the outside wall of the chamber to the left of the entrance court just referred to. The dark hole which appears higher up a little to the left shows the ruined section of the upper gallery of which we have been speaking. The entrance from the stair of the lower chamber is just within on the right hand side.

The arrangement of the upper gallery as a whole will best be understood by reference to the Plan shown in Fig. 1 (below to the right). Here to the left appears the ruined south end of the gallery, which may or may

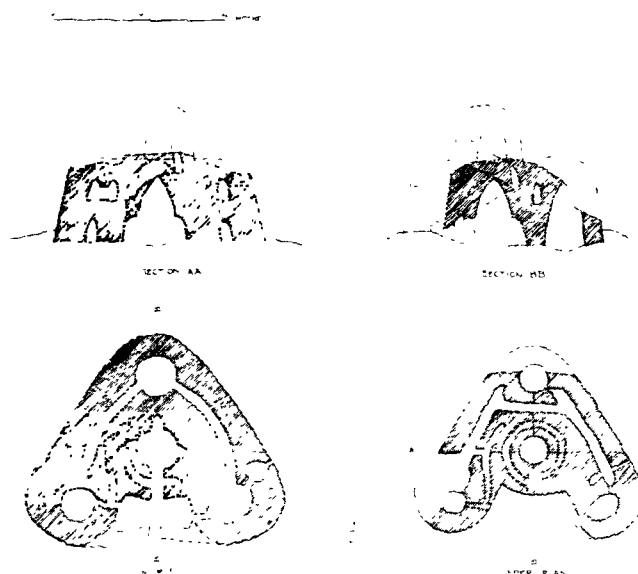


FIG. 1.—NURAGHE OF VOES (PLANS AND SECTIONS).

not have been a niche. Proceeding along the passage, we leave the entrance from the stair of the lower south-east chamber referred to behind us on our right. As we approach the north end of the building along this gallery our passage turns at a wide angle to the right. The prolongation of the first section of the corridor forms a niche opposite the angle referred to. Having turned to the right we proceed for some little distance and then turn a second somewhat wider angle again to the right. On our left hand side is a second niche from which a spy-hole communicates with the ceiling of the north ground floor cella. We now realize that the further continuation of the gallery is in the thickness of the east wall of

the building. There is a narrow loop-hole to the left just near the end and opposite this to the right is a sunken treasure closet. At the end is a spy-hole communicating with the south-east chamber on the ground floor.

The curious feature about this upper gallery is that, after we have once emerged from the stair leading up from the entrance corridor of the south-west chamber, it has no direct communication with any other room. The spy-holes referred to are into the ceiling of the ground floor cellas. The gallery is midway between the lower and the lost upper floor. It is this midway arrangement which is shown in the plan. Accordingly we see there along with the gallery, not the cellas on the upper floor, but a horizontal cut in a plane across the beehive ceilings of the chambers on the ground floor. The upper gallery is placed vertically above the gallery of the ground floor and it mimics the arrangement of that, but in the opposite direction. Where the lower gallery begins, this ends. Like the lower gallery but to a greater degree it has to be regarded as a secret passage of retreat in time of war.

Fig. 1 (Section AA) gives a section from east to west across the centre of the building showing the relation of the lower and upper galleries both to each other and to the lower and upper floors.

In Fig. 1 (Section BB) we have a similar section from south to north across the ruined entrance court, the central chamber and the cella at the north or back end of the building.

The massive fortress-like character of the construction will best be realized by reference to the picture of Pl. II. Fig. 1, which shows the east side wall of the building as one looks in a direction a little north of west. In front is the curve round to the south and west of the south-east cella to the right of the entrance court. Behind to the right in the picture, where hang the great masses of ivy, is the ruined north cella of the fortress referred to above.

A massive building with long flights of wall of this kind is very far removed from the simple original type of strong round tower which is all that is present in the case of a great many of the Nuraghi.

### *The Nuraghe of Arile.*

The kind of simple strong tower of circular shape referred to is well illustrated by the Nuraghe of Arile shown on Pl. II. Fig. 2.

The Nuraghe is on the country road from Nule to Osidda, 25 minutes distant north-east of Nule and only a few paces off the road to the right. In its quiet environment of level oak woodland and dreamy undulating meadow it resembles more the country seat of a rural chief than it does a fortress. Yet the building is of a very massive character, as can be well seen from the Ground Plan shown in Fig. 2 (on the right below.) It combines a certain simple elegance with its strength. Its entrance is high, its corridor, its guardian's niche to the right, and its stair up to the

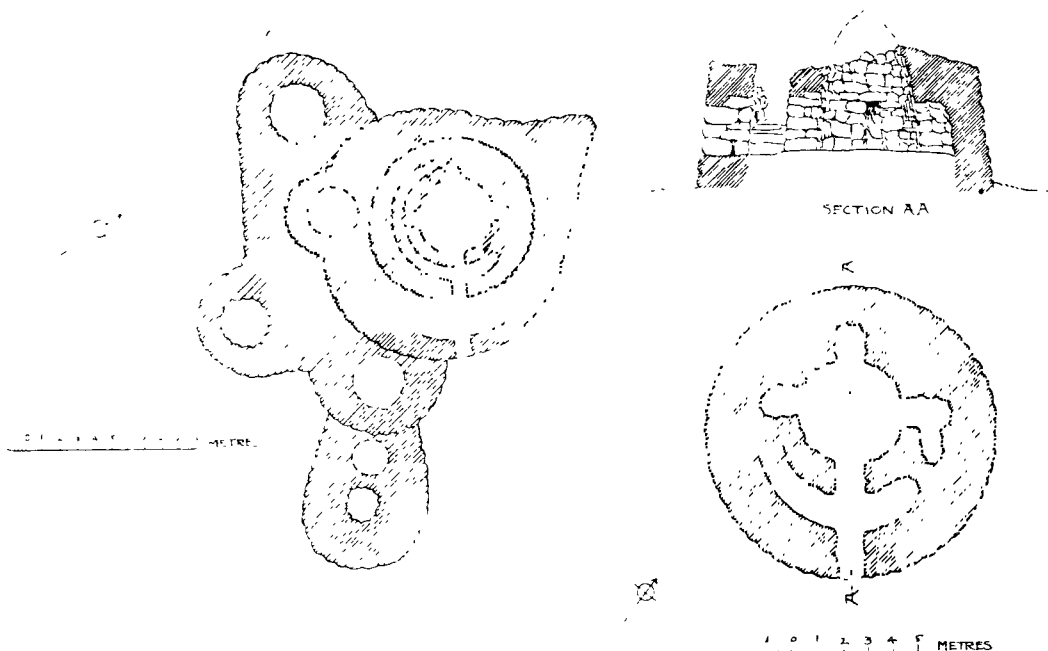


FIG. 2.—NURAGHE OF S'ASPRU (PLAN); NURAGHE OF ARILE (PLAN AND SECTION).

left are more than usually spacious. The central chamber itself with its three niches symmetrically arranged has a fine appearance. The little closet opening off to the right of the right hand niche is a somewhat rare convenience, and if meant for treasure could be well guarded if these niches themselves were used to sleep in at night. If we take the building, with its careful construction, as a whole, it gives the impression of having been built at a time when the architecture of the Nuraghi was already, so to say, a fine art.

And here we must be on our guard. A simple Nuraghe of this kind represents, it is true, the original type out of which sprang a great complex structure like the Nuraghe of Voes. But it is not necessarily older than that. Rather, we have to conceive the process of architectural development as one in which the simple type of the Nuraghe of Arile survived alongside of great structural complexes like the Nuraghe of Voes.

Fig. 2 gives a Section AA of the Nuraghe from front to back showing the actual state of preservation of the building.

The front is orientated towards the south-east. The material of construction is the granite of the district.

*Nuraghe of s'Aspru.*

The Nuraghe of s'Aspru, of which a general view looking westward is shown in Pl. III. Fig. 1, is situated on the top of a great knoll with granite boulders, on the extreme verge, in the westward direction, of the hills of Benetutti just before these merge with the plain of Campo di Siana. The hill is covered with a wood of wild and cultivated olives and these cluster thickly round the Nuraghe giving it a romantic appearance of desolate grandeur as its hoary ruined bastions emerge from the shadow of the woodland.

The position of the Nuraghe is a commanding one. From its eminence it dominates all the wide level reaches of the Campo di Siana to the south-westward, while to the north-east it must have been in touch with other Nuraghi on the edge of the Bitti upland towards Nule. And from Nule there could be exchange of signals far and wide over the pastoral country, as far indeed, we may be sure, as the great castle of the uplands: the Nuraghe of Voes.

The Nuraghe of s'Aspru must have had the same strategic significance for the north-east end of the Campo di Siana as the Nuraghe of Voes had for all the Bitti plateau. In the whole wide plain of Siana there is nothing I know like s'Aspru for grandeur and importance. One might even say it had the same mastery of the Campo di Siana that the great Nuraghe of Losa near Abbasanta had of the Paulilatino plateau, from Dualche in the north-east to Bauladu in the direction of Oristano.

But the mastery was one that grew with time, and the signs of this both at s'Aspru and at Losa bring these Nuraghi into striking contrast with



that of Voes. The Nuraghe of Voes, as we saw, and as its plan could convince us, was conceived architecturally as all of one piece without any later additions. This was not so at s'Aspru, as is evident from the Plan shown in Fig. 2 (on the left). Here we have, shaded dark in the Plan, a circular structure like the Nuraghe of Arile, near Nule, which I have just described, and whose Section and Plan are shown in the figure on the right hand side. It has, however, already lost the perfect simplicity of the latter, for at s'Aspru the central cella is already surrounded by a massive strong wall which bulges portentously towards the north and already has a separate cella within a projecting bastion on the south-west side, as well probably as a small open court in front. This was the original Nuraghe and to all intents and purposes it represents the first advance on a simple type, like that of Arile just referred to. Besides this, however, we have, running from east to west on the south side, a great complex of massive bastions, shaded light on the Plan, which represent a later addition to the original construction.

Except the elongated bastion at the east end this later construction is all of one piece and evidently belongs to a time when the chiefs of s'Aspru became very high and mighty and could lay down the law to the whole of the Campo di Siana. The elongated double bastion on the east side already referred to, which looks like a still later addition, may in that case indicate the pride that went before a fall. It evidently was meant to prop up the massive bastion masked by it at a time when this, built as it was to an enormous height on the steep slope, may have shown signs of giving way.

Towards the entrance on the south-east side the Nuraghe is partly hidden by great masses of granite blocks and other débris fallen from above. The central chamber on the ground floor is inaccessible and some excavation would be needful to bring out the main features of the building on this side. But the great Nuraghe, still splendid in its ruin, has well stood the vicissitudes of time and the assaults of men, and its enormous south bastion, one of the highest in Sardinia, still rears its proud mass many metres into the air.

The Nuraghe of s'Aspru is of exceptional importance, if for nothing else, because typologically it illustrates so strikingly the organic process of addition of later to earlier elements of construction, which in turn pointed the way to systematic architectural complexes all of a piece, like the Nuraghe

of Voes. The Nuraghi of Arile, s'Aspru, and Voes represent respectively so many phases in the process of organic architectural development, but they do so typologically, not chronologically. The Nuraghe of Voes for all we know to the contrary may not be a whit later than that of s'Aspru, or s'Aspru than the simple tower of Arile. Indeed, the commodious architectural simplicity of the Nuraghe of Arile may be a sign that it is, if anything, later than the other two.

*Nuraghe Aiga near Abbasanta.*

This fine Nuraghe is situated in level, partly woodland and partly pastoral country, at a distance of an hour and a quarter to the north-

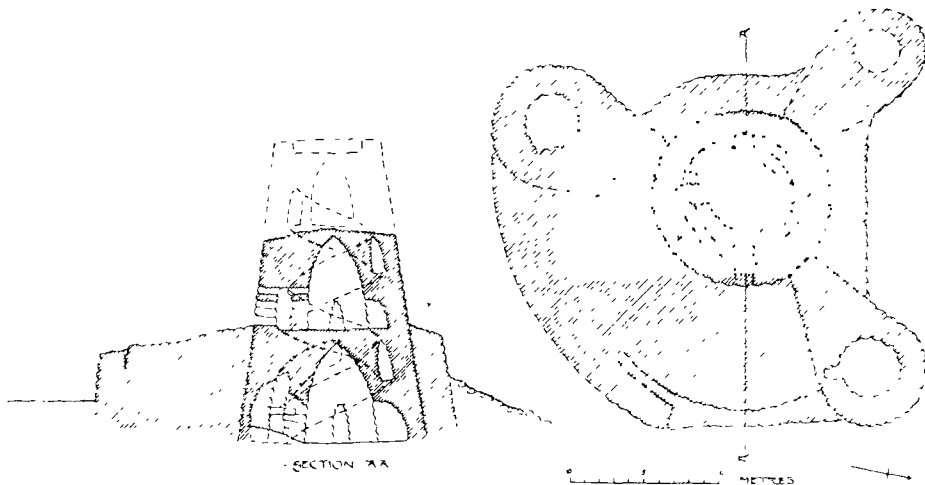


FIG. 3.—NURAGHE AIGA (PLAN AND SECTION).

west of Abbasanta. The immediate environment of the Nuraghe is over-grown with ivy, laurel, briar, and other scrub. To the northwards the surface rises gradually so as partly to conceal the level country between there and Macomer. In all other directions the landscape is surrounded by a panorama of distant mountains except to the south-west in the direction of Oristano.

The Nuraghe, as seen from the Plan (Fig. 3), is strategically of interesting design. Its portentous bastions and outworks may well go to show that the neighbouring Lord of Losa did not have it all his own way over the wide plateau. At first sight one is apt to be in doubt

whether the bastions and outworks are not a later addition, as in the case of Nuraghe s'Aspru and of Nuraghe Losa itself. But they are inclusive of the central cella, not an external addition on one side as at s'Aspru. The whole has thus a more organic appearance than either s'Aspru or Losa, but much less so than Nuraghe Voes, with its consistent unity of construction. On the whole, until some clearing through excavation permits a more definite answer, we must content ourselves with the conjecture that the outworks may be a later addition following on that menace to local peace represented by the great new building operations at Losa.

As seen from Section AA two central cellas one above the other are preserved intact. Both cellas are of simple normal plan. There is, however, one peculiarity: the lower cella has not the usual niche to the right in the entrance corridor. Instead of that there is a deep niche above the entrance with an interval between the covering slabs of the lintel from which hostile persons entering below could be effectively attacked.

The upper cella repeats the plan of the lower with the same normal arrangement of niches and a window looking S.S.E. The wide outwork platform in front was probably calculated to have its own strategic advantages. The material of construction is the volcanic 'limestone' which is so common in the whole of the Abbasanta plateau.

*The Nuraghe Fortress of Nossiu near Paulilatino.*

In view of the dominating importance attained by Nuraghi like that of Voes or s'Aspru or Aiga over wide tracts of country one is bound to wonder whether the folk of the prehistoric town-ships ever came into collision with the local over-lords.

Considerations of this kind are apt to be awakened by strategic arrangements like that of Nossiu shown in Fig. 4.

This curious fort is situated about thirty-five minutes north of Paulilatino and an equal distance to the left of the high road from Paulilatino to Abbasanta. It lies in the midst of the level, only slightly undulating plateau country of volcanic origin, partly bush-land or prairie thicket, partly meadow-land, field, and forest, which extends all the way from Dualche in the north-east to Bauladu south-westward towards the lowland plain of Oristano.

The immediate environment of this singular monument is a labyrinthine maze of sunny meadow, darkling thicket and shadowy woodland.

Dreamy distant vistas allure the eye, and if one is not quite certain of one's orientation all the time it is much more easy to get to the spot with a guide than to get away from it without one.

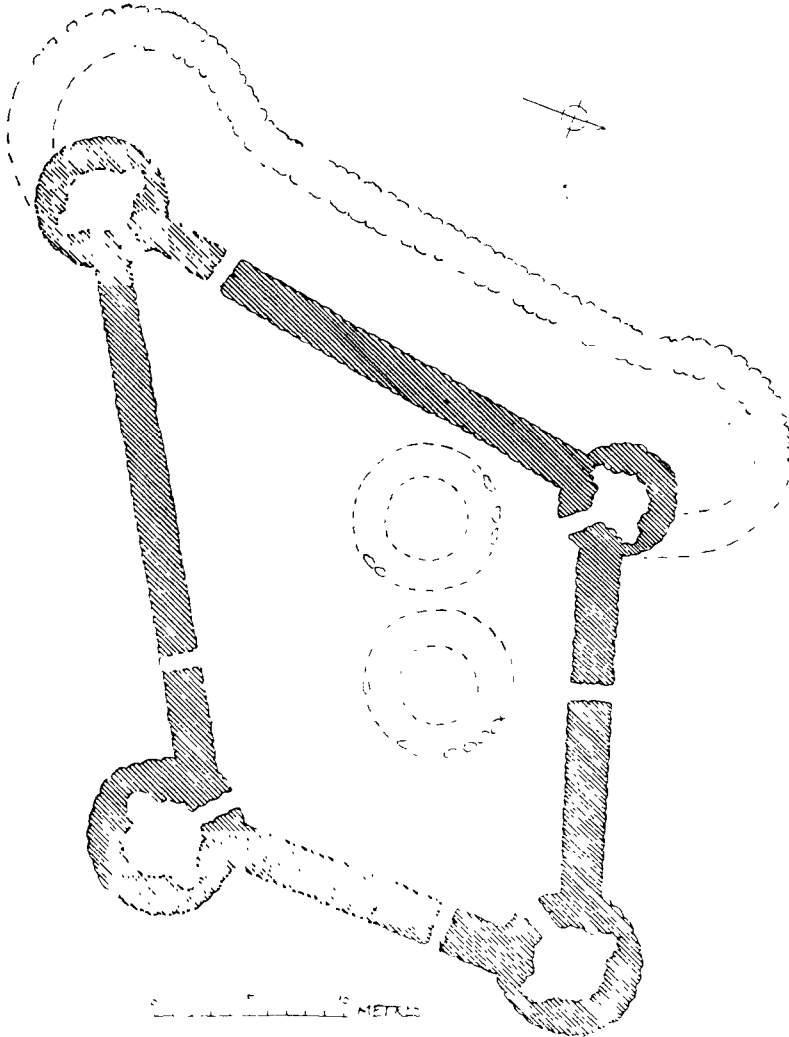


FIG. 4.—NURAGHE FORTRESS OF NOSSIU.

The whole locality is heaped with stones which group themselves together in cairns here and there in a way which makes one suspect at

once the presence of a Nuraghe town. In the midst of this wilderness of stones and lost as it were in an opening of the mazy thicket country lies concealed the long forgotten towered fortress of which we speak.

As is evident from the Ground Plan shown in Fig. 4, what we have here is not a Nuraghe in the ordinary sense of the name but a strongly fortified quadrangular citadel of irregular rhomboidal shape, with a massive round tower at each corner. The centre of the whole in this case is not the main ground floor beehive chamber which forms the true heart of every Nuraghe, but an open square or quadrangle with strong walls resembling a military barrack. The strong towers at the corners again are as much reminiscent of the Nuraghe huts of any village as they are of the bastions of a Nuraghe. These four towers are entered from within the quadrangle and each wall of that has a narrow doorway of communication from without. The convenience of a doorway on every side was meant to facilitate the hasty retreat of the inhabitants into the citadel from all quarters of the surrounding town in case of sudden need. It will be observed that in each instance the doorway is not placed halfway along the wall to which it belongs but within convenient reach of one of the towers and to the right of the tower, looking outwards towards an approaching enemy. The object of this location and distribution of the doorways was to secure advantage of the enemy's shieldless and exposed right side on any attempt to enter the citadel by force.

It will be noticed that outside the west wall of the building are indicated the probable remains of a second strong wall with a bastion at either end masking the corresponding towers of the fortress on this side. This second wall is very apparently a later addition. It will further be observed that towards the north limit of the quadrangle are traced the outlines of two Nuraghe huts, and to judge by certain indications there may have been others within the area. At any rate there is sufficient space within the enclosure to harbour many women and children of the town, and it is probable that the protection of these in times of danger was the chief function of our citadel.

So far as we know as yet there was no Nuraghe castle at all about to which the town could be regarded as subjected.

Can we go the length then of conjecturing that in the Bronze Age of Sardinia there were villages and townships which were not under the tutelage of the local chiefs of the Nuraghi? In that case a citadel like that of Nossiu would have been a very natural means of self-defence

against the incursions of neighbouring local chiefs. We must not forget that little more than half an hour away to the north-eastward ruled the potent lord of Losa, whose great Nuraghe castle with its massive bastions and outworks, is a prominent feature in the landscape for many miles around.

The rise to domination over whole wide regions of Nuraghi like those of Voes, s'Aspru, and Losa affords food for reflection. Such domination could hardly have been established without considerable repression of opposition on the part of local chieftains. Could the chief of Losa, it may be asked, ever have risen to such power in the land as is reflected in the mighty additions to his castle, with no harm whatever to other local chieftains? It may have been part of the cunning policy of the lords of Losa to bring the neighbouring townships under their direct sway. And could this ever have been done expeditiously except at the expense of the independent local chieftains? But to deprive a township of its natural head, even under primitive conditions, is to sow the first seeds of future revolt and the attainment of communal independence. It is the attainment if not the primitive possession of such independence that would best explain the phenomena presented by townships with citadels of a civic character like that of Nossiu of which we have been speaking.

*The rock-cut Dolmen Tomb of Maone near Benetutti.*

The monument we have last described has taken us away from our original sphere of explorations and the actual order of discovery.

We now return to Nule on the verge of the Bitti upland towards Benetutti. From Nule one descends towards Benetutti by a precipitous gorge of massive granite boulders either by the steep bridle path or along the winding carriage road. Some little distance below the village one leaves the high road and skirts along the left flank of the gorge by a narrow footpath. The path begins to leave the gorge behind, winds in and out among the boulders, ascends somewhat across a sort of saddle, and then descends into different country. Steep pasture land or meadowy knolls and hollows alternate here with coppices and woodland on the bouldery heights.

On a sunny knoll with bushes of lentisk and wild olive one leaves upon one's right the much ruined Giant's Tomb of Scorra Voes. Away in the distance still further to the right across the saddle and lost on its gigantic

mass of granite boulders stands the Nuraghe of Sisine commanding the gorge and having within its ken the verge of the upland towards Nule as well as the lowland country as far as Nuraghe s'Aspru and the plain of Siana beyond. Descending still along a spur of the foot-hills among the rounded knolls one skirts the south slope of one of these. Here at a distance of only about twenty minutes south of Benetutti we are shown, peeping out from a thick growth of lentisk, the rock-cut dolmen tomb of Maone shown in Pl. III. Fig. 2.

The tomb was of a singular and very interesting character. The description of the tomb given at Nule and of the great slab that covered it had led me to expect a monument of the dolmen type. In reality it turned out to be neither properly speaking a dolmen nor a rock-cut tomb but a curious combination of both.

What we see in the picture is a large cover-slab showing a grotto-like interval below it. A great cover-slab of this kind is a feature of every dolmen. In the case of a dolmen tomb this cover-slab forms the roof of a small rectangular (sometimes roughly elliptical) chamber, whose walls usually consist of upright slabs planted in the ground, on which the cover-slab of the roof is supported. In the best constructed dolmens of advanced type the walls consist of four of these vertical slabs, one shorter one at either end and a larger one at either side. Several dolmens of this advanced kind are known in the neighbouring island of Corsica. The range of these ideally constructed dolmens is a very wide one not only in Europe but in North Africa and in Asia as far afield as the Deccan in India. More usually, however, the sides consist not of one but of a series of such slabs. Of this more ordinary kind a beautiful example is that at Fontanaccia in South Corsica, shown in Pl. IV. Fig. 1.<sup>1</sup>

At first sight our tomb of Maone looks like such a dolmen as the Corsican one half buried in the earth. On going inside, however, and on closer inspection we find that the tomb, instead of being a cella with vertical slabs, is partly hewn into the sloping rock, partly built up above with rough coursed masonry, on the top of which rests the cover-slab. This curious hybrid method of construction comes out very clearly in the Section of the tomb shown in Fig. 5. The masonry whose function it is to support the cover-slab extends in front and behind beyond the rock-cut part of the tomb.

<sup>1</sup> After Montillet, *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* iii. Pl. XI. 1.

This rock-cut part of the chamber itself, however, is rectangular in shape, as appears from the Ground Plan (Fig. 5). Indeed, if we conceived a

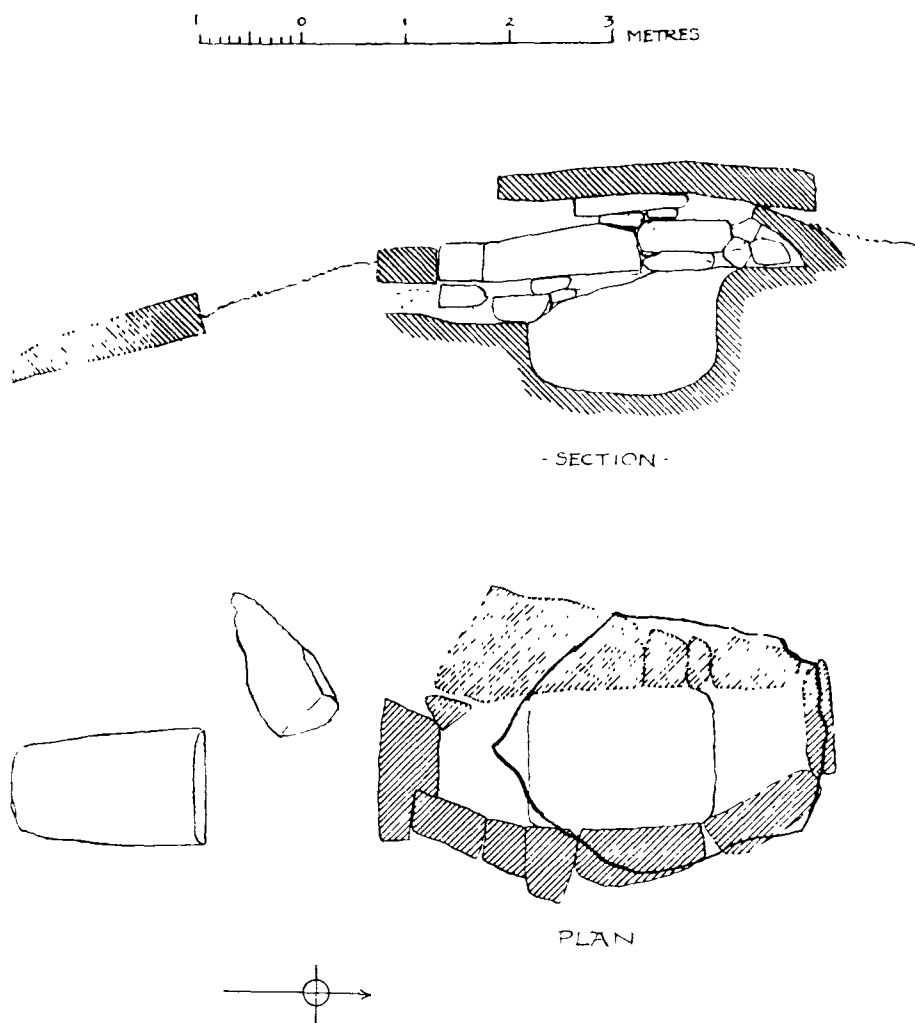


FIG. 5.—DOLMEN ROCK-CUT TOMB OF MAONE.

dolmen tomb as being hewn entirely into a face of rock instead of being built with slabs we should have a true rectangular chamber tomb. Of such chamber tombs there are many examples in Sardinia. These go under the



popular name of *Domus de Gianas* and will receive some illustration presently.

Our tomb of Maone has, in front of the cella and at a higher level, a small chamber narrowing towards the entrance which is not entirely covered by the roof slab. This feature is absent in the true dolmen, but an antecella of which it seems to be reminiscent is usually present in the rock-cut chamber tomb. The little antecella in its turn introduces the necessity for a second cover-slab above in front in contradiction again with the true character of the dolmen type of tomb. This slab is not now in position, but it may be the one lying in front of the tomb and shown in the illustrations.

*The rock-cut Chamber Tomb of s'Abba Bogada near Ovodda.*

A quaint (and rather droll) example of a rock-cut chamber tomb of the kind referred to is that of *s'Abba Bogada* near *Ovodda* shown in Pl. IV. Fig. 2. The Plan and Section will be found in Fig. 14 (below). It lies on a bare slope with moor and boulders at a distance of three-quarters of an hour to the east of *Ovodda*. The entrance to the tomb, hewn out of an enormous mass of granite boulder, appears below in the picture. This entrance is like a sort of shallow porch to the tomb. In the back wall of it is a narrower rectangular opening into the cella of the tomb behind. This cella is usually rectangular in shape and wider than it is deep. In the present case, however, the cella is quite irregular in shape as if the hewer had been prevented from carrying out the normal plan by the unexpected occurrence of fissures in the rock. The entrance to such a tomb would have been masked by a slab fitting into it like a door. The narrower rectangular aperture at the back of this entrance reminds one of the portal hole which is so characteristic a feature of the Tombs of the Giants.

The monster-like finish to the tomb above looks like a sort of grotesque by-play of the fairies or *Gianas* but is really the work of nature helping out the men of eld with wilder fancies of her own.

*The Dolmen of Su Coveccu.*

Returning now from this digression to the tomb of Maone the features that really interested us in its case were those in which it differed from a

true rock-cut chamber tomb like that described. Its cover-slab we found to be a true dolmenic characteristic and it in particular afforded hope that monuments of the dolmen type would turn up elsewhere in out of the way corners of Sardinia. As we shall see this was not a hope that failed.

Crossing the plain of Campo di Siana towards the west and ascending gradually among the foot-hills one arrives in less than three hours at the village of Bultei. Behind the village is a great barrier of mountains called locally the Monte. On the other side of that is primeval forest descending to pleasant valleys. Between two of these valleys is a sunny meadow, with great ilex and cork trees, called Sas Prigionas.

We ascend into the meadow from a dell of the forest on the south-east side near where to the left appears a small mass of boulders on a knoll with trees. We pass the boulders, and wonder whether they are natural. We cross the meadow in the same direction past some enormous cork trees towards what we were really brought to see: the Giants' Tombs of Sas Prigionas.

While busy there a passing shepherd who from curiosity had paused to see what we were after casually remarked: "There," pointing to the boulders we had passed, "is another tomb." We went at once to see. It was a dolmen!

The dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu lies less than a minute away, across the meadow, from the Giants' Tombs of Sas Prigionas we had just left. The tomb is situated on a rounded knoll (that already mentioned) sloping gradually on all sides towards the meadow of cork trees except to south-east and south, where it is thickly shaded with trees and where the fall towards the bottom of the lovely wooded valley of Sa Figu is rapid and sometimes precipitous. To the east is the forest country of the mountains we had descended on our way.

To the westward the valley of Sa Figu, merging with that of Sa Menta which bounds our meadow on the other side, becomes ever more gentle and idyllic towards the west, while beyond are distant vistas as far as the uplands of Bonorva and Toralba.

Three minutes to the westward lies the ruined Nuraghe of Sa Figu with its thick covering of tall ilex trees.

Owing to the deep shade on the south side it was impossible to get a good photograph of the tomb. It has thus been all the more fortunate that Mr. F. G. Newton, who accompanied me, was able to make careful

plans and sections of the monument. Fig. 6 (above) gives the Ground Plan of the tomb.

From this ground plan it is clear that what we have before us is a very advanced type of dolmen. It is larger than the rectangular variety current in Corsica, which was illustrated in Pl. IV. Fig. 1. It is in fact a dolmen

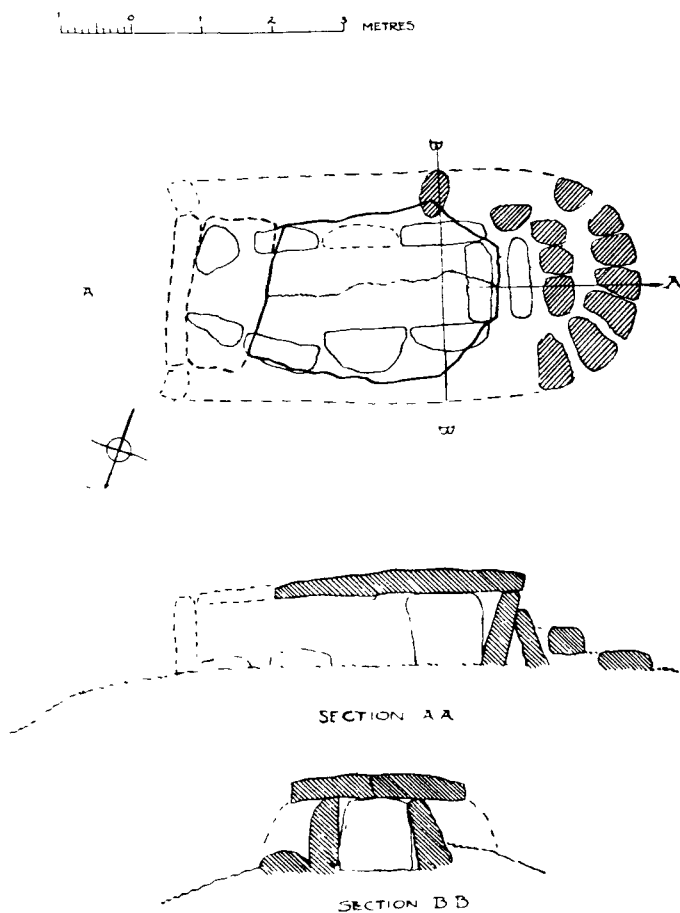


FIG. 6.—DOLMEN OF SU COVECCU.

on the point of becoming elongated into a so-called Tomba di Gigante. It is thus a transitional type and in this consists its exceptional interest. The tomb is fairly well preserved but the enormous cover-slab in granite is broken in two in a direction corresponding to the axis of the cella. This

is said by a local shepherd, Giovanni Pietro Mameli, to have been the work of lightning in a thunderstorm which occurred ten years ago.

The tomb has evidently been ransacked more than once by treasure-hunters and these are responsible for the ruin about the entrance and for the removal of the portal slab. The cella itself is in good condition and the orthostatic slabs of its right and left walls, as well as the back slab, are more or less in their position. These supported the great cover-slab. The middle slab of the left hand wall of the cella is missing.

Behind are the foundation remains of an apse-like wall of enclosure. This, conceived as continued along towards the front on either side of the walls of the cella, is, as we shall see, a characteristic feature of the so-called Tombs of the Giants.

But here we must be on our guard. The feature in question is not an intrusion on the dolmen traceable to collusion with the architectural construction of the Tomba di Gigante, conceived as an alien type of tomb, but an intrinsic element in its structure which occurs in environments where the Tombs of the Giants do not exist. In one case of a true dolmen known to me in North Corsica the wall of enclosure in coursed masonry is clearly present in circumstances which absolutely exclude any such collusion. Thus we have rather to conceive the process of architectural development as one in which the wall of enclosure referred to was a feature of the dolmen at a period when in Sardinia there were not as yet any Tombe di Gigante. And when in course of time the Tomba di Gigante emerged as a result of the gradual elongation towards the front of a simple dolmen cella the wall of enclosure lengthened naturally with the cella itself.

The dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu shows this process of elongation in its very beginning. Unless the cover-slab is really broken away at its east end, a second slab is needed here to cover the front part of the cella. This second cover-slab is never present in a pure type of dolmen like those of Corsica.

Fig. 6 AA, gives a Long Section of the tomb from west to east, with an indication in dotted lines of the amount required to be added to enable the roof-slab to cover the whole cella.

Fig. 6, BB is a Cross Section taken near the back and showing the orthostatic back slab, the right and left cella slabs next it, and the cover-slab above in their relation to each other.

The cover-slab and the back slab of the cella are of granite. The other slabs in position are of a red-brown stone called locally 'pietra di cantone,' which looks like granite altered in consistency through volcanic action.

The tomb is orientated towards the east and this is an orientation for which the dolmen type of sepulchre in different parts of the Mediterranean including Corsica may be said to have a preference.

*The Tombs of the Giants of Sas Prigionas.*

With the experience gained at the dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu let us now return across the meadow to the Giants' Tombs of Sas Prigionas. The tombs are situated on a low knoll called Sas Prigionas on the north verge of the meadow towards the valley of Sa Menta. Part of this knoll with the artificial mound marking the larger of the two tombs appears in Pl. V. Fig. 1 looking north-west. A prominent feature here is the high slab to the left in the picture which formed the end slab of the left wing of the frontal semicircle. The frontal semicircle in question forms a characteristic element in the structure of these tombs of which I shall speak later. Pl. V. Fig. 2 gives a view of the tomb looking east. The aperture in front to the left is a later entrance into the back of the cella made probably by the treasure hunters and now used as a convenient doorway into the tomb which sometimes serves as a pig-sty, sometimes as a shelter of the shepherds from the storm. The tomb so far as can be seen is entirely built of the red-brown stone of the district called 'pietra di cantone.' The orientation of the front is towards the east south-east.

The arrangement of the tomb will be best understood by reference to the Ground Plan shown in Fig. 7 (left above). Here if we take into account only the cella and its wall of enclosure with the apse-like arrangement behind we cannot but be struck by the strong resemblance to the simpler dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu we have just left. It is in short the tomb of Su Coveccu over again in an enlarged edition, with its cella and wall of enclosure very much elongated and with a whole series of cover-slabs, instead of the single cover-slab of the dolmen. If we conceived the dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu as a family sepulchre used for repeated burials extending over several generations, we could easily imagine the necessity for the gradual lengthening of its cella in one direction in such a

way as to produce a type of monument quite like the Giant's Tomb of Sas Prigionas. This was what actually took place. And accordingly the dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu represents typologically a very early phase in the organic process of architectural development by which the primitive dolmen type of sepulchre became gradually transformed in Sardinia into the Tomba di Gigante.

But at Sas Prigionas we have the process of transformation already

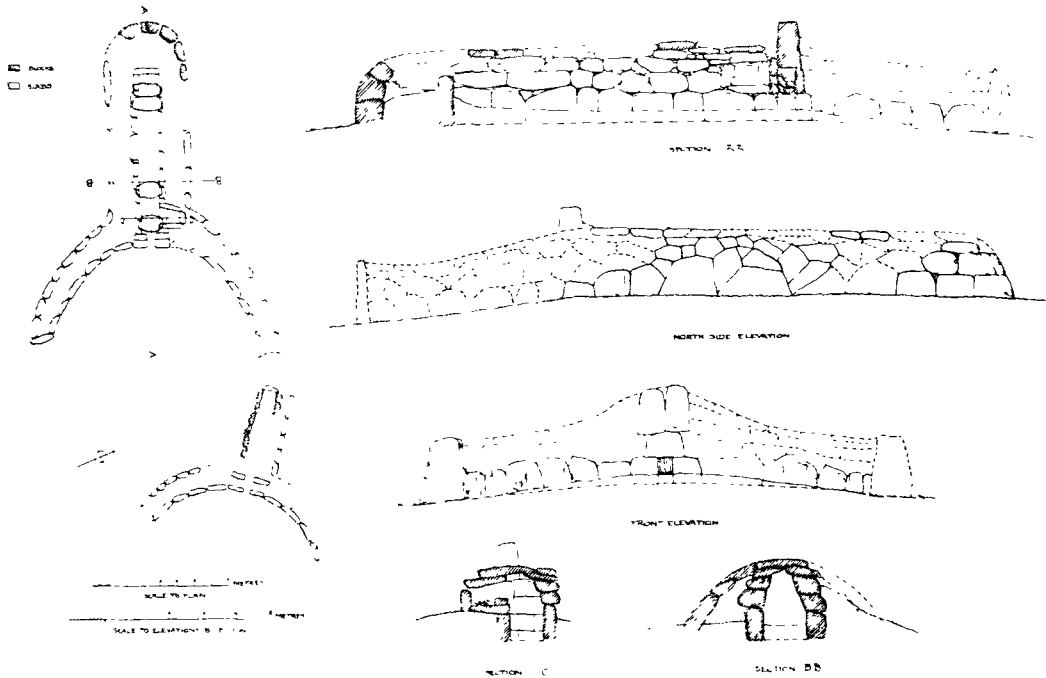


FIG. 7.—THE TOMBS OF THE GIANTS OF SAS PRIGIONAS.

at a very advanced stage in development. Not only is there the extraordinary multiplication of the cover-slabs necessitated through the lengthening of the tomb but we have besides a very interesting transformation in the construction of the cella itself.

At the stage in development represented by the dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu the walls of the cella, as we have seen, are constructed by means of slabs fixed vertically in position and on these the cover-slab or system of cover-slabs rests directly. By the time to which the great

tomb of Sas Prigionas belongs, the cover-slabs no longer rest on the orthostatic slabs of the cella but on an intervening structure of coursed masonry. This arrangement will be best understood by reference to the internal Long Section AA of the cella shown in the right division of Fig. 7. Here in a long row appear below the tall orthostatic slabs of dolmenic origin which form the lowest course in the internal construction of our now transformed cella. On these rest two lines, with a partial third row within the entrance of rough coursed masonry. It will be observed that each succeeding course is shallower than the one below it.

Further, however, this coursed masonry itself does not have its faces vertical but splayed in such a way that the two walls of the cella approach each other above on the principle of the so-called false arch. This comes out very clearly in the Cross Section BB shown below to the right (in Fig. 7). Through this method of construction a double advantage is gained. The cella is increased in height and the narrowing of the cella upwards by reducing the internal width obviates the necessity for the wide span of cover-slab involved by the old dolmen tradition in the construction of these tombs.

A characteristic feature in the construction of the cella taken as a whole is the wall of enclosure with its apse-like curve behind. And this we saw reason for regarding simply as an elongation, together with the cella, of a feature that was already present in the construction of the dolmen, as, indeed, the example of the neighbouring dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu showed.

In the case of many of these tombs all that now remains of this wall of enclosure is a row usually of orthostatic slabs planted upright in the ground and emerging above the surface, and it is often assumed that this is all there ever was. Indeed, the function of this wall of enclosure is usually taken to have been merely to hold in the tumulus or mound of earth that is assumed originally to have covered the whole cella of the tomb.

What then was our surprise at Sas Prigionas to find that this was by no means the case. Here on going round behind we found that the apse on the north side still showed in position parts of three courses of rough ashlar masonry with a gradual domed curve away above towards the top of the cella as well as round towards the north side. This masonry appears in Pl. VI. Fig. 1, partly covered with a mass of prickly scrub.

After the curve behind is passed the ashlar masonry of the lowest course of the apse gives place to orthostatic slab construction on the north side. In this case again it could be seen that this lowest course was surmounted by some kind of masonry above. The tangle of prickly scrub, however, is here so dense that it was only with very great difficulty and much zeal on the part of Mr. Newton that we were able to get out the details of the whole. The result appears in the North Side Elevation shown in Fig. 7. Here to the right is the ashlar construction of the apse referred to already and shown in Pl. VI. Fig. 1. This, after a short interval in which the masonry is apparently missing, gives place left-wards to a lowest course of irregular orthostatic slabs. These, however, do not stand quite upright but have an inclination inwards corresponding to that observable in the ashlar construction at the end. This lowest course again has fitting on to it above a compact layer of polygonal slabs of different shapes and sizes. These all fit on to each other and curving away go right up to the top, where they joined on to the similar casing of the off side of the cella in the manner shown in the Cross Section BB.

From this cross section is best understood the way in which the cella is masked by this covering of slabs. This covering is dotted in to indicate what is missing on the other side of the cella. The interval between the outside covering and the cella was filled up with rubble construction solidified by means of clay mortar.

The external appearance of the cella as a whole as seen in the north elevation and in the long section resembles that of an inverted boat. And here we are reminded that it was owing to a similar keel-like appearance that the Naveta tombs of the Balearic Isles, with their analogous external construction, received their name.<sup>1</sup> In the Balearic sepulchral monuments referred to the lowest course, which is usually much taller than the ones above it, keeps up an external semblance to the orthostatic slabs of dolmen tradition, but the whole upper structure which masks the cella is already entirely in coursed masonry. As the Giant's Tomb of Sas Prigionas also turns out to have the coursed masonry represented in the external construction of its apse, as well as in the cella, the difference referred to can hardly be regarded as an essential one. Thus the Tombe di Gigante of Sardinia turn out to have an affinity in

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bezenberger, 'Vorgeschichtliche Bauwerke der Balearen,' in *Zeits. f. Eth.* 1907, 626, Figs. 63-66. See also *Mennon*, vol. ii. fasc. 3, pp. 22-3 of reprint.



construction with the Naveta tombs of the Balearic Isles which, as the important example of Sas Prigionas shows us, goes much deeper than mere external resemblance.

Can we go a step further and say that the affinity in construction is to be traced back to a common origin in the dolmen type of tomb? We have already seen that the wall of enclosure was, with other features, a bond in common between our tomb and the dolmen sepulchre of Su Coveccu. The question now then is whether already at the stage of development represented by the dolmen tomb of Su Coveccu the wall of enclosure of which there is evidence there really masked the whole of the cella, as was the case with the Giant's Tomb of Sas Prigionas.

But the Tombe di Gigante have one very characteristic feature which, so far as my own experience hitherto goes, is not present in the case of the dolmens of Sardinia, and is likewise absent in the Naveta tombs of the Balearic Isles, though elsewhere in West Europe its occurrence has a range which extends from Spain in the south to England, Ireland, and Scotland in the north.

This is the frontal semicircle arrangement shown in the Ground Plan (Fig. 7). Its structure consists essentially in a prolongation outside, to right and left, of the cella wall and the parallel wall of enclosure on either side in such a way as to sweep round in the form of a concave curving wing flanking the entrance on both hands. The ends of these wings are finished off by means of a transverse orthostatic slab. The appearance of the whole as it looks to one approaching the entrance to the tomb will best be realized by reference to the restored Front Elevation shown in Fig. 7. Here on either side of the small portal hole which communicates with the cella within is the curving row of orthostatic slabs which form the lowest course, in front as behind, of the frontal semicircle. The remaining construction above this in front and behind, which is almost entirely missing in the present case, has to be conjectured from analogies elsewhere as consisting of rough coursed masonry curved away towards the top, front, and back in a manner analogous to that of the wall of enclosure of the cella.

The transverse end slab of the left wing of the frontal semicircle is in position ; that of the right wing is missing.

The portal hole, in the centre of the frontal semicircle, into the cella and lying in the axis of that, is a characteristic feature of these tombs

which is never absent. It is a traditional inheritance from the dolmen which in one form or another exhibits this opening over a wide area of distribution in the Mediterranean and elsewhere.

What then was our surprise in exploring the interior of the cella to find at the east or entrance end of the north wall of this a second aperture forming a feature of the tomb such as we had never seen anywhere before in Sardinia. This aperture as it appeared to us from the interior of the cella is best understood by reference to the Long Section AA shown in Fig. 7. As the ground plan shows, the aperture in question goes out transversely across the interval between the cella wall and the north wall of enclosure in such a way as just to clear the end of this at the point at which it curves away round to form the back wall of the right wing of the frontal semicircle. The aperture, which narrows outwards, is masked externally by the first back slab of the frontal semicircle at this point in such a way that, looked at from the outside, its presence could not be suspected.

In presence of this curious secret entrance we may perhaps assume that the small portal hole in front may have been used for ritual observances by the family to whom the tomb belonged, assembled to commemorate the dead with feasts in the area of the frontal semicircle. In that case access to the tomb at times of burial may have been for a long time through simple removal of one of the cover-slabs above. And it is only in course of time, as the external construction of such tombs became more and more massive and the cella narrowed more and more above, that we can conceive the invention of a device for concealment like the masked entrance we have just described.

*Sas Prigionas: Giant's Tomb, No. 2.*

In front of the right wing of the tomb we have just described is a second Tomba di Gigante of smaller size and not nearly so well preserved as the other. The Ground Plan of this is shown in Fig. 7.

The cella walls of the tomb so far as visible are in coursed masonry. All the cover-slabs of this are gone. The front orthostatic slabs of the frontal semicircle are in position. The back ones, except some of those of the left wing, have been removed. Of the wall of enclosure nothing is visible except a row of slabs to the right of the cella.

The tomb is constructed in the same red-brown local stone as the other. The orientation is somewhat more towards the south-east.

This tomb has to be regarded as belonging to the same family or to the same kin as the larger tomb. It is possibly of somewhat later date and may have been built to supplement the other.

*The Nuraghe of Ludosu.*

In a paper read at the British School in the spring of 1908 and since published in *Ausonia*, vol. iii. pp. 18-48 I have somewhat in detail gone into the question of the relation of the Tombs of the Giants to the Nuraghi of Sardinia. I on that occasion sought to make the conclusion seem reasonable that the so-called Tombs of the Giants were really the great family mausolea of the local chiefs who inhabited the Nuraghi and ruled over the Nuraghi villages.

In this connection it is interesting to note the fact that just two minutes to west-north-westward of the tombs of Sas Prigionas is a great barrier of red-brown rock stretching south into the meadow. Into this were built the strong foundations of the Nuraghe of Ludosu. The Nuraghe is much ruined and nothing at all is visible of it now from the standpoint of the tombs. One would indeed never suspect its existence did one not get round to the opposite side of the rock barrier and see remains of the lowest courses of the circular chamber fitted into the massive boulders.

*The Giants' Tombs of Goronna.*

Goronna is a level wooded hill half an hour distant westward of Paulilatino. The hill is just high enough to have commanded once upon a time the mazy plateau country of coppices and meadow, but it is thickly wooded now with wild oak and olive and a dense undergrowth of luxurious lentisk and other scrub. Great boulders of the local volcanic stone show out among the lentisk thickets and the solemn shadows of the woods give the place a wild and sequestered appearance with the level mazy country of the plateau only appearing in distant vistas. There is a sort of local spring in autumn that lingers about the spot, and the sylvan glades, green once again, are now gay with golden buttercups, tall Sardinian daisies, and other blossoms that love sequestered

nooks. The deep shadows of the woodland, the thickset coppices that screen the view, the touch of local spring, all help to give the spot an air of haunted seclusion all its own.

In this sequestered spot, so grand and yet so lonely in its aloofness, lie side by side the two great Giants' Tombs of Goronna. In all the wide mazes of the level woodland country there is no spot like this and no tombs like these.

Pl. VI. Fig. 2 gives a view of the front of the southern, the more important, of the two tombs looking west.<sup>1</sup> In the centre is the great portal slab, broken off above, and with the characteristic portal hole,



FIG. 8.—GORONNA (PLAN OF SITE).

communicating with the cella, in the middle below. Right and left are remains of the upright slabs which formed the lowest course of the frontal semicircle. Pl. VII. Fig. 1 gives a view of the remains of the cella from behind looking north-east.

The appearance of the remains as a whole will be best understood by reference to the Plan of the site (Fig. 8) and the detailed Plans and Sections (Figs. 9, 10). The monument has been sadly ruined and a great gap in the south side betrays the work of the treasure hunters. The lower half of the portal slab is still in position. It has the usual panelling in relief. Its appearance will be best understood by reference to the Front

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pinza in *Monumenti dei Lincei*, xi. (1901), pp. 258-9, Fig. 138; also Pl. XIX. 1.

Elevation. All the cover-slabs of the cella are gone except one near the front end. The right and left walls of the cella, in very tall orthostatic slabs helped out above with rough coursed masonry slightly splayed inwards, are traceable all along. Of the frontal semicircle and the wall of enclosure only the foundation courses are preserved with gaps here and there.

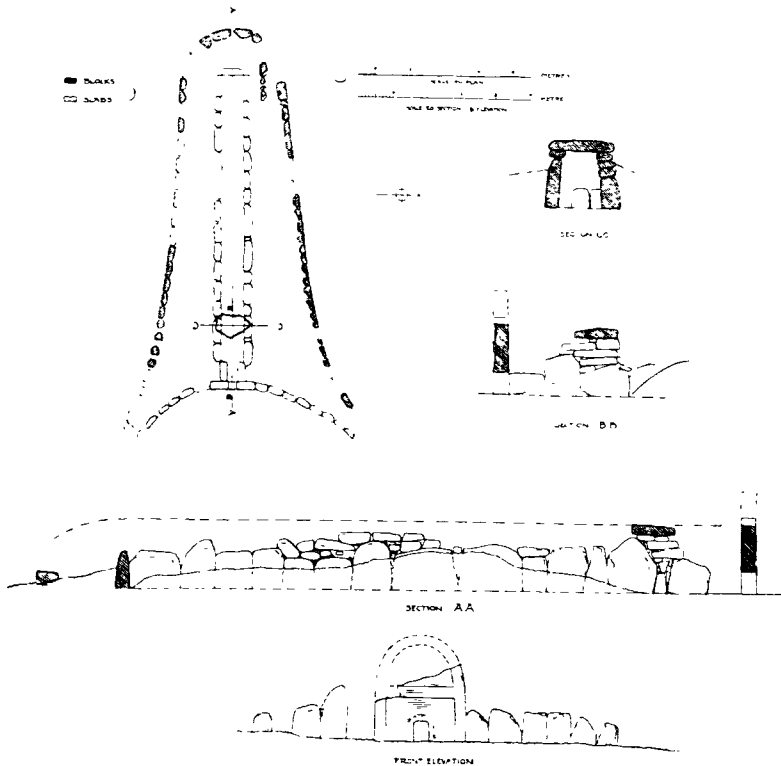


FIG. 9.—GERONNA (SOUTHERN TOMB).

The tomb with its imposing portal slab all in one piece, its long cella, and its massive orthostatic and cover-slabs must have been an imposing monument when its great keel-like mask of polygonal slabs or blocks was still intact.

Most lamentable of all has been the injury to the great portal slab. This was smashed above to get at the treasure supposed to be hermetically sealed within by means of a cement that according to local tradition could

not be distinguished from the original volcanic stone. Hence the necessity to destroy the whole piecemeal to get at the treasure!

The second (northern) tomb at Goronna is a twin brother to the other. It is of somewhat smaller size but still of grandiose proportions. It lies almost alongside of the other a little to north of that and somewhat more towards the front as one approaches the tombs from the east. The relation of the two tombs to each other will be best understood by reference to the general Plan of the site shown in Fig. 8.

The work of destruction here has been even more grievous than in the case of the other tomb. The great portal slab with its panels in relief has been entirely smashed to pieces, which lie all about within the frontal semi-circle. This has a great gap in its left wing and yet the end slabs of both wings are in position. The wall of enclosure is almost entirely gone except for some foundations here and there. Nothing now remains of the masking cover of the tomb. The front part of the cella is gone. The rest as seen in Section AA is fairly well preserved. A little less than two-thirds of the cella walls, reckoning from the front, is in tall orthostatic slabs helped out above with rough coursed masonry. So far as apparent above ground the back part of the cella was entirely in coursed masonry with the exception of the orthostatic back slab. We may have here to do with an addition to the tomb and this would have been more easily added behind than in front. Two of the cover-slabs about the middle of the cella are in position but lurching. The great size and wide span of these taken in connection with the tallness of the orthostatic slabs in the cella represents, in the case of both tombs, a strong reminiscence of dolmen construction. Yet notwithstanding these archaic features the grandiose style of the monumental portal slabs points to that great period of the Sardinian Bronze Age when the civilization of the Nuraghi was in its prime.

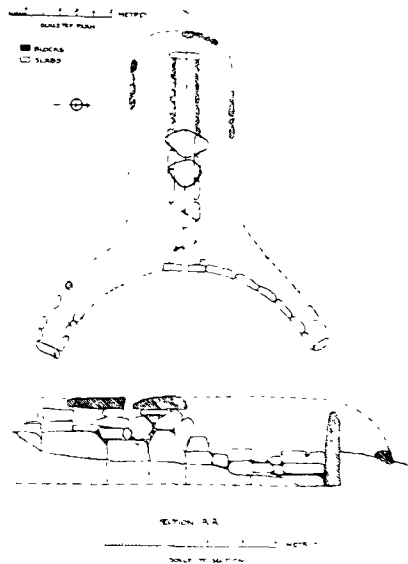


FIG. 10.—GORONNA (NORTHERN TOMB).

*The Nuraghi of Goronna.*

In the case of two such important tombs as those of Goronna it was natural to look about for the corresponding Nuraghi to which the tombs could be taken as belonging. One such construction in very bad condition had attracted our attention as we were approaching the tombs from the east. The position of this is indicated on the general Plan of the site (below to the right) as occupying a sort of corner at the east edge of the hill. From this point the remains of a wall of circumvallation run in a north-westerly direction towards a second Nuraghe likewise of a simple but more irregular type. The wall of circumvallation runs on for some little distance further and then gets lost.

It would be convenient for topographical reasons to assign our two tombs respectively to these two Nuraghi, were it not for the simple and unimportant appearance of these in contrast with the grandiose and majestic proportions of the sepulchral monuments. The real proprietors of these may have lived near at hand in the level country which is studded all over with important Nuraghi. On the other hand the hill of Goronna has an exceptional strategic importance owing to its isolated character and its wide command of the level plateau country. The two Nuraghi have very apparently had their position chosen on purpose with a view to the widest possible outlook respectively to east, north, and west. They are thus essentially outlook towers and they must at any rate have belonged to the proprietors of the tombs, even if they were not the permanent residences of the two families.

*The Giant's Tomb of Srighidanu near Bauladu.*

The Giant's Tomb of Srighidanu is situated in rough up and down pastoral country at a distance of about twenty minutes to N.W. of the station of Bauladu. The locality is an out of the way hollow with wild olive trees about, with thickets of other scrub here and there showing grassy intervals between.

The resemblance of the tomb (Plan and Elevation on Fig. 11) to that at Sas Prigionas previously described is apparent at a glance especially by reference to the Elevation. This shows remains of the same covering

mask of polygonal slabs as was characteristic at Sas Prigionas. The tomb as a whole is, however, better preserved than the other. All the cover-slabs are in position, though here and there are noticeable traces of reaccommodation to the recent use of the tomb as a pig-sty. The right

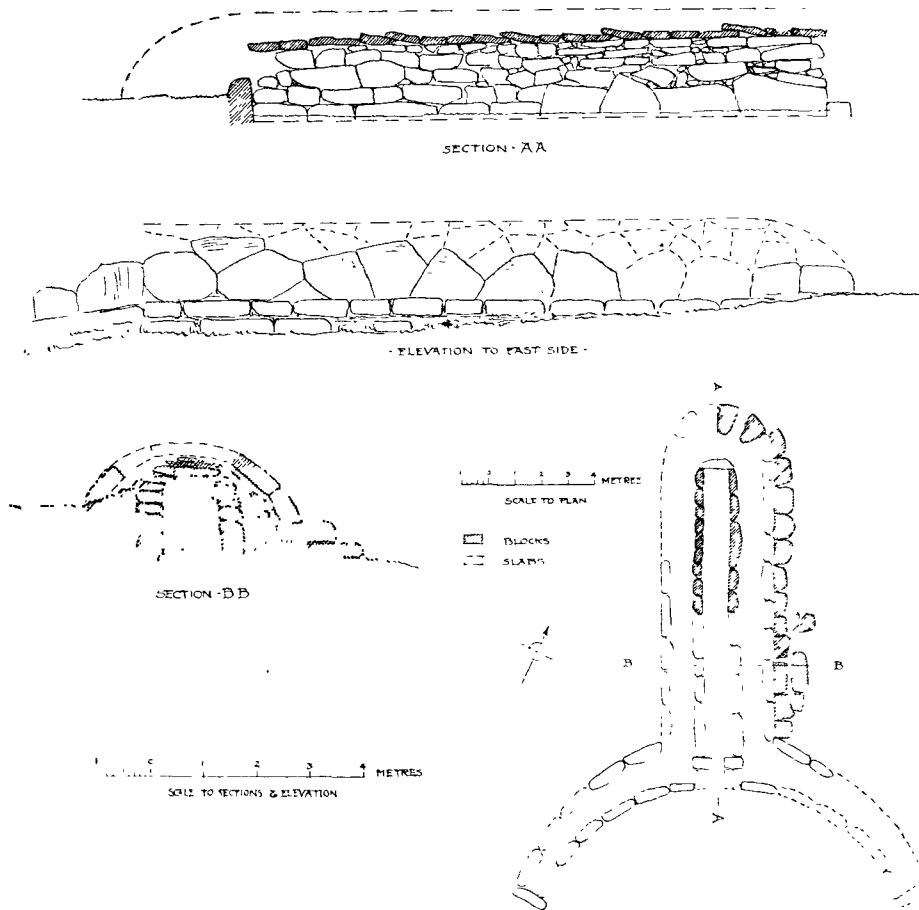


FIG. II.—GIANT'S TOMB OF SRIGHIDANU.

and left and back walls of the cella are complete. The ground course for 5.60 metres from the front consists of orthostatic slabs surmounted by false arch work for 3-4 courses. The remainder of the cella behind consists entirely of coursed masonry with sides approaching above, once



more on the principle of the false arch. Were there other evidence for it this alteration in the construction might favour the view that the back part of the tomb represents a later extension of the original plan.

The resemblance of the covering mask to that at Sas Prigionas has been already referred to. The tomb at Srighidanu, however, has a feature which we did not notice at Sas Prigionas. This, as seen in the Elevation, is a sort of stylobate of which two courses of rough ashlar masonry are visible on the right hand side of the tomb. On this the polygonal work of the covering mask itself rests. As the ground rises on the left hand of the tomb it is probable that this feature did not exist on that side. The likelihood of this may appear from the Cross Section BB.

The material of construction is a local sort of grey schist-like stone that seems to have undergone volcanic action, and hard perforated volcanic stone like that so common in the district is used to fill up interstices.

The tomb is orientated south-south-east.

*The Giant's Tomb of Muraguada near Bauladu.*

On the railway journey from Paulilatino to Bauladu, some distance before arriving at the latter station, one comes out upon a sort of saddle commanding the country to east and west. On this saddle are the Nuraghe and the Giant's Tomb of Muraguada.

The Nuraghe which is but poorly preserved and has been partly cut into by the railway is on the right hand side on the west edge of the saddle just where that descends steeply into the valley.

On the east side just on the left hand side of the line is a level space with a jumble of stones all about among the bushes. Among these are discernible the circles of Nuraghe huts. These are the poor remains of the Nuraghe village.

Looking towards the south, beyond the Nuraghe village, one sees in a sort of open meadow space a characteristic mound covered with an overgrowth of cactus and lentisk. This is the Giant's Tomb of Muraguada. A nearer view of this looking south-west is shown in Pl. VII. Fig. 2.

The tomb is in exceptionally good condition. The frontal semicircle was in large volcanic blocks of coursed masonry and of this parts of four courses and a block of the fifth and topmost course are preserved. A good view of the front appears in Pl. VIII. Fig. 1.

The construction of the frontal semicircle and the external facings of stone-work as well as the internal construction of the cella remind one strongly of the Giant's Tomb at Sas Prigionas previously described.

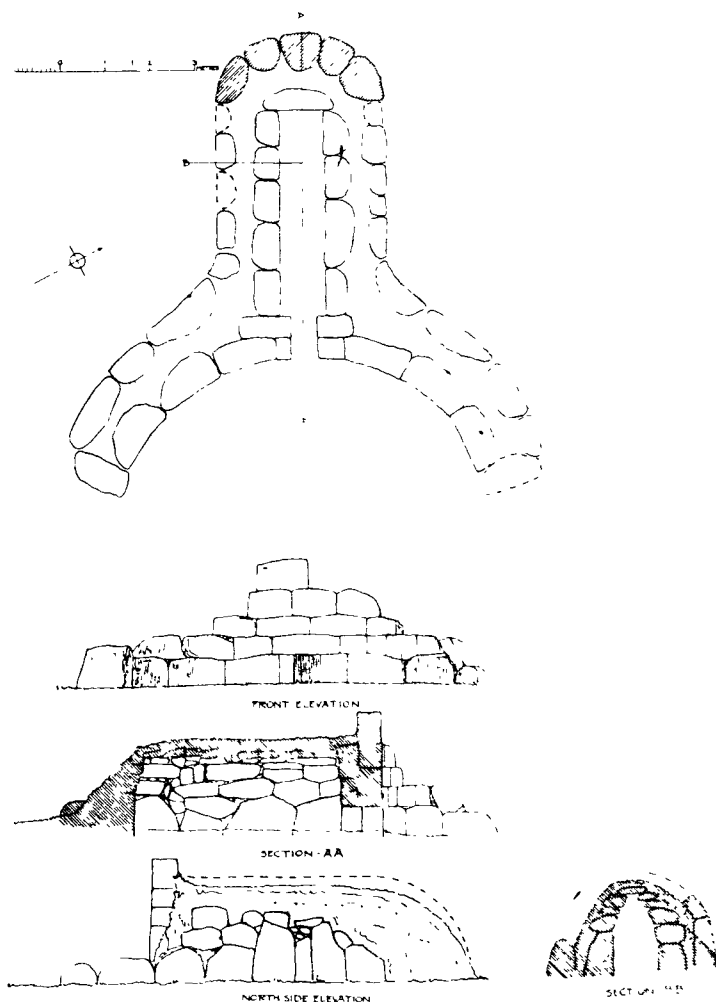


FIG. 12.—GIANT'S TOMB OF MURAGADA.

What we have here is Sas Prigionas on a smaller scale but with a much better preserved frontal semicircle.

The arrangement of the tomb as a whole thus requires no detailed

description here. It is best understood by reference to the Ground Plan, Section, and Elevations of Fig. 12.

A general view of the locality looking northwards from the tomb towards the Nuraghe is shown in Pl. VIII. Fig. 2. The mound of the Nuraghe is visible in the background towards the right just beyond the line where the telegraph posts indicate the railway. The thicket to the right of that again conceals the remains of the Nuraghe village.

For all that would appear from the picture it might seem that there was no essential difference between the position chosen for the Nuraghe and that selected for the tomb. There is in reality a very great difference indeed. Thus if we start from the Nuraghe and try to keep in view its outlook to east and west we find that the chief points of vantage disappear one by one as we approach the tomb. For example, an important Nuraghe away down to eastward in the Pranu district, which is very distinctly visible from our Nuraghe, is already quite out of sight at the tomb. From the tomb again the important outlook westward down the Rio Bauvenu commanded by the Nuraghe entirely vanishes behind slightly rising ground quite near at hand. The tomb in its quiet meadow is indifferent to outlook and points of vantage and the one consideration kept in view is that it should be well within sight and reach of the Nuraghe to which it belongs. For the Nuraghe on the other hand outlook and points of vantage are everything. The considerations held in view are entirely of a strategic character. These strategic considerations would have no meaning whatever if, as some have held, the Nuraghi themselves were tombs.

Were the Nuraghe of Muraguada a monument of a sepulchral character we may be sure it would have been as indifferent to such strategic considerations as the tomb near by which belongs to it. In that case all real reasons would have vanished for placing it just where it is on the saddle. It is on the west edge of this so as to have the greatest control possible of that steep side. At the same time it is just at that point of the saddle where it can have the completest view down the valley to eastward without sacrificing its points of vantage on the west side. Considerations like these in the most varying circumstances have always some play or other wherever we have to do with a Nuraghe and, except by chance, are always as invariably absent in the case of tombs.

Through them the strategic character of the Nuraghi is placed in the clearest possible light.<sup>1</sup>

*The rock-cut Giant's Tomb of Molafá.*

We cannot take leave of the Tombs of the Giants without illustrating yet another very curious monument of the same class. This is the rock-cut Giant's Tomb of Molafá near Sassari shown in Pl. IX. Fig. 1.<sup>2</sup>

The tomb is a few paces up the left side of a bare little limestone valley descending eastward to its exit just alongside of the station of Molafá.

A glance at the picture will make it clear that what we have here is the frontal semicircle and portal of a Giant's Tomb carved out of the face of the limestone rock instead of being built by hand. The wings right and left of the frontal semicircle and the portal in the centre with its curved gable above are faithfully reproduced.

The essential difference in all this arrangement is that instead of the small portal hole below of the Tombs of the Giants we have here a high doorway, narrowing somewhat above like those of the Nuraghi, which must have been closed by a special slab of stone. This slab itself may have had the customary portal hole cut into its bottom. The greater size of doorway, has, however, been gained much more by deepening below than by heightening above. In the upper direction it stops short at the cross panel which forms the base of the gable.

The appearance of the interior of the tomb will be best understood by reference to the Ground Plan (Fig. 13). Here on passing the short entrance corridor we have the interior widened into a rectangular cella going lengthwise into the rock and arched above in a way which seems to imitate rather the exterior than the interior of a Giant's Tomb.<sup>3</sup>

On either hand and behind is a low seat-like ledge and the long narrow rectangular interval which forms a sinking between the right and left ledges is the feature of the cella which has the strongest remin-

<sup>1</sup> These considerations are discussed in some detail in my paper contributed to *Ausonia*, iii. 1908, 18-48.

<sup>2</sup> This tomb has been published by M. François Préchac, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xxviii. 163-5. For the sake of the Plans and Sections made by Mr. F. G. Newton I venture to call attention to the monument anew.

<sup>3</sup> For this see the Cross Section BB.

isence in plan of the interior of an ordinary *tomba di Gigante*. The slight bulging out in the middle is a characteristic of many of these tombs.

The relation of façade to cella is well brought out in the long Section AA.

The special interest of this curious sepulchral monument consists in the following fact:—It is an adaptation to limestone country of a type of

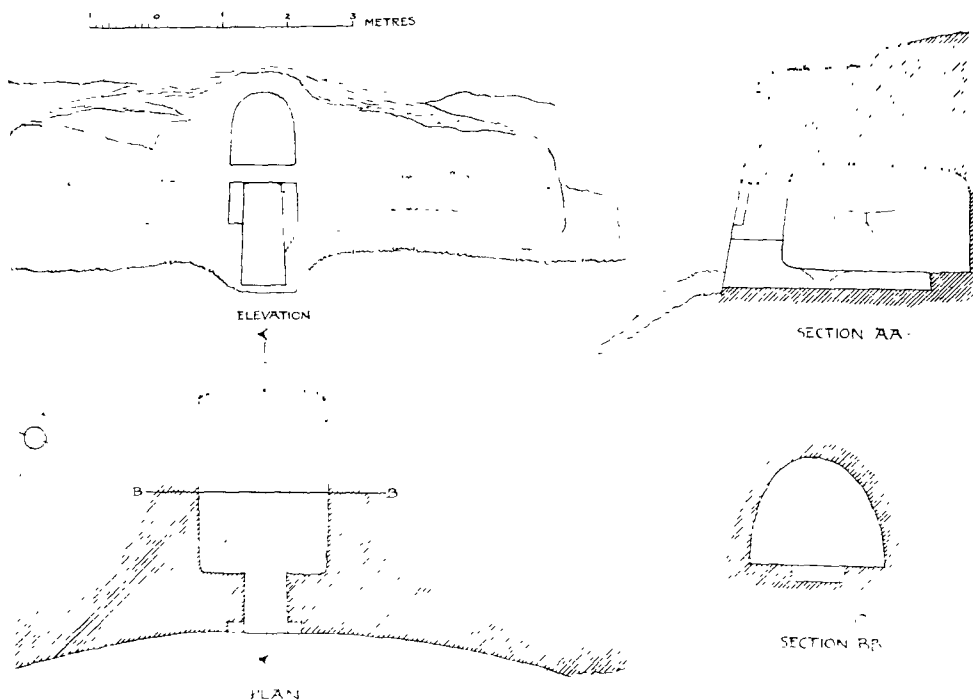


FIG. 13. —ROCK-CUT GIANT'S TOMB OF MOIAFÀ.

tomb which is most at home in regions of Sardinia where nature provides ready to the hand of the builders the great slabs which are so characteristic a feature in the construction of the Tombs of the Giants. The soft porous limestone which prevails in the whole region of Sassari yields no natural slabs of this kind. When worked again it breaks up so readily that no slabs of any size are conveniently obtainable from it. On the other hand it is as easily scooped out into subterranean chambers as it is difficult to plane away into slabs that would be satisfactory for construc-

tions requiring great resistance to pressure from above. Hence the adaptation to special circumstances presented to us by the rock-cut Giant's Tomb of Molafá.

That indeed the tomb of Molafá is not singular of its kind in this limestone country is shown by the fact that near the next station of St. George on the same line to Alghero there is a second rock-cut Giant's Tomb which externally and so far as its façade is concerned is quite like the one at Molafá.<sup>1</sup>

Internally, however, this tomb is of rounded shape and here we are bound to suspect collusion with the circular type of chamber of the Nuraghi. Such collusion would only be natural in view of the intimate relation of the two sets of monuments to each other.<sup>2</sup>

*The Dolmenic Tomb of Perdalunga near Austis.*

Throughout our explorations in Sardinia we always kept in mind the possibility of coming upon tombs of the dolmen type. None of these had as yet turned up in the plateau of Abbasanta, and accordingly with hope of better luck, we withdrew to the sequestered regions of the mountains about Austis towards Gennargentu.

My own desire to try this mountain region had been strengthened by our previous good fortune in the elevated country of Sas Prigionas behind Bultei. Besides it is a usual experience to find that the remote pastoral uplands are kinder to early monuments of a simple type than the cultivated plains and lowlands.

The village of Austis lies concealed in the mountain forests, and emerging from these on to the more pastoral uplands to left of the high road to Ovodda, one comes in half an hour to the site of Perdalunga shown in Pl. IX. Fig. 2. The hilly country that appears in the picture is covered with tall heather and bracken and there are everywhere about great thickets of arbutus and other scrub. The monument itself that we were shown here took us somewhat by surprise. The description by our guide, Giuseppe Sanna, of a great slab made us expect a dolmen and it was not that, though it looked very like one from the distance. What we saw on coming nearer seemed at first sight only the poorly preserved cella of an

<sup>1</sup> Préchac, *loc. cit.* Fig. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Préchac, *ibid.* 164 5

ordinary Tomba di Gigante, and yet on closer inspection we found again that it was not that. What we had before us was really a very curious transitional type of tomb that had originally started as a dolmen and later on had been lengthened in one direction so as to look like the cella of a rudimentary Giant's Tomb.

The picture shows the tomb looking west along the cella to its back end. This is formed of a natural block of the local granite hewn away to

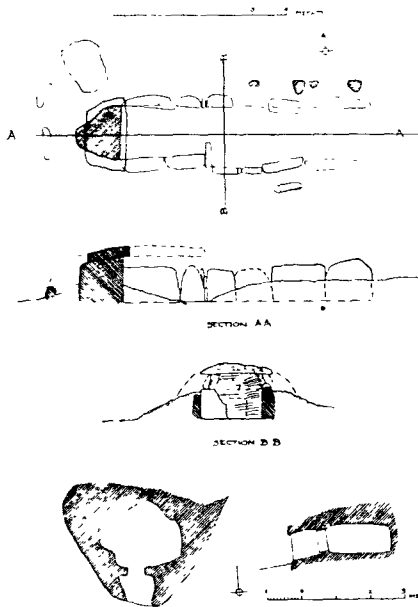


FIG. 14.—DOLMENIC TOMB OF PERDALUNGA NEAR AUSTIS (ON LEFT, ABOVE): ROCK-CUT TOMB NEAR OVODDA.

a vertical face in front so as to form the back wall of the cella. This block is surmounted by the fragment of a large horizontal slab in granite which originally covered the whole of the back part of the cella. This back part of the cella was our dolmen, and it was as a dolmen that the tomb originally started its existence.

This will become clear by reference to the Ground Plan and Sections shown in Fig. 14 (above). In the ground plan appear the massive block that forms the back of the cella and above this the fragment of the great cover-slab. On each side are two orthostatic slabs which form the right and left walls of a simple cella. Then come, separated from each other, the fragments of an orthostatic slab which went right across and closed the

original cella on the east side. Traces of a straight vertical cutting in its lower half shown in Section BB would indicate the presence of the usual portal hole through this entrance slab. There can be hardly any doubt that we have here the tomb in its original dolmen form and that the great cover-slab originally came as far as the entrance slab, as indicated in Section AA.<sup>1</sup> The next section of the tomb is wider on the south side and this widening would indicate a later dolmen burial

<sup>1</sup> The name of Perda Lunga applied to the tomb must be connected with a time when the great cover-slab was still intact.

orientated north-south. This widening is represented by two upright slabs on the south side. From this point eastwards in the direction of the front the cella narrows to somewhat less than its original width at the back end. This narrowed part may again indicate a later addition.

With the exception of the fragment, still in position, of the dolmen cover-slab at the back end of the tomb, all the cover-slabs have disappeared. Of the wall of enclosure there are only obscure remains of foundation on the right hand side towards the front. There is no trace of a frontal semicircle, and considering the very archaic character of the tomb it is probable there never was one. It will also be remembered that the dolmen tomb at Sas Prigionas showed no trace of a frontal semicircle. Our tomb also started its existence as a dolmen, and as this was apparently added to piecemeal at a later time it is difficult to conceive the presence, even in a rudimentary form, of frontal wings, whose position would have had to be shifted again and again.

Outside the dolmen part of the tomb there is no certain indication now on the surface of a wall of enclosure, but as that is present in the case of the dolmen of Su Coveccu at Sas Prigionas, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, as in Corsica, it is safer to assume that this has disappeared in the present case.

### *The Dolmen of s'Enna sa Vacca.*

After a heavy rainstorm at Sarule the good luck we had had at Perdalunga began to smile again upon us at Olzai with the tranquillizing sunbeams of a true St. Martin's summer.

Austis, Ovodda, and Gavoi: these are the sequestered villages of the forest and the mountains. Sarule on its airy slope has a wide-eyed vision westward once again upon the great plateau of Abbasanta as far as the Nuraghe of Santa Barbara and Macomer. Olzai lies quietly low at the foot of the mountains in a land of pastoral valleys with only glimpses of the wider west and a grand barrier of jagged mountains to the south.

In this pleasant valley country three hours distant westward from Olzai is the scene shown in the picture of Pl. X. Fig. 1, and the Dolmen of s'Enna sa Vacca.

At Olzai we had had the good luck to fall in with the communal secretary and the village curate, and it was they who told us of this



monument describing it in language which, with the special mention of an enormous slab, left no doubt as to its character. It was thus with feelings of unusual excitement we approached the spot.

We were not disappointed, as the monument in the picture will show.

The tomb is situated on a wide grassy spur running down north from higher ground to south. On this higher ground a little to south-west lies the Nuraghe of s'Enna sa Vacca, itself much ruined and of simple type. Here and there all about the tomb are wild olive, crab apple, and other trees and scrub. In this summer of St. Martin after the heavy rains there is a look of spring about the spot and there is a gay show of dandelions, buttercups, and daisies on the meadow.

The monument itself is of exceptional interest. Like so many tombs of the dolmen type it is orientated with its front to the east. Then there is the enormous cover-slab, of granite like the rest, we had been told of in the village. This quite surpassed our expectations. It is over four metres long and three metres broad. It covers the whole cella and as seen in the picture, which gives a view looking north-west, its length extends from the group of trees on the left to that on the right at the entrance to the tomb.

A view looking west towards the entrance is shown in Pl. X. Fig. 2. Here in the centre below to the right of the tree-trunk appears the portal hole. Above is a large gap in front, which is no doubt the work of the treasure hunters. So much, indeed, of the supporting masonry has been removed that one wonders the enormous cover-slab still remains in position. That, as one sees, lurches visibly towards the north side. It would probably have fallen altogether were it not that the shepherds who use the tomb as a shelter from the storm have done something to repair the mischief by propping up the slab anew.

The construction of the monument will be best understood by reference to the Ground Plan, Sections, and Elevations shown in Fig. 15.

From the ground plan it will be seen that the tomb is of an advanced dolmen type with elongated cella and wall of enclosure.

The cella is already like that of an ordinary Giant's Tomb. That has orthostatic slabs below with coursed splayed masonry above. There must have been altogether from three to four courses to get up to the level of the under side of the cover-slab. All this comes out very clearly in Section AA. The splaying of the masonry of the cella above is shown in Section BB. The portal hole is more or less intact, but the lintel has

cracked through pressure from above. The construction of this side is shown in the East Elevation.

As the ground plan shows, there is no trace of a frontal semicircle, but the wall of enclosure is there traceable at intervals all along in a double line of foundations.

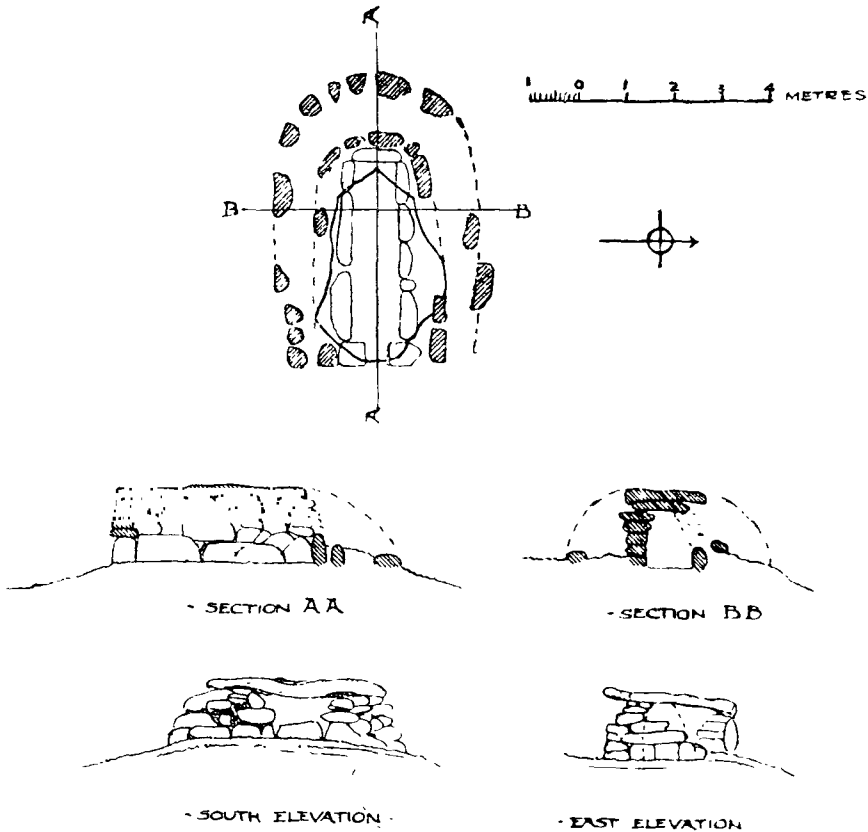


FIG. 15.—DOLMEN OF S'ENNA SA VACCA.

Taken as a whole, the dolmen before us is of a very advanced type, and the construction of its elongated cella shows that it already possesses some of the characteristic features of the Tombs of the Giants.

The special interest, then, consists in this, that it seems to show the dolmen surviving into a time when there were probably Tombs of the Giants already in existence.

This survival is interesting from another point of view. The tomb probably belonged to the Nuraghe near by, and in that case it is the first time in Sardinia that we have observed a monument of the Nuraghe class brought definitely into intimate and direct relation with the dolmen type of tomb.

We are thus bound chronologically to go back to a still earlier time when the round hut dwelling and the rectangular dolmen tomb existed side by side in a mutual relation that was anterior to that of the Nuraghi and the Tombs of the Giants.

*s'Altare de Logula.*

The discovery of the interesting monument we have just described made us all the more anxious now to visit the Altare de Logula which we had previously heard of at Sarule. We did so now on our way back from Olzai. What we had heard of was a monument with a great square slab, and in the light of this the name of altar given to the monument by the people seemed still more significant. Besides, who does not know that monuments of the dolmen class have received the legendary name of altar in different parts of the Mediterranean, for example in Corsica, as well as in West Europe as far afield as Ireland? We thus seemed to ourselves to have almost absolute certainty that we were on the point of discovering another dolmen.

After winding away down to about forty minutes' distance to the left of the high road from Olzai to Sarule we are brought to a grassy glen all by itself with wild olive trees about in clumps here and there. There is hardly any distant view anywhere and this adds to the sense of deep seclusion.

On the south slope of this sleepy hollow is a rounded knoll overshadowed to south-westward by a hill with boulders. On the knoll the sun sets early and all the place is wrapt in the gloaming at an hour when the wider world beyond is still bathed in golden light.

When we were brought to the spot, what was shown us, to our no small surprise, was the monument that appears in Pl. XI. Fig. 1.

Here, to the left in the picture, is a great rectangular slab of granite planted upright in the ground, but now lurching forward, and with a wide projecting panel round its edge. Then we notice the row of upright

granite slabs curving away to the right, and we see at once that what we have before us is not a dolmen, but the remains of a Giant's Tomb with its portal slab and frontal semicircle.

The great panelled slab itself is familiar and we saw it at Borore, Goronna, and elsewhere, but with a difference. Here is lacking the characteristic curved gable which ought to finish the portal slab above. We now examine more closely the large curved slab on the ground just in front and see that this is the missing gable slab, fallen face down, which when in position stood on edge on the top of the other. We thus see that the great portal slab, which is usually monolithic, was here worked out in two separate pieces.

Here, then, instead of a peculiar type of rectangular portal slab what we have is only a peculiarity of construction. And the tomb of s'Altare de Logula thus furnishes the key towards the understanding of the portal construction of a whole series of tombs which might otherwise in this respect be supposed to stand by themselves. Let us take, for example, the Giants' Tomb of Biddile Virras near Paulilatino shown in Pl. XI. Fig. 2. This tomb could easily be taken to have had a simple rectangular portal slab with no gable above. We now see that in this case too the gable slab is missing and that what we have is only the lower section of a portal worked in two pieces.

### *The Giants' Tomb of Castigadu s'Altare*

The next picture (Pl. XII. Fig. 1) will afford a further illustration of a Giant's Tomb with portal slab constructed in two pieces. This is the tomb of Castigadu s'Altare in the bare level pastoral country below Macomer towards Borore.

Here, prominent to the right in the picture, we see the same rectangular slab, with the same name of *altare* too, as at Logula. The top of this slab has a narrow ledge in front projecting upward, on to which the base of the gable slab was meant to fit with a corresponding groove.<sup>1</sup> This gable slab itself is missing.

How the portal originally looked is shown in the Front Elevation of Fig. 16 (right below).

The Ground Plan and Sections illustrate the present condition of the

<sup>1</sup> See Fig. 16, Section AA.

tomb. The material of construction is the grey purple volcanic stone

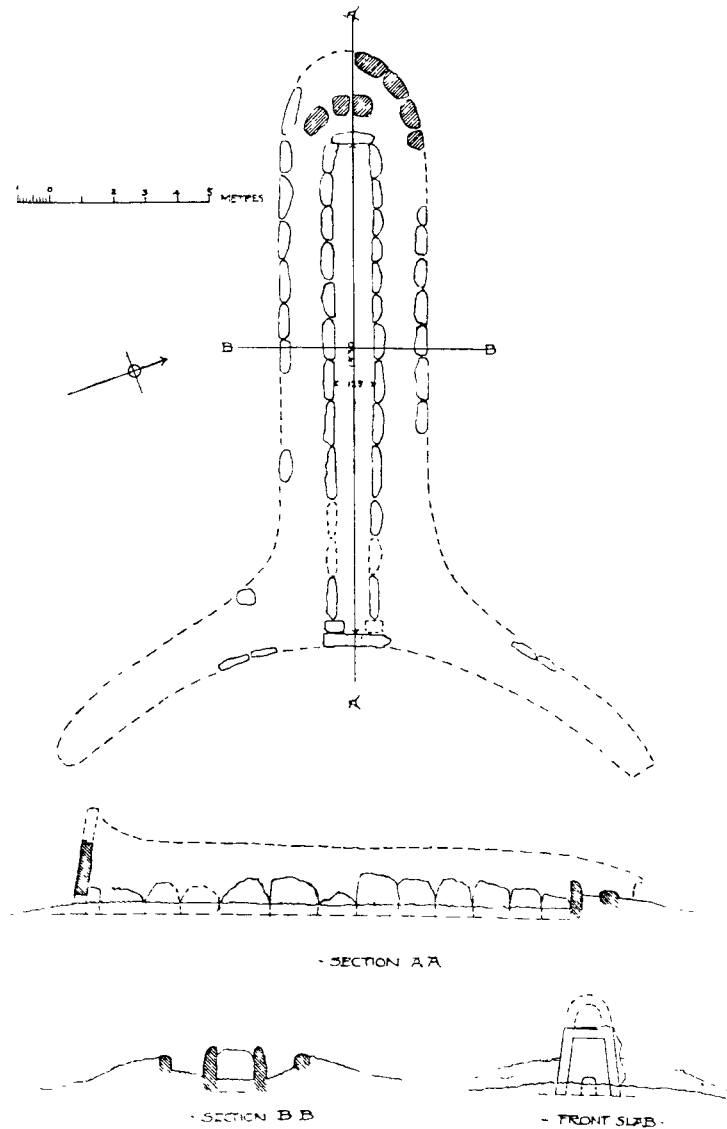


FIG. 16.- GIANTS' TOMB OF CASTIGLIONE S. ALFANO.

of the district. The tomb is orientated with its front a little south of east.

*The Dolmen of sa Tanca sar Bogadas near Birori.*

At the beginning of this paper I have said that our good luck accompanied us right to the end of our stay in Sardinia. And this was true.

Two days before we left the island we were at the station of Birori awaiting the train. It turned out that this was late and accordingly I proposed to visit the Dolmen sa Perda e s'Altare<sup>1</sup> near at hand just to the right of the line as one travels towards Macomer.

While we were examining the monument a smart youth belonging to the station service, called Pasquale Careddu of Birori, casually remarked that there was a much better monument than that of the same kind in a field on the other side of the station.

We could not visit the spot then but we arranged with Pasquale that we should come specially to visit the new dolmen with him next day.

This we did ; but at that hour Pasquale was on duty at a crossing and we were accordingly led to the spot by his smaller brother an equally smart boy.

In the north-east corner of the field behind the station is a region of shallow volcanic boulders with stunted black thorn and briar bushes about and here from a little distance off the boy pointed out to us the dolmen shown in Pl. XII. Fig. 2.

The tomb turned out to be extremely interesting. It has a very close resemblance to the dolmen near the line on the other side of the station referred to already. They are like twins, as can be seen from the ground plan sketches of both shown above in Fig. 17. Indeed, if we were in Corsica, the one would be called the House of the Ogre and the other the House of the Ogress.

Of the cella three upright slabs on the south side and one on the north are preserved having a narrow gap to the west and a wide one on the north-east side. It has thus not quite so much of the cella preserved as the tomb of Perda s'Altare, but, as Pasquale had quite rightly remarked, its cover-slab stands level, while that of the other now lurches visibly towards one side.

Of the three upright slabs on the south side it will be noticed from

<sup>1</sup> Published by Taramelli in *Bull. Palen.* xxvii. (1906) p. 268, and Tav. XXIII.

the sketch below in the picture that the middle one does not come right up to the under side of the cover-slab. The one on the north side again

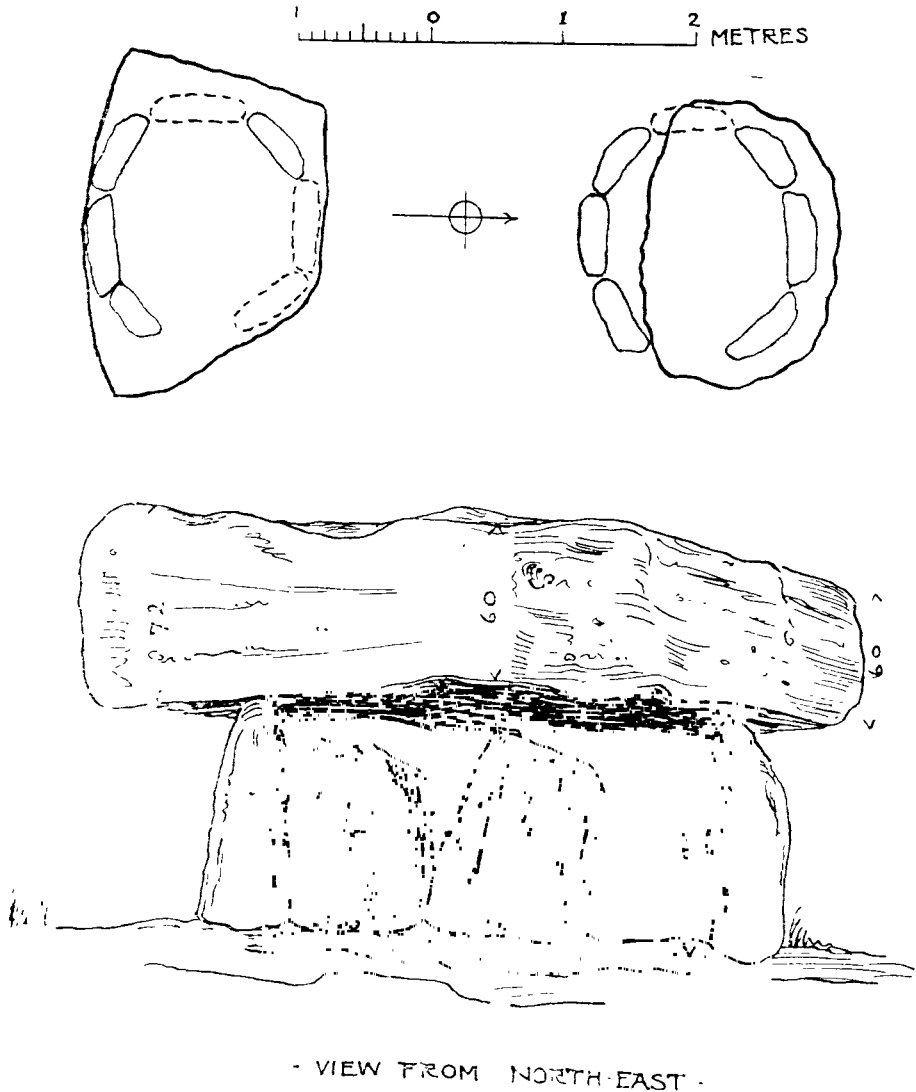


FIG. 17.—DOLMEN OF SA TANCA SAR BOGADAS NEAR BIRORI.

stands by itself. Thus the enormous massive cover-slab comes to have only three points of support—the minimum possible—and it thus stands

poised, so to say, on three hairs. The impression thus awakened is that of a marvellous tour-de-force. But it is the legerdemain of kindly mother nature showing us as at a glance, before the final ruin, the power of the men of eld.

### *Conclusion.*

Our general results are to the following effect:—We have seen that the people of the Nuraghi made use of a type of family sepulchre called the Tombs of the Giants. Montelius and others have tried to show that this type of tomb was derived from the more primitive dolmen. But the evidence for this from Sardinia itself has hitherto been singularly scanty. The only dolmen at all known of in the island was the one in the Tanca de sa Marchesa near Birori to which reference has already been made. To this one example we have now been able to add an important series of others illustrating successive phases in the process of development by which the dolmen on Sardinian soil became gradually transformed into the *Tomba di Gigante*. This remained henceforth throughout the Bronze Age the family tomb of the people of the Nuraghi.

The Nuraghi, the Tombs of the Giants, and the dolmen type of sepulchre are thus found in Sardinia in an ethnological connection which brings them into one general context with the whole rest of the Middle and West Mediterranean as well as of West Europe as far afield as Britain and Norway.

I have talked hitherto of the cellas of the dolmens as being rectangular in shape. In the present case, however, and in that of the other dolmen at Tanca de sa Marchesa they are an almost circular ellipse. This can be seen from the Ground Plan sketches of both. Yet this peculiarity need not surprise us, if we bear in mind the primitive juxtaposition of the round hut and rectangular types of tomb in Sardinia. Not only, as already suggested, are there dolmens of an advanced type that survive into a time when, as at s'Enna sa Vacca, they can be definitely correlated with the circular roomed Nuraghi. We can go a step further and say that this could only have been so because at a still earlier period the more primitive types of dolmen tombs went alongside of the round hut dwelling at a stage in architectural development when there were as yet no Nuraghi.

In the later phases of development of which we have positive



knowledge the Nuraghi and the Tombs of the Giants are in constant correlation to each other. We have thus to assume that at the more primitive time in Sardinia to which the dolmens of Birori may be taken to belong, the correlation of the round hut dwelling and the dolmen type of tomb may be regarded as already established in such a definite form that the latter by a sort of natural process of collusion could on occasion mimic the shape of the former.

When once, however, as in Sardinia, we have the mutual relations referred to thoroughly differentiated and established and the rectangular type of construction came to be definitely relegated to tomb use, the collusion could not so easily be in the other direction. Thus it is that while we can have even a circular rock-cut Giants' Tomb like the one at St. George near Sassari referred to already, a rectangular Nuraghe can be seen at once to be a phenomenon so singular as to be almost a freak.

That we were able to discover a second circular dolmen so near at hand to the one already known without its existence being so much as suspected should be enough to show us that the rounded type of dolmen is not an isolated phenomenon in Sardinia. Nor alongside of the rectangular type is its presence unknown in other regions of West Europe. Thus, for example, M. François Préchac, who indeed cites the dolmen of Perda s'Altare in an analogous connection, goes on to instance the occasional occurrence of such circular dolmens in France as far afield as Brittany.<sup>1</sup> They are even found in distant Ireland.<sup>2</sup> But throughout the wide area of their distribution they always occur in the guise of latent phenomena alongside of the much more numerous class of dolmens of rectangular type.

The area of origination of the whole process of development may be taken to be represented by the African littoral of the Mediterranean.

Here again in the east direction we have a type of sepulchral cella reminiscent of the dolmen occurring in Egypt, where, I think, Montelius is right in suggesting more than an accidental resemblance between the type of the dolmen and the cella of the pyramid tombs.

In Palestine it occurs again and branches northwards in this direction as far as the regions of the Caucasus. And it is at least significant that another branch of dolmen burials occurs as far away in South Asia as the Deccan in India.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* 165-6.

<sup>2</sup> Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, i. 146. Figs. 147, 148; 151-2, Figs. 153-4.

It may not be yet the time to seek for underlying ethnological connections over so enormously vast a field. But it must not be left out of account as regards the West that at a very early period after the last Ice Age the mildening climatic influence of the Gulf Stream must have been a prominent factor in favouring the rapid progress of early civilization northwards into West Europe. This progress appears in a striking light as compared with the tardative character of the phenomena of civilization in interior Europe and North Asia. The contrast between the South of Asia and the North in this respect rests on climatic conditions of a kind not too remotely analogous with those that obtain for North Africa and West Europe. These may have formed the real underlying occasion for the wide-spread distribution of the dolmen in North Africa, West Europe, and South Asia of which we have been speaking.



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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY  
OF  
THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD IN MALTA

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## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD IN MALTA.

### I.—AEGAEAN INFLUENCE IN MALTA.

THE remarkable civilizations, the remains of which have been of late years brought to light by excavation in Crete and the Aegaeon, were, as we now know, by no means without their influence upon the surrounding countries and even upon comparatively distant lands. Middle Minoan pottery has been found in Egypt, and Late Minoan both there and in numerous other parts of the Mediterranean. Less obvious signs of Aegaeon commerce and influence are frequent in many places, and it is beyond all doubt that the high culture of Crete and the Aegaeon affected much of the Mediterranean shore and islands.

But this idea may be carried too far, and when Aegaeon influence is called in to explain facts which have a perfectly logical explanation on their own soil, it has become time to protest. Albert Mayr, in his works on prehistoric Malta,<sup>1</sup> has rendered an immense service to archaeology. His description of the monuments is excellent, but, in estimating the position of the Maltese civilization with regard to others in the Mediterranean and even further afield, he is, I think, misled by his overestimation of the strength of Aegaeon influence in the island.

Mayr draws his evidence for this influence from a consideration of the architectural methods and the ornament, the religion, the plastic art, and the pottery of the island. I shall take these separately and ask how far the conclusions which Mayr draws from them are justified. And be it noted at the outset that I have no intention of denying entirely the presence of Aegaeon influence in Malta. All I am concerned to show is, that many of the features thought by Mayr to be due to such influence

<sup>1</sup> *Die vorgeschichtlichen Denkmale von Malta*, Munich, 1901 (hereinafter *V.D.*): *Die Ins. Malta im Altertum*, Munich, 1909 (*I.M.*); *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, pp. 536 ff.

may well be, and almost certainly are, of local character and origin, and that after these are eliminated the evidence left for Aegaeon influence is distinctly slight.

It must be understood what Mayr's exact position is. After showing how Malta belonged to a culture-circle which included Spain, North Africa, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, Pantelleria, and in fact the whole of the Western Mediterranean, he concludes:<sup>1</sup>—'It is now beyond doubt that the whole of this Western Mediterranean culture was strongly affected by the East and that it developed under the influence of the older Aegaeon and later of the Mycenaean culture.' What I wish to maintain is that in the case of Malta at least we have at present practically no evidence for so strong a statement.

#### (1) *Architectural Methods.*

It has been pointed out by Dr. Mackenzie<sup>2</sup> that two features are common to virtually all the larger megalithic structures, viz. the use of a base course of orthostatic slabs surmounted by courses of horizontal masonry, and the method of roofing a space by allowing the upper courses of the containing walls to overlap (*Überkragung*) on the principle of the false arch. Now this overlapping or splayed work occurs in Malta at Hagiar Kim and Mnajdra and is imitated in solid rock in one of the underground chambers of Halsafieni. It is also the method used in some of the Mycenaean *tholoi* or beehive tombs. From this Mayr argues Mycenaean influence in Malta.<sup>3</sup> He supports the argument<sup>4</sup> by two further statements, firstly, that the apses of the elliptical rooms with their arrangements for a false vault remind him of the beehive tombs, and secondly, that such regular orthostatic masonry as the front of the main building of Hagiar Kim 'recalls very strongly that of the Cretan palaces, and can hardly have originated without Aegaeon influence.' Truly this is strange reasoning! Is all originality to be denied to the great race which built the megalithic monuments? Despite all their amazing skill in designing and in dealing with vast masses of stone must we call in foreign aid to teach them

<sup>1</sup> *V.D.* pp. 716-17.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Tombs of the Giants and the Nuraghi of Sardinia,' from *Memnon*, vol. ii. fasc. 3 (p. 21 of the reprint). 'Le Tombe dei Giganti,' from *Ausonia*, iii. 1908, pp. 18 *sqq.* of the reprint.

<sup>3</sup> *V.D.* p. 717.

<sup>4</sup> *I.M.* p. 35.

the simplest method of roofing a space? And did this Mycenaean influence extend to Spain, France, and Ireland,<sup>1</sup> where the principle of the false arch was also known and used? As for the parallel with the Cretan palaces I confess I can imagine few things more different than the façade of Hagiar Kim, with its gigantic orthostatic slabs, and those of Knossos and Phaistos with their precise ashlar masonry, and I appeal to those who are interested to contrast Figure 6 in *Die Insel Malta* with Figure 3 on page 7 of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. viii.

This desire to explain the use of the false arch and vault as due to Aegaeon influence has committed Mayr to a very difficult position with regard to chronology. He says,<sup>2</sup> 'The vaulted construction of *Nuraghi Talayots*, *Navetas* and *Covas* certainly did not originate without Mycenaean influence.' This binds him *ipso facto* to the view that all the buildings mentioned are later than the beginning of the Mycenaean period, a view which those best acquainted with those buildings would hardly care to accept.

The fact of the matter is that the use of the false arch (formed by splaying the courses of masonry) was part of the early heritage of the race which built the megalithic monuments of West Europe, before they broke up to colonize the various parts of that district. There is not a particle of evidence to prove or even to suggest that its occurrence in Malta is due to Aegaeon influence. It was simply a part of the architectural system which the megalithic people brought with them at their coming. Hence its occurrence over such a wide area.

## (2) *Architectural Ornament.*

'Aegaeon originals are quite clearly indicated by the rows of spirals on the blocks in the outer room of the Gigantia.'<sup>3</sup> Such is the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, vol. 1, fig. on p. 12. The monument known as Leaba Iscur stands in a valley of the Ballyhoura Mts. in Limerick. In plan it is shaped like a ship, and reminds one of the *navetas* of the Balearic Isles. At the entrance stand two orthostatic blocks or *antae*, but there is no sign of the curved façade usual in the Giants' Graves of Sardinia. The chamber is 14 ft. long. It is 4 feet wide at the centre and rather narrower at the ends. The side walls of this chamber consist of five horizontal courses of fairly rough blocks, each course overlapping the last. The whole is roofed by large flat slabs.

<sup>2</sup> *I.D.* p. 717, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *I.M.* p. 45



to which Mayr comes with regard to spiral decoration. One hoped that the spiral controversy had borne fruit, and that it was no longer necessary to derive all spirals from a common source in the Aegaeon or elsewhere. But no; the unfortunate Maltese are not to have the credit of being acquainted with the spiral until Mycenaean influence came to teach them. Nay, Mayr even hazards the guess that this influence came to Malta *via* Sicily, for there, at Castelluccio, are two rock-graves, on the closure-slabs of which spiral ornament is cut in relief.<sup>1</sup> Now here is an excellent example of the type of argument under discussion. In Sicily it is perfectly reasonable to ask whether these spirals are due to Aegaeon influence, for the spiral as a decorative motive seems to have been unknown in this period in Sicily even on the pottery. Moreover, the spirals in question are badly cut, as if by a workman who did not fully understand them, and lastly we have other evidence of Aegaeon influence in this period.<sup>2</sup>

But in Malta the case is quite otherwise. The spiral is an ornament which occurs on the pottery. In stone we find it at Hagiar Kim<sup>3</sup> and at the Gigantia,<sup>4</sup> while at Halsafieni the ceilings of two of the rooms are decorated with patterns of interworked spirals painted in red. In the civilization of West Europe, to which Malta belongs, the spiral is not a rare ornament. False interwoven spirals occur in a grave of megalithic type at Gavv-Innis in Brittany,<sup>5</sup> and true spirals at New Grange<sup>6</sup> in Ireland, and in Scotland.<sup>7</sup> Surely there is no more need to explain these spirals as due to Aegaeon influence than those of New Zealand.

<sup>1</sup> *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, xviii. 1892, Tav. VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xiii. pp. 405 ff. Since the remarkable discoveries in Malta and Sardinia I am inclined to accept the attribution of rock-tombs and megalithic monuments in the West Mediterranean to a single people. This would practically involve the admission of an immigration of the megalithic people into Sicily previous to the 'First Sicilian Period,' for I do not believe that mere foreign influence could have determined anything so fundamental and sacred as a grave-type. This view, however, is not without its difficulties, for the material of the first Sicilian period, if we except Western Sicily, does not resemble at all closely the usual 'megalithic' material of the Western Mediterranean. If the view be correct it will no longer be necessary to explain the Castelluccio spirals as Aegaeon, while the Cava Lazzaro and Cava Lavinaro tomb architecture (Orsi in *Ausonia*, ii. 1907, p. 7; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 432, Fig. 18) is in still less need of such an explanation, since the Halsafieni hypogeum shows it to be typical megalithic work.

It should always be remembered that Sicily lay just midway between the Aegaeon and the West Mediterranean civilizations and was accordingly subject to influences from both.

<sup>3</sup> *I.D.* p. 666, Fig. 8.      <sup>4</sup> *I.D.* p. 649, Figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> Borlase, *Delmens of Ireland*, Fig. 340.

<sup>6</sup> *ib.* p. 76, Fig. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Borlase, *op. cit.* Fig. 436.

Mayr explains in the same way the plant motive which occurs on the front of the altar at Hagiar Kim.<sup>1</sup> Why is this little piece of Maltese naturalism to be branded as Aegaeon? Simply because such a motive is common in the Aegaeon. Mayr compares an example from Knossos on a fayence vase.<sup>2</sup> He will find a nearer parallel from a megalithic tomb at New Grange in Ireland.<sup>3</sup>

Although Dr. Arthur Evans has given his support to this theory of Aegaeon derivation,<sup>4</sup> and was perhaps the original suggestor of it, I must confess that I see not a particle of tangible evidence in its support.

### (3) Pottery.

With regard to the pottery I feel I can speak with full confidence. I have handled and re-handled all the ware from Halsafieni, and in the excavations of the north and south megalithic buildings on Corradino, carried out by the Maltese Government in May, 1909, the pottery was my special department of the work. I may say outright that I do not believe that, with the exception of one vase-form, there is any single feature in the pottery which could be taken to point to Aegaeon influence by any one with a knowledge both of Aegaeon and Maltese wares. The one exception is certainly a mere coincidence, for, although the Halsafieni vase of Mayr's *I.M.* Fig. 20*b* is close in form to the well-known Cycladic marble vases, yet so many centuries must separate the two, especially on Mayr's dating, that collusion is impossible.

Mayr's whole treatment of the Maltese pottery is unsound.<sup>5</sup> Mainly on the ground of its white incised decoration, he compares it with that of neolithic Crete and of Stentinello in Sicily, of the Sardinian caves, of South-East Spain, of the Early Cyclades, of the first city at Phylakopi, and of Troy, Cities II. to V., which belongs mostly to the early age of metals, and finally with that of the Pertosa cave in South Italy and that of the Second Siculan Period, both of which belong to the bronze age. Wild comparisons of this type are useless. Those which concern the Aegaeon we can rule out at once. The pottery of neolithic Crete does not offer a single point of comparison except the use of punctured

<sup>1</sup> *I.M.* p. 45.      <sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* ix. p. 74, Fig. 53*a*.

<sup>3</sup> Montelius, *Orient und Egypt.*, p. 77, Fig. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *J.H.S.* xvi. pp. 198-200; *Man.* 1902, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *I.M.* pp. 52-3; *Zett. Eth.* 1908, p. 540.

ornament and white filling—common in almost every part of the archaeological world. As to the Phylakopi parallels I need only ask the reader to look up the specimens singled out by Mayr himself.<sup>1</sup> A student of Cretan pottery will hardly take seriously Mayr's statement that 'many vase-forms of Halsafieni imitate forms of the Middle Minoan Period,'<sup>2</sup> especially after seeing the forms on which he bases this idea.<sup>3</sup> Mayr was far nearer the truth when he pointed to parallels in the West Mediterranean, in South-East Spain and Sardinia, for instance. The Maltese pottery, in fact, belongs to a type of ceramics which seems to be invariably found in connection with megalithic monuments and rock-tombs in Western Europe, a type whose most important forms include the bell-beaker (*Glockenbecher*) found almost everywhere in the area, from Malta to the British Isles.<sup>4</sup> As for Aegaeon or Mycenaean influence in the pottery of Malta, I believe it is simply non-existent. Certainly there is no trace of it in the pottery which has so far come to light.

#### (4) *Statuettes and Figurines.*

In the statuettes of Malta Mayr finds further evidence of Aegaeon influence.<sup>5</sup> For him the steatopygous figures<sup>6</sup> of Hagiar Kim have their parallels in the Aegaeon island-culture. He instances the well-known 'Spartan' idols (possibly not from Sparta at all), the Hagios Onuphrios figures, and those of the Cyclades. These last bear only the very faintest resemblance to the Maltese; they are seldom steatopygous, and then only slightly so, and are represented standing and not sitting or squatting, as are the Hagiar Kim figures.

These squatting figures are, moreover, according to Mayr, closely connected with the neolithic figures from Knossos,<sup>7</sup> and in proof of this he refers us to the very insufficient drawings in *Man*, 1901, p. 185. Had Mayr studied the originals he would hardly have ventured on the comparison. It seems to me far from certain that the sitting figures of Knossos are steatopygous at all;<sup>8</sup> in any case they differ in every other particular from the Maltese.

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 1904, Pl. IV. 1-10 and Pl. V. <sup>2</sup> *J.M.* p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* x p. 15, Fig. 4, *o* and *f*; *B.S.A.* xi. p. 17, Fig. 9, No. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See the Corradino Reports, published in Malta, 1910.

<sup>5</sup> *I.D.* pp. 701-2.

<sup>6</sup> *I.D.* Pls. X. and XI.

<sup>7</sup> *J.M.* p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> See, however, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 235.

Passing on to the statuettes of Halsaffieni, the standing figures<sup>1</sup> are compared by Mayr with the Cycladic figures, which have no point in common with them, except, in a few cases, steatopygy. With regard to the reclining female figures clothed in a skirt without bodice,<sup>2</sup> the resemblance to the costume worn by women on late Minoan gems is indeed remarkable, and Mayr is justified in making the most of it. But assuming, as he is now inclined to do,<sup>3</sup> that the Maltese and Cretan statuettes were the outcome of parallel developments of a single style, whose home he would place in Africa, what is to prevent our believing that the primitive loin-cloth extended itself into a skirt of the same type in both islands?

### (5) *Religion.*

I believe it was Dr. Arthur Evans who first pointed out the parallel between the pillar cult in Malta and that seen in the Aegaeon world.<sup>5</sup> He says 'We have here then unquestionably *in situ* in the Maltese islands the megalithic sanctuaries of an aneiconic cult parallel to that of the Aegaeon world and of the Semitic islands to the east of it. But the parallel gains additional interest from the fact that we see the actual shrines of this primitive pillar worship invaded with decorative motives apparently from a Mycenaean source. How far the externals of cult may have been influenced here in other ways from that quarter it is impossible to say.' Elsewhere he adds<sup>6</sup> 'The (Aegaeon) influence on ornament and certain details may be admitted, but the monuments themselves and the cult they represent are essentially *in situ*, and their nearer relationship must be sought on the Libyan and Iberic sides.' This view Mayr fully accepts,<sup>7</sup> but he is still of opinion that the externals of the cult were influenced from the Aegaeon. The question of the spiral decoration and the plant motive in the so-called sanctuaries of Malta we have already discussed, and we have seen no sufficient reason for attributing them to Mycenaean influence. He adds that 'some of the monolithic altar-tables of Hagiar Kim show a similarity to the usual form of the Mycenaean altar.' Now the similarity is so exact that it disproves the existence of the very influence it was called in to prove. For when we find two precisely similar objects or customs in two different localities we must, before we speak of foreign

<sup>1</sup> *I.M.* Figs. 12-14.

<sup>2</sup> *I.M.* Figs. 10-11

<sup>3</sup> *I.M.* p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xii. 237-249.

<sup>5</sup> *J.H.S.* xxi. pp. 196-200.

<sup>6</sup> *Man.* 1902, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *I.D.* p. 723.

influence, eliminate the very probable explanation that the similarity is due to the desire to provide for exactly the same needs in both places. Thus the Hagiar Kim altars in question<sup>1</sup> are each supported by a single leg widening towards the base. This same widening is seen in a few Mycenaean altars, and there, as Dr. Evans points out,<sup>2</sup> it owes its origin to the derivation of the altar from a primitive stone type similar to those of Malta, where a widened foot was almost a structural necessity. Hence this parallel loses its force and we can hardly explain the Maltese from the Mycenaean.

Mayr's last argument is that 'conical stones and other baetyls suggest connection with the east.' But even supposing that the east was the original home of the baetyl this hardly proves Aegean influence in Malta. It is far more probable that the religion in which the baetyl played a part was possessed by the Maltese before they ever entered Malta. We may conclude with Dr. Evans that the 'resemblance to the Mycenaean shrines is to a great extent a natural result of a parallel aneiconic stage of religious cult, though it is always possible that a common underlying Libyan element may be eventually found to supply the intermediate link of a more direct connection.'<sup>3</sup>

We have now examined Mayr's evidence for Aegean influence in Malta and we have had reason to reject almost the whole of it as inconclusive, based as it is on false criteria. Much that he would explain as Aegean may perfectly well be, and in some cases certainly is, of purely local origin. Other resemblances are due to what both the Aegean peoples and the Maltese received from a common source, perhaps before they entered the islands where we know them. It is curious that his view of Mediterranean ethnology did not lead him to make more allowance for this. He says<sup>4</sup> 'the immigration (into the Mediterranean islands) was, it seems, the consequence of a gradual movement, extending perhaps over centuries, of peoples of Libyan stock, to which not only the islands between Sicily and Africa, but also Sardinia and the Balearic Isles in the West, and Crete and the Aegean Islands in the East Mediterranean, owe their earliest populations known to us.' If we accept the idea of an African origin for the Mediterranean peoples in the form in which Dr. Mackenzie would suggest,<sup>5</sup> I should be inclined to agree certainly with this last statement of

<sup>1</sup> *U.D.* i, 658, Fig. 7 and Tav. VII Fig. 1

<sup>2</sup> *Mon.* 1902, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *I. M.* p. 64

<sup>4</sup> *J.H.S.* xxi, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 230-31.

Mayr's. But at the same time it must be remembered that, though the Aegæan forms a fairly close unity and the West Mediterranean another, between the two there is a fundamental difference, the origin of which is as yet very inadequately understood. One is inclined to think that there were perhaps two great though gradual immigrations into the Mediterranean area, the earlier of which brought the neolithic people of Crete, Italy, Spain, and Greece, while the later brought the megalithic builders of Malta and the west. Originally these two strata of population must have had much in common, but it would seem that in the time between the two movements the later comers had developed on rather different lines from their predecessors in immigration. This, however, is not certainty but hypothesis, and there is still no more difficult problem than the relation of the cist- and beehive tombs of the Aegæan to the megalithic monuments of the West. Nevertheless the one solution of this problem which is certainly wrong is that which would suppose direct influence of one district on the other.

As regards Malta in particular we must reserve judgement until far more decisive evidence is before us. Meantime it is worth noting that though, according to Mayr, Halsafieni belongs to the later part of the true Mycenaean period (L.M. III.), *i.e.* the period of widest diffusion of Mycenaean pottery, not a single fragment of such ware occurs in the hypogeum nor indeed elsewhere in the island.

## II.—EXCAVATIONS AT BAHRIA, MALTA.

The district known as Bahria lies in the west of Malta, between the Bingemma Hills and the sea. Just to the south of the gulf of Fomm ir Rih, and overlooking the promontory of Ras ir Raheb, is a low range of hills running north and south, with craggy summits forming a kind of razor-edge called Tal Kligghi, where the Arabs are said to have made their last stand on the island. On the side of the sea this range slopes gently down to the steep cliffs of the coast and on the land side to the Wied tal Bahria, which divides it from the Bingemma Hills.

In the fields lying on this latter slope the workers have for some time past been finding pottery of a type unknown elsewhere on the island. Some of this pottery was shown to Dr. Zammit, curator of the Valetta Museum, in 1908, and accordingly in May 1909, one of the fields then

standing empty, an excavation was conducted there at the expense of the Maltese government and with the co-operation of the British School of Rome.

The field in question is in the form of a terrace, the earth being held up on the lower side by a stone wall. As the surface of the soil is almost horizontal, while that of the underlying rock slopes considerably, it will be understood that the depth of earth in the field increases as one moves away from the summit of the hill. Thus near the upper wall of the field

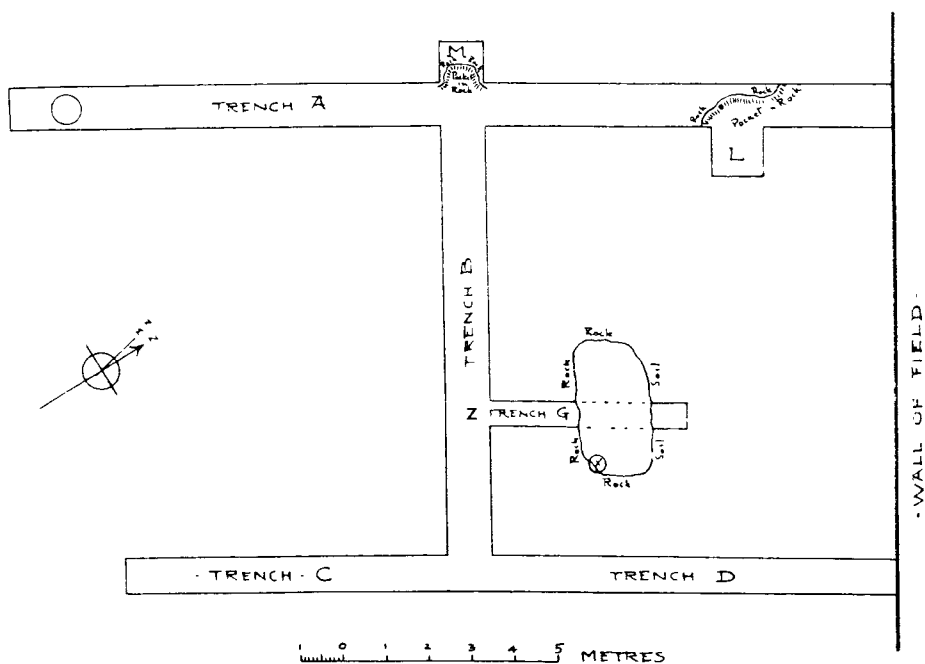


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF EXCAVATION AT BAHRIA.

the rock is virtually at the surface, while at the lower wall there is over 1.50 metre of soil.

The plan (Fig. 1) gives a general idea of the excavation. A trench (A), 100 m. wide was cut across the field down the slope. This trench struck almost at once the open circular top of a subterranean rock-cistern, probably Punic in date. There are several exactly similar cisterns within a modern walled enclosure in the same field. As the trench advanced down the slope the depth of soil increased and a stratum of grey earth

containing animal bones, potsherds, pebbles, and small pieces of carbonized matter began to be noticeable at a depth of 40 cm. Below this was the red earth which lies immediately above the rock at almost every point of the site. When the trench had run for 10 metres the grey layer reached a thickness of 40 cm. It seemed therefore advisable to open out the trench on either side, in addition to continuing it down the slope. This led to the discovery in M of a kind of pocket in the rock (see the plan) filled with the usual grey deposit containing very large numbers of bones. Over this deposit lay several flat masses of sun-baked clay, marked in some cases on one side with the imprint of reeds or wicker-work. It is therefore probable that at this point there existed a hut of wattle covered with a coating of clay. This hut was fitted into the rock-niche in M in such a way that the sudden rise in the level of the rock served to form the lower part of the hut-wall. It must have extended across Trench A and some distance into B.

The continuation of Trench A downhill still showed distinct traces of the grey stratum. At 3 m. from the lower wall the rock bottom of the trench suddenly fell from 0·70 m. to 1·45 m., and an enlargement L revealed the existence of a pocket in the rock (see the plan) similar to that in M, and containing a similar deposit lying directly above the rock floor.

Trench B was next lengthened towards the south-east. At only a metre from Trench A a small cylindrical pit in the rock appeared. It was 40 cm. in diameter and about 35 cm. deep. Its regular form suggested that it might be artificial, but it contained only the natural red earth and a few bones and sherds which may well have penetrated from the grey stratum which lay above it. This grey layer still continued to occur, and, as the trench advanced, became more prolific. Thus, just beyond the pit mentioned above were found two fragments of what had clearly been large rough stone basins, very similar to those found in the megalithic buildings on Corradino Hill. About 7·00 m. from Trench A, at the point marked Z, lay three terracotta spindle-whorls and a portion of a brick made of well-fired red clay containing a very large proportion of quartz fragments. Beyond Z the grey stratum became thinner and poorer and after the trench had been prolonged for 3 metres the cross-trenches C and D were cut uphill and downhill respectively. The grey stratum gave out almost at once in C, but in D it ran to the modern wall. At the entrance



of D portions of a very large jar were found, but it was neither whole nor in position.

It was now clear that a return must be made to the more promising point Z. Trench G was, therefore, opened at right angles to B at this point. The first 2 metres yielded the usual grey layer, rich in remains. Beneath it lay a little red earth and then the rock. The continuation of



FIG. 2 — 'TORBA' FLOOR AT BAHRIA.

the trench still gave the same grey stratum, but directly below this lay a floor of *torba* or pounded limestone at 75 cm. from the surface. Under the *torba* (15 cm. thick) was seen the red earth, containing no remains, and finally the rock. This floor was now followed in all directions (see Fig. 1, . It proved to be approximately rectangular, 3.40 m. by 1.70 m. Fig. 2.)

In order to understand the purpose of this pavement it is necessary to note three points.

(1) On its lower side it is now edged by soil, whereas on the other three sides it fits exactly on to the edges of a low ledge of rock. In other words it levels up a rectangular pocket in the rock. (See the plan.)

(2) The ledge of rock into which the floor is fitted is flat and covered by only a very thin stratum of red earth, over which lies the grey layer.

(3) The grey stratum found is exactly similar to and at the same level as that found in the first two metres of G, and is indeed simply a continuation of it. There is no break in this stratum above the edges of the *torba* floor.

It seems clear from these considerations that the *torba* did not form the *whole* floor of a hut. It was simply fitted into a gap in an otherwise level stretch of rock. Possibly a large hut or a series of huts was built on the platform, but there is no certain proof of this, though the flat masses of sun-dried clay found in G, and even on the *torba*, point to this conclusion.

Over the south corner of the *torba* was a circular heap of material 40 cm. in diameter and rising 25 cm. above the floor (Fig. 2). The top of this heap consisted of a thin layer of whitish grey earth such as occurs nowhere else on the site. This earth first became visible as a circular patch much lighter in colour than the surrounding soil and it was therefore left in position. But it was seen later that the earth underlying it was merely the usual grey stratum containing pottery, shells, bones, etc. I can offer no explanation of this patch of light earth. It was certainly not the remains of a raised fireplace, as it showed no trace whatsoever of fire.

#### *Objects found in the Course of the Excavation.*

##### *A.—Objects of Stone.*

(1) An elliptical slab of hard limestone, convex on one face and flat on the other (diameters 29 and 15 cm.), used for grinding substances upon.

(2) Three grinders, used in connection with slabs such as No. 1. Two are roughly spherical, about the size of the fist, and the third

is a rather pointed ovoid. On each side of the pointed end is a circular depression 25 mm. in diameter. Possibly it was intended to pierce a hole at this end.

(3) Two flat rubbers or grinders, one circular and one triangular.

(4) Three flattish circular pebbles, two of which are pierced with small holes near the edge (Pl. XIV. Fig. 39) and a third with a larger hole (25 mm. in diameter) in the centre (Pl. XIV. Fig. 34).

(5) A large number of small round pebbles.

(6) Three pieces of pumice stone about the size of hens' eggs. Dr. Zammit tells me that pumice stone is frequently cast up on the Maltese coasts by the sea.

(7) A flattish circular pebble 6 cm. in diameter. Around its circumference is worked a shallow groove, round which a string or cord was probably fitted (Pl. XIV. Fig. 33).

(8) A rough piece of black flint, not worked.

(9) Two pieces of chert, not worked.

#### B.—*Organic Remains.*

Animal bones were found at all points of the grey stratum. No fish bones were noted. There were large numbers of sea-shells, belonging to seven different species.<sup>1</sup>

#### C.—*Objects of Earthenware.*

In many parts of the excavation were found flat masses of poorly baked reddish clay from 2 to 5 cm. in thickness. These no doubt played some part in the construction of huts. They may have been parts of floors, or still more probably portions of the clay covering applied to the wicker-work of the walls or roofs. One piece still shows the imprint of interwoven reeds on one face.

A portion of a rectangular brick was made of red clay mixed with about the same quantity of small fragments of a white quartzose rock. This brick was possibly part of a hearth. It was well fired and very hard.

A large number of spindle-whorls of terracotta were found (Pl. XIV. 35–38, 40). They were mainly flattened-spherical in form: less usual forms were the truncated-conical and the discoid. One example of the

<sup>1</sup> The following are the varieties as determined by Contino Dr. Alf. Caruana Gatto, whom I beg to thank for his kindness: *Solen lybia*, *serripes*, *Venus cornea*, *Patella lusitanica*, *Patella tarantina*, *Trochus tumidus*, *Conus melicerranus*, *Caudofoveatus tyrrhenus*.

commoner shape was faceted and two others fluted. Three whorls were adorned with incised (Pl. II. Fig. 38) and one with punctured ornament.

Of so-called loom-weights about four dozen were discovered. They were either conical or pyramidal, in height about 8 to 10 cm. and pierced at the apex (Pl. II. Figs. 41-43). A single example was much larger, originally about 20 cm. high, and its faces carried simple incised ornament.

### *Pottery.*

The greater part of the material found at Bahria consisted of pottery. Unfortunately agricultural labour in the shallow soil of the field has reduced most of it to very small fragments. For years past, too, the owner has been collecting it from the surface and selling it to the makers of *difūn* or pounded pottery concrete for roofing houses. It has not been possible to reconstruct completely a single vase, but, thanks to the experience and patience of the museum vase-menders, many vases have been repaired sufficiently to allow us to recover their exact shapes.

All the vases from the site are hand-made, and all are formed of the same grey-black clay tending to burn to a light reddish yellow at the surface. The clay is never entirely pure, and, especially in the larger vases, contains a considerable proportion of small fragments of quartz.

#### *A.—Large Vases.*

These mainly take the form of ovoid jars, made of impure clay, with walls from 15 to 25 mm. thick. They are badly broken, but in some cases must have been nearly a metre high. The surface is usually grey and dull, and probably never had a slip. In a few cases, however, the surface has burnt red and there is a polished red-brown slip, which has a tendency to flake away. Each vase had at least one handle, ear-shaped and vertically set. A few vases are ornamented with ridges, usually horizontal, but in one case the familiar dove-tail design (see below) occurs in relief.

To such large jars belonged no doubt the two flat circular lids (diam. about 24 cm. in each case) of which we have fragments. In both cases the point where one end of the handle joined the lid is still discernible.

#### *B.—Medium-sized Vases.*

Here the clay, as indeed in vases of every size, either remains grey throughout or burns red on the surface. The grey ware has now in almost

all cases lost the black polished slip which it undoubtedly once possessed. The red ware still retains nearly always the red slip, which is rather flakey and not very highly polished.

This red ware is absolutely identical with that found at Halsafieni.<sup>1</sup> The clay is the same, the slip is the same, there is the same tendency

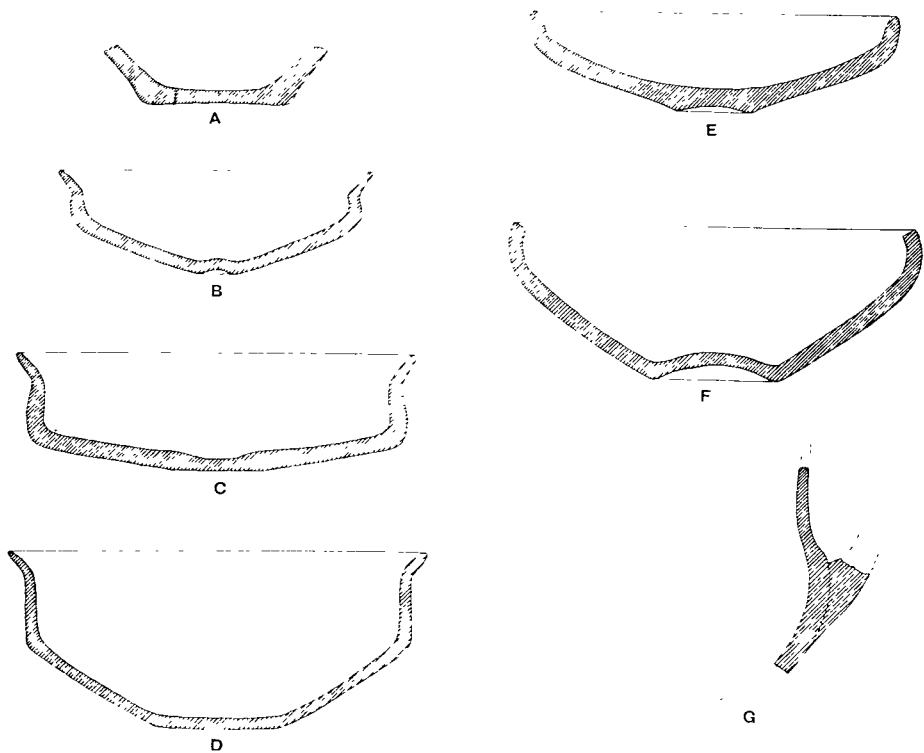


FIG. 3.—FORMS OF VASES FROM BAHRIA.

on the part of the slip to fire to a brown or even black tint in places, thus giving to the vase a mottled appearance. The perfect similarity of the technique in the red ware from the two sites was strikingly confirmed by the inability of several persons well used to handling the Halsafieni ware

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Tagliaferro's paper on the pottery of Halsafieni in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. iii. (Type F. 13)

to pick out pieces of Bahria ware when mixed with it. But the last possible doubt was removed when it was found that the four vase-forms which could be determined from the Bahria fragments were exactly those which were most frequent at Halsafieni. Fig. 4, shows a reconstruction of these forms.

Few forms of the medium-sized vases were recovered. The inverted conical vase of which a fragment is shown in section Fig. 3 A is one of the

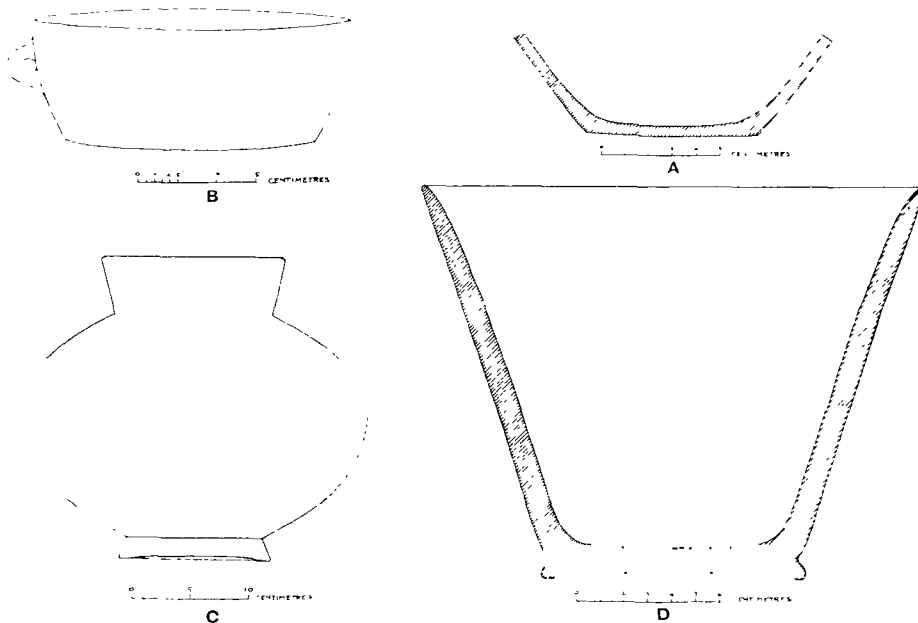


FIG. 4.—FORMS OF VASES FROM BAHRIA.

most usual type. We may also note a small cylindrical cup of quite modern form, which may be classed here in view of the roughness of its technique. Another very shallow cylindrical cup of most careless make apparently had a roughly square rim with rounded corners (height 3 cm., diameter at mouth 14 cm.).

#### C.—*Small Vases.*

Here again the clay may remain grey throughout or fire to a reddish hue at the surface. To the grey ware was applied a good black slip.

carefully polished, and to the red ware a red slip. This latter is apt to fire brown or even black in parts. It is therefore quite possible that both black and red polish were obtained with the same slip material and that the difference lay in the firing. Certain it is that under a red slip we always find a red surface to the clay, and under a black slip a grey surface. This is well seen both in the case of mottled vases and also in the case of vases which are red inside and black outside or vice versa.

Unfortunately both types of slip were very apt to flake away, and most of even the very finest vases now present a dull rough surface. In fact only a comparatively few examples remain to show us what this ware looked like when new.

(1) The Forms.

At least three quarters of the vases of which fragments were found belong to types *a* and *b*.

(*a*) Ladles of diameter 12–16 cm. (Pl. XIV. Fig. 45).

These vary considerably in form (see Fig. 3, B–D) according as they are shallower or deeper and according to the sharpness of the angles. The ornament (see below) is usually confined to the vertical sides, but occasionally occurs on the bottom too. The concave base (Fig. 3 B) is not uncommon. In some cases a high loop handle rises above the rim (Pl. XIV. fig. 29), in others the handle is quite small (Pl. XV. fig. 56).

(*b*) Bowls or Basins (Pl. XIII. 14, 15; Pl. XIV. 46).

These vary according to the curve of the sides (Fig. 3, E, F) and the modelling of the rim (see Fig. 3 F). The base is usually concave. The handle, set vertically, slightly below the rim, is always remarkably small and often degenerates into a mere string-hole or is not even pierced at all (Pl. XV. 54–57). The incised ornament runs, in most cases, though not in all, horizontally round the vase not far from the rim.

(*c*) Jugs or Beakers.

Under this head are included vases varying greatly in size but agreeing in having an approximately spherical body with a flat base and a rather narrow cylindrical neck and a single handle (Fig. 3 G). Unfortunately these vases are only represented by fragments. To vases of this type possibly belong the beaks fitted with filters (Pl. XIV. 28 and 32).

(d) Box-shaped Vases.

Fragments of three of these were found, but none of the three approaches completeness. The best was possibly 11 cm. square in section and 18 cm. high. In the rim were suspension holes. The sides are completely covered with incrustated ornament in an excellent design (Pl. XIV. Fig. 44).

(e) As a peculiarity we may notice the only fragment from the site which could possibly be described as painted. It is a piece from the lower part of a bowl on a slightly developed foot. The clay is the usual grey, but with the reddish surface. On this a simple rectilinear design is painted *in the red slip material* and then polished. Thus the design shows up in red polish against a matt reddish-yellow background (Pl. XV. Fig. 63).

(f) Plate XV. 53 shows a fragment of an apparently perforated vase but the holes hardly pierce right through the walls. The vase may have been used, like the modern Arab porous pottery, for keeping water cool. It is hardly fair to compare it with the true perforated vase (*barrada*) used by the Maltese fishermen for keeping shrimps or small fish in.

(g) Plates XV. 50 and 73 are probably parts of the handles of vases, but this cannot be determined with certainty.

(h) Plate XV. 51 shows a small closed partition attached to the inner wall of a vase.

D.—*Handles.*

These show considerable variety and great elegance of form. They may be divided into three main classes.

(1) Small unpierced projections on the shoulder of the vases.

(a) Tongue-shaped and projecting horizontally (Pl. XV. 48).

(b) Shaped like a half moon or an inverted V (Pl. XV. 58).

(2) 'Loop' handles, formed by bending either a round stick of clay (Pl. XV. 62) or a broad strip (Pl. XIV. 31). In the latter case the handles are of course wider than in the former.

The loop is attached at its upper end to the rim and at its lower end to the shoulder of the vase. In some cases it rises high above the vase-rim (Pl. XIV. 29), but more usually it is small. Indeed in the vases of



'ladle' and bowl forms it is often so small that only a string-hole or even no hole at all can be pierced in it (Pl. XV. 56 and 57). Thus the handle degenerates into a mere ornament.

We may note here that except on the box vases string-holes proper do not occur at Bahria. Such forms as do occur are invariably degenerations of loop handles, and are found only on 'ladles' and bowls.

Almost all the Bahria loop handles are applied vertically to the vase.

### (3) Special Forms.

(a) The most usual of these are the T-shaped handles (Pl. XV. 61, 65-68). None have been found still attached to vases, but two fragments (Pl. XV. 72) exist which prove that they stood upright on the top of low loop handles of ordinary type.

(b) The cylindrical handles, pierced near the top with one hole, or with two at right angles, were probably set, like the last type, above loop handles. In this case they must have closely resembled the *ansa cilindro-retta* of the neolithic and bronze ages in Italy (Pl. XV. 52 and 69).

(c) Plates XV. 47 and 71 represent objects which may have been applied to loop handles as were types (b) and (c). But it is equally probable that they were the handles of flat lids.

(d) Several small horn-shaped objects similar to Pl. XV. 64, were found. They were certainly attached to vases, but how there is no evidence to show.

(e) Two handles of the type of Pl. XV. 59 and 60 occurred, but we cannot say how they were applied.

### (2) The Ornament.

The Bahria pottery is easily distinguishable from any other by its ornament. This may be described as incised, but in reality the incisions are made not by merely drawing a pointed instrument over the vase-surface but by actually *cutting out* deep furrows in the still damp clay. These furrows are then filled with a white substance.

It must be mentioned here as a caution that this ware has probably no connection whatsoever with the 'cut-out' ware of Corradino east building, from which it differs utterly in style.

On those of the Bahria vases on which the white filling has been

preserved (cf. Pl. XIII. 16) we see that the true ornamental effect was obtained by the contrast of white and dark spaces. In other words we may with equal justice describe it as carried out in white on dark or in dark on white. The cutting, done with a very sharp instrument, is exquisite and all the lines preserve an even thickness throughout their length. The skilfulness of the cutting is even surpassed by the beauty of the designs. Both are apparent in the photographs<sup>1</sup> (Pls. XIII. and XIV.). All the patterns are carried out in straight lines. The apparent exceptions, such as Plate XIV. Fig. 46, are merely straight lines running horizontally round vases so close to the base, that they appear as circles when seen from below. Among the most usual designs are groups of parallel straight lines, zig-zags in dark on white, simple types of the meander, triangles in white on dark, and the dovetail pattern (Pl. XIII. Fig. 17). The ornament is usually placed in horizontal bands around the vases (Pl. XIII. 2-16), but there are numerous exceptions to this, e.g. Pl. XIII. 14 and 15. The broad handles are nearly always covered with ornament (Pl. XIII. 5-8).

#### *General Conclusions.*

In some respects the excavation at Bahria, though professedly only tentative, was disappointing. In view of the great mass of pottery found it seems almost incredible that not a single piece of metal or flint appeared, if we except two fragments (not cores) of miserable chert and a piece of black flint. The absence of flint, so common on other Maltese sites, might be taken to point to the bronze age, for on a neolithic site flint could hardly fail to occur, while on a bronze age site, bronze, which was always too precious to be thrown aside, might well not be found. But the argument is very slender.

However, although we cannot fix absolutely the age to which the Bahria settlement belongs, we can, I think, from the evidence of the pottery, deduce a date relative to that of other remains on the island. There are three arguments.

(1) The shapes of the vases are undoubtedly more advanced than those of Hagiar Kim, Corradino, or Halsafleni. The wonderfully graceful

<sup>1</sup> For photographic purposes it was found necessary in some cases to replace the lost white filling of the designs with Chinese white, which was of course afterwards removed.

forms and sharp profiles of the 'ladles,' the lightness of some of the handles, the absence of string-holes, and finally the finely modelled rims of the bowls, have an advanced appearance, and are hardly what we are accustomed to associate with neolithic pottery. At the same time there is no sign of the 'derivation from bronze prototypes' which some are only too ready to see in any sharply modelled pottery. For all this the simple forms of Corradino and Halsaflieni are far surpassed in beauty by those which we have here described.

This means either that the Bahria pottery is distinctly later in date than that of Corradino and Halsaflieni, which, for reasons shortly to be given, is improbable, or that the potter's art was far more advanced among the inhabitants of the former site. If the last suggestion is correct, we have to ask whether on so small an island as Malta two types of pottery, differing so greatly in type and development, could have existed side by side unless one were intrusive. And yet that they did exist side by side is, I think, clear from the two remaining arguments.

(2) Among the vast mass of pottery from the Halsaflieni hypogeum I have succeeded in finding just four undoubted pieces of Bahria cut-out ware. Two of these join, and a third might well be from the same vase. These, being so few in number, can hardly have been manufactured on the spot, and must have come from Bahria or from some other site where this pottery was made.

(3) As we have already seen, a fairly large amount of Bahria red ware was found at Halsaflieni. I am inclined to think that this ware was made at Bahria or some similar site, and not at Halsaflieni. It differs in every respect from the other wares of the hypogeum, whereas it differs from Bahria cut-out ware only in the intensity of the firing. Indeed we have at Bahria fragments of black-faced cut-out ware whose inner surface is in the red ware technique, and a few 'cut-out' vases are actually in the red ware technique both inside and outside.

It is clear from these two arguments that Bahria and Halsaflieni are to some extent contemporary. Of course the nature of the Halsaflieni site must be borne in mind, and the Bahria sherds found there might belong either to the very first or the very last burials, so that Bahria might begin where Halsaflieni ends, or vice versa. But it is at least clear that the two touch, even if they do not overlap. Now the evidence of the

Halsafieni pottery shows, in my opinion, that the period covered by the burials was not very long, and that it corresponded in the main with the age of Hagiar Kim,<sup>1</sup> Xeuchia, and the three buildings on Corradino. The period of Bahria therefore cannot be much, if at all, removed from that of the megalithic monuments of the islands. The complete divergence of the Bahria pottery from that of these monuments seems to point to an entire difference of tradition, a very remarkable fact in so small an island. A possible explanation of this difference suggests itself at once. Bahria, a peculiarly wild locality, might have remained a stronghold of the old inhabitants of Malta after the immigration of the megalithic people. To this there are two objections. In the first place, we have as yet no trace of any inhabitants earlier than the people of the megalithic monuments; and in the second, the Bahria pottery, both by its forms and its ornament, suggests not the stagnating remnant of an old people, but a new and flourishing folk. Would it therefore be too bold to suggest that Bahria was a colony of immigrants, probably of different race from the megalithic folk? I put forward the view merely as a possibility, which, until further research has been carried out on the island, cannot even rank as a probability. It may, however, be more than a coincidence that the settlement at Bahria is within a few minutes of the only landing-place on the rocky west and south coasts of Malta.

Supposing for the moment that the Bahria people were immigrants who came in perhaps during the megalithic period in the island, can we gain any idea as to whence they came? At present this is impossible. Among all the white-incised wares of the Mediterranean and elsewhere there is not one which resembles that of Bahria closely enough to be even worth quoting as a parallel. Possibly we may eventually find material for comparison on the north coast of Africa.

But all this is conjecture. This alone is sure, that further excavation must settle the questions which excavation has raised. We may therefore hope that our three days' work at Bahria was in truth merely preliminary, and that it will prove to have been only the prelude to exhaustive researches in the same locality.

T. E. PEET.

<sup>1</sup> Mayr is no doubt right in seeing three periods in the building of Hagiar Kim, but the few potsherds saved from the excavations might well belong all to one period. [See MAYR, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler von Malta*, pp. 676-7.]



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THE  
RELIEFS IN THE PALAZZO SPADA

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### INTRODUCTION.

THIS paper deals with the well-known reliefs in the Palazzo Spada at Rome and those related to them, and is an attempt by means of a detailed analysis to determine their date and artistic affinities. As long ago as 1880 Dr. Theodor Schreiber<sup>1</sup> suggested that they contained Hellenistic elements and were to some extent dependent for their motives on paintings. In 1888 he returned to the attack in his book on the Grimani reliefs at Vienna and put forward the view that the Spada and Grimani reliefs and their kin were Alexandrian in origin. In consequence he regards the introduction of rustic and landscape scenes into sculpture as an Alexandrian element, and would assign all reliefs which show such motives to the Alexandrian art of the Hellenistic age. His conclusions are reached, as is said by Amelung, one of his followers, *più indovinando che dimostrando*,<sup>2</sup> and are for the most part based on the idea that Alexandria (and not Rome) was the city where the practice of incrusting walls with marble first grew up. These conclusions, harmonising as they do with the general tendency of Alexandrian literature and Helbig's views on Hellenistic painting,<sup>3</sup> were widely accepted, and are included in the histories of Greek art published by Collignon, Ernest Gardner, and Overbeck. They were also adopted by Courbaud in his monograph on Roman triumphal reliefs and by Helbig, who sees in the Alexandrian reliefs many motives

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Com.* 1897, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei*.



borrowed from Hellenistic painting,<sup>1</sup> which seems to have flourished in Egypt. But in 1895, in his introduction on Roman art prefixed to the great edition of the Wiener Genesis, Wickhoff, arguing by their great likeness to the monuments of Roman imperial art, showed that the Spada reliefs and their kin have strong claims to be considered as Roman.<sup>2</sup> The same point of view has been taken up by Dragendorff,<sup>3</sup> by Stuart Jones,<sup>4</sup> and by Mrs. Strong.<sup>5</sup> The objections and arguments of Wickhoff were felt by Schreiber to be so serious that in 1896 he published a paper<sup>6</sup> in reply, in which he made a fresh statement of his case, but without bringing forward any important new arguments. Holm in his history of Greece<sup>7</sup> also disagrees with Schreiber and points out that many of the motives, especially those relating to rustic and outdoor life, were not so much peculiar to Alexandria as part of the general tendency of art and literature throughout the Hellenistic world. Lastly Waser,<sup>8</sup> in 1905, in a short essay briefly restated the Alexandrian case and warmly defends Schreiber from the charge of Pan-Alexandrianism put forward by Koepp in a review of Courbaud's book.<sup>9</sup>

In 1903, I myself, in a short paper<sup>10</sup> restated and followed the ideas of Wickhoff, Dragendorff, and Holm. The following account of the Spada reliefs and their kin is a development of the case that I then put forward, and my present conclusions are based on a close study of the monuments themselves. Dr. Amelung, who is in the main a follower of Schreiber, in two papers of the *Römische Mitteilungen*<sup>11</sup> has pointed out the many analogies that exist between Greek votive reliefs, and the so-called Hellenistic or Alexandrian reliefs and has suggested that the latter are in great part derived from or rather influenced by the former. In consequence in the present paper the line of investigation begun by him has been followed up, and the first and second parts are devoted respectively to an examination of the landscape elements in Greek and Roman reliefs. But as it is mainly concerned with the Spada reliefs, it has not seemed advisable to consider how far Greek votive reliefs were

<sup>1</sup> Helling, *Zeitsch.*, 469, 476.

<sup>2</sup> English translation by Mrs. Strong: *Roman Art*, London, 1900, Heinemann.

<sup>3</sup> *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Quarterly Review* vol. 204, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Roman Sculpture*, p. 299.

<sup>6</sup> *Jahrbuch* 1896, pp. 78 ff.; cf. his *Alexandrische Torsionen* published in 1894.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. iv, pp. 456 ff. (English edition).

<sup>8</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1905, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1906, pp. 213 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *B.S.A.* x., pp. 211 ff.

<sup>11</sup> 1894, pp. 69 ff.; 1901, pp. 258 ff.; cf. *E.P.* 1102, text.

the forerunners of the so-called Hellenistic class. This question and a detailed analysis of the other landscape reliefs published by Schreiber in his *Hellenistische Reliefbilder* I hope to treat on a future occasion. The present studies, which owe much to the kind help of Mr. Stuart Jones, are not so perfect as I could wish, but it has seemed best to publish them as they stand in spite of their faults.

### I.—LANDSCAPE MOTIVES IN GREEK RELIEFS.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the controversy centres round the landscape motives, that is to say, the introduction of trees, buildings, or the like into a relief in order to give a local or pictorial effect. Therefore, before proceeding to discuss the so-called Hellenistic or Alexandrian characteristics of the Spada reliefs in detail, it will be convenient to examine the origin and growth of such landscape motives in Greek and Roman reliefs. But, first of all, a brief consideration of some of the principles of relief technique will not be out of place.

A simple form of relief is one of the most primitive kinds of art. It consists in engraving, that is to say, in drawing a figure on a flat surface by means of incised lines. The carved bones and tusks from the French cave settlements of the palaeolithic age<sup>1</sup> show the primitive character of this technique. In Greece we have examples of this method in some reliefs in soft limestone from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta that belong to the end of the seventh century, B.C., but unfortunately they are not yet published. Some Attic grave-reliefs of the fourth century show a late survival of it, and in these the details were probably rendered by painting.<sup>2</sup> We may also compare two fine grave-reliefs of warriors at Thebes, probably of the fifth century, which show the figures incised on slabs of black Eleusinian stone, and seem to have been painted.<sup>3</sup> The next stage consists in cutting away the blank spaces between the figures, so as to leave them standing out against the ground like silhouettes. A relief from the sanctuary of Orthia at Sparta<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1) well illustrates this. The result is that the figures have a flat surface and sharp, hard edges, a peculiarity of which the early Spartan reliefs are good examples, especially

<sup>1</sup> *Guide to the Stone Age Antiquities in the British Museum*, pp. 48 ff., Figs. 50-67.

<sup>2</sup> *Stais, Marbres et bronzes du Musée National*, p. 150, Nos. 1119-1118, 1127, with Figs.

<sup>3</sup> *B.C.H.* 1902, Pls. VII., VIII. <sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii., p. 60.

a votive relief to the Dioscuri.<sup>1</sup> The early metopes from Mycenae<sup>2</sup> and Selinus<sup>3</sup> show the same technique. Then as the artists gradually obtained more command over their material, the height of the relief was increased, and the edges were rounded off. Finally, the discovery of foreshortening enabled them to treat the subject with greater freedom. We need not pursue the actual development of technique further, but may turn to consider its effect on the reliefs. The figures shown in all such reliefs are seen against one level, unchangeable background. This applies to all Greek reliefs up to the end of the fifth century B.C. If the background were painted some neutral colour, the figures would stand out as though



FIG. 1.—RELIEF FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA, SPARTA.

against the sky. In other words, the background appears as a blank curtain and the figures stand before it. This, as already remarked, presents to the spectator a plain, level surface, from which the relief is raised. We may thus say that all that advances from the ground towards the spectator is 'high,' and that all that recedes from it is 'deep.' The quality of height is quite easily obtained, for every relief possesses it; but that of depth is a different matter. This can only be obtained by treating the subject perspectively or else by incision on the background. By perspective treatment is meant the representation of distant objects as smaller and as slightly raised above those in the foreground. From this it will readily be

<sup>1</sup> *Sparta Museum Catalogue*, pp. 120 ff. Figs. 1-6, 9, 10, 26, 27; p. 191, Fig. 65

<sup>2</sup> Kourouniotes, *Jahrbuch* à 1901, p. 20, Fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Salinas, *Mon. Ant. Lucet.* (1892), Pls. I. III.

recognised that landscape motives are just those things that demand depth in a relief. Therefore we may assume that any attempt to introduce them involves an advance or rather an elaboration in art.

Up to the end of the fifth century B.C. there is hardly a trace of such landscape motives in Greek reliefs.<sup>1</sup> But in the last half of the century we note the first attempts to introduce them. In the famous relief in the Acropolis Museum<sup>2</sup> that heads the text of a treaty between Athens and Samos made in 403 B.C., a tree is inserted in the scene behind Athena for her shield to rest against. On a fifth-century grave-relief from Aegina<sup>3</sup> two other stelae are shown by the side of the principal figure and behind it. In two votive reliefs to Heracles from Ithome<sup>4</sup> and Thebes<sup>5</sup> the locality of the scene is defined by the appearance of the columns of a temple behind. In the votive relief of Archandros to Pan and the Nymphs<sup>6</sup> there is an attempt at perspective: Pan, placed high up in the background, peers out of his cave, which is rendered by cutting into the ground itself. Two fragmentary reliefs at Athens, one of which is of the fifth century, while the other is somewhat later in date show a similar attempt at perspective by the use of a rock background.<sup>7</sup> To the same period belongs the well-known Torlonia relief, which also has a rock background similarly handled.<sup>8</sup> In the fourth century the introduction of these motives becomes more common. A rock is often used as a seat, as in the fine metope-like relief published by Wolters.<sup>9</sup> On votive reliefs from the Asclepion the temenos is indicated either by a tree to represent the sacred grove, or by a votive relief standing on a pillar.<sup>10</sup> The latter motive also occurs on reliefs

<sup>1</sup> Except perhaps the olive relief in one of the archaic poros pediments from the Acropolis, Wiegand, *Poros Architektur*, Pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> No. 1333; *Μνημεία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, Pl. XXXIII; Collignon, *Hist. Sculpture Grecque* ii., p. 117, Fig. 56; Brunn-Bruckmann, 475 a.

<sup>3</sup> Athens National Museum, No. 715, Collignon, *op. cit.* ii., p. 151, Fig. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Stais, *op. cit.*, No. 1404; Svoronos, *Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, Pl. LX.; Schoene, *Gr. Reliefs*, 112; Kekule, *Ant. Bild. im Thesalon*, 374.

<sup>5</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie* ii., p. 2187, Fig.

<sup>6</sup> Arndt-Amelung, *E.V.* 1242; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLIV.; Schreiber, *Brunnen-reliefs*, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Athens Nat. Mus. Nos. 1351, 1358; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pls. XLIX., XLVI.; *Ἐφ. Αρχ.* 1908, pp. 104 ff., Fig. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Roscher, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 2539, Fig. 5; Blinkenberg, *Arch. Studen.* pp. 48 ff. Pl. I.

<sup>9</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 1893, Pl. I; cf. Athens Nat. Mus. Nos. 1358, 1460; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pls. LIII., LXXVII.

<sup>10</sup> Athens Nat. Mus. Nos. 1330, 1333, 1335, 1461; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXXV., XXXVI., LXXVII.; Arndt-Amelung, *E.V.* 1230, 1231; cf. Schoene, *Gr. Reliefs*, Pl. XIV. 66.

from Rhamnus and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> On a grave-stele of a Phoenician, probably of the fourth century, a palm-tree is represented, and on another a ship is figured.<sup>2</sup> Trees like those on the Asclepion reliefs occur also on the frieze of the choragic monument of Lysicrates, which dates from 334 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Apparently this type was common in fourth century reliefs.

A very important relief (Fig. 2) at Munich<sup>4</sup> belongs in all probability to the third century. On the left is a large plane tree, the branches of which fill half the ground at the top. From it hangs a curtain, before which are seated the god and goddess to whom it was dedicated. In the centre is an altar seen from one corner and not on the square. Among the

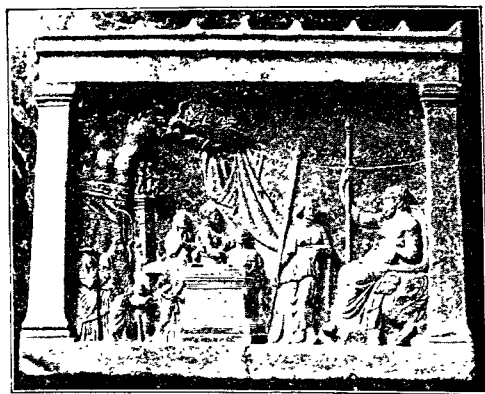


FIG. 2.—VOIVIE RELIEF AT MUNICH.

group of worshippers two female figures in the costume of the Tanagra terra-cottas are conspicuous. By the plane tree is a tall pillar on which stand two votive statuettes. The rendering of the foliage is important and peculiar: the leaves are represented as a heavy solid mass, the outermost being shown in outline with firm hard lines and all fitting closely over those within. The same treatment of foliage is to be observed

<sup>1</sup> Athens Nat. Mus. 1383, 1384, 1398; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXXVIII., XXXIX., LVIII.; Arndt-Amelung, *E. F.* 1240; cf. Blinkenberg, *Ath. Mitt.* 1899, p. 295, 2; Schreiber, *Jahrbuch* 1896, p. 99, note 56.

<sup>2</sup> Stais, *op. cit.*, Nos. 986, 752.

<sup>3</sup> Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. Græque* ii., p. 369, Fig. 189; cf. De Cou, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1893, Pls. II., III.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler, *Glyptothek*, No. 206; the provenance is said to be Corinth; cf. the relief from Rhodes, *Röm. Mitt.* 1901, p. 260, Fig. 1. The figure in the text is reproduced from *ibid.* Fig. 2, by the kind permission of F. Bruckmann and Co., of Munich.

in the Telephus frieze of the great altar at Pergamum, where trees are frequently introduced as well as votive pillars, buildings, rocks, and so on. In the scenes of the first meeting of Heracles and Auge,<sup>1</sup> and of the exposure of Telephus the foliage is handled as a mass, and the outside leaves are cut with clear, sharp edges, and there is no undercutting with the drill. The individual treatment of the plumage of the flying bird that appears in one scene is very noticeable,<sup>2</sup> and exactly parallel to that of the foliage described. As the great altar was probably begun by Eumenes II. about 168 B.C. and completed by his brother Attalus II. after 159 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> it is quite reasonable to assign this particular style of foliage treatment to the middle of the second century. Another monument that we can group with the Telephus frieze is a relief Pl. XVI. Fig. 1) from Tralles<sup>4</sup> now at Constantinople, which represents a kneeling man fastening a rope to a ring in the ground beneath a plane-tree. No satisfactory explanation of the subject has yet been suggested. The male figure is remarkable for the fact that it stands almost free, and for the firm, careful, and, considering its small size, natural modelling. The tree is carved with great detail, and the clean, minute study of the leaves is the same as that in the two monuments just discussed; and thus we may assign this relief to the same period.

From this time onwards landscape motives are very common on Greek reliefs, whether funereal or votive. But they seem to have been especially popular for grave stelae in Asia Minor. In these, as rightly remarked by Pfuhl,<sup>5</sup> the appearance of trees, stelae, and other monuments gives a picture of the cemetery, just as the votive relief and trees on the Asclepieion reliefs represent the temenos of the god with its grove. In Asia Minor these elements of landscape first appear in the Hellenistic age, and continue till the extinction of art in the imperial period. On the other hand they never occur on the Greek grave-reliefs found in Egypt,<sup>6</sup> which are derived from the conventional Attic type of the fourth century, and are remarkable for the entire absence of such motives. In Hellas itself these elements, though common, do not appear so frequently as in Asia

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, *Jahrbuch* 1900, pp. 97 ff. Pl. I. 3, 4, cf. Fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader, *Jahrbuch* 1900, Pl. I. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Pergamon* iii. 1, p. 81; cf. *Arch. Anz.* 1904, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Edhe n Bey, *B.C.H.* 1904, p. 71, Pl. VII.; *Rev. Arch.* 1906, i. pp. 225 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrbuch* 1905, pp. 47, 123 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Pfuhl, *Arch. Mitt.* 1901, pp. 258 ff.

Minor. They are found not only in the Hellenistic age,<sup>1</sup> but also in the imperial period, to which belong the Luku reliefs.<sup>2</sup> In this connection the most important monument is the stele of Artemidorus (Pl. XVI. Fig. 2),<sup>3</sup> where we see the deceased, a young man, attacking with a spear a wild boar in its cave. Amongst the rocks round the cave are represented goats, stags, and hares. Above the cave is a tree on which hangs a game-bag with a dead hare. This last motive is characteristic of the so-called Alexandrian reliefs in which it occurs frequently.<sup>4</sup> This is the only example yet found in Greece or the east, and it is to be noted that it is not earlier in date than the late first century A.D. It also marks an entirely new departure, for hitherto the landscape motives have been confined to trees, votive reliefs on pillars, isolated rocks and the like appearing side by side with the figures in front of the blank ground, and always subordinate. Here for the first time the landscape practically takes the place of the plain ground, and is quite as important as the human figure. In other words, not only is the curtain before which the action takes place now painted, but other scenery is introduced in front of it.

There is one other class of Greek reliefs which deserve some attention, the votive reliefs to Pan and the nymphs. All these have a rock frame so arranged as to give the idea that the figures are seen within a cave. The earliest examples from Megalopolis,<sup>5</sup> and from the Acropolis<sup>6</sup> are dated to the second half of the fourth century. Other examples from the caves in Mount Parnes, and at Vari, from Eleusis, Megara, and other sites<sup>7</sup> show that this type of relief became common and lasted into

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Athens Nat. Mus. 1158, 1245, 1313, 1948; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIII. 6. In the museum at Mykonos there was a grave stele with a large vine in the background, and one of the broken stelae from Pagasae, which belongs to about the third century B.C., has a tree sculptured in the background; Volo Museum No. 125, 7. Arvanitopoulos, *Katálogos*, pp. 359 ff., 103 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Athens Nat. Mus. 1390, 1429, 1450; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pl. LV.; cf. 1158 v. Stais, *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Stais, *op. cit.*, No. 1192, Alinari, phot. 24415

<sup>4</sup> Schreiber, *Hdl. Reliefbilder*, Pls. II. XXII., LIV., LV., LXXVII.

<sup>5</sup> Athens Nat. Mus. 1449; Furtwängler, *Att. Mitt.* 1878, p. 201, 1; Svoronos, *op. cit.* Pl. LXXIV.

<sup>6</sup> Acropolis Museum 1345, Arndt-Amelung, *E. I.* 1274. Hausel (*Neu-Attische Reliefs*), pp. 140 ff.) and Sieveking (*E. I.* *loc. cit.*) suggest that this relief is dated too late, and would assign it to the fifth century; the later date seems to me more likely; it is very similar to the Megalopolis relief.

<sup>7</sup> Athens Nat. Mus. 1443; 1444, Arndt-Amelung, *E. I.* 1248. 2; 1445 from Eleusis, Arndt-Amelung, *E. I.* 1254, 9; 1446 from Megara, Arndt-Amelung, *E. I.* 1254, 8; 1447, Arndt-Amelung, *E. I.* 1254, 7; 1448 from Parnes, Arndt-Amelung, *E. I.* 1254, 6; cf. Svoronos, *op. cit.* Pls.

the imperial period. As Hauser has shown, the figures of the nymphs on them are the prototypes of the Neo-Attic reliefs. Thus we see that the cave motive, which occurs frequently on the Alexandrian reliefs was a favourite in Attica and other parts of Greece. No relief with this motive has yet been found in Egypt.

This brief examination of Greek reliefs shows us that the landscape elements begin at the end of the fifth century, and in the succeeding period gradually become more and more popular. In nearly every case the landscape consists only of a tree or a votive relief on a pillar introduced to localise the scene. These are always placed before the background in the same plane as the figures, but are subordinate to them. In the relief of Artemidorus, which is of the first century A.D., we have the whole composition treated as a landscape, in which the human figure has no preponderating influence. In the votive reliefs to Pan and the nymphs we may consider the cave that frames the group as another attempt in the same direction. But these reliefs do not possess the perspective depth of the Artemidorus stele, for the rock frame is as high as the figures it surrounds.

This consideration of the extant monuments seems to point to three conclusions, that the treatment of landscape in Greek reliefs was very elementary up to the imperial period, that it was most popular in Asia Minor, and that it was not practised at all in Egypt.

## II.—ROMAN RELIEFS.

In the previous section the history of relief sculpture in Greece has been traced briefly, and the introduction and development of landscape elements have been noted. We must now follow the development of Roman reliefs from the age of Augustus to that of Septimius Severus. Then we shall be in a better position to decide the question of the date and style of the 'Alexandrian' reliefs.

The earliest Roman monument decorated with reliefs is that of the Julii at St. Rémy in Provence, which belongs to the first century B.C.<sup>1</sup> But on only one of the four sides do we find any landscape motives,

LXXIII, LXXIV : 1878, 1879 from Paines : 2007-2008, 2011, 2012 from Vari, v. *Arch. Journ.* 1903, p. 301, Pl. III, ff. : cf. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pis. XI-VII, ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Denkmäler*, i, Pis. XVI, XVII.



in the scene of the boar-hunt on the south-west side, where two bare tree trunks are introduced. These are obviously meant to indicate that the action is taking place in the country, and are very similar to the trees in the Asclepieion reliefs mentioned above. But this is not surprising, since the architecture<sup>1</sup> as well as the sculpture of the whole monument is copied from Greek models. This goes far to show how strong an influence Greek Art exercised in the west. The battle scenes have been compared to those of the great altar at Pergamum, but we here notice that there is an attempt to give depth to the relief by incisions in the background.

The first great monument with which we have to deal, is the *Ara Pacis Augustae* built between 13 and 9 B.C. The *disiecta membra* of its frieze have been made the subject of careful study by Petersen,<sup>2</sup> and the recent, but unfinished excavations have given us almost complete information about its plan and architecture.<sup>3</sup> The procession on its north and south sides is the greatest achievement of Augustan art. This is the Roman equivalent, or perhaps we might even say, the Roman translation, of the Parthenon frieze. We see passing before us a long and solemn procession of men and women. They are arranged in pairs, and thus every other figure is in low relief, but in height they are all equal. The background is perfectly plain and neutral. The relief field is of the same height as the figures, and there is no open space above them. In dress and appearance the persons are distinctly Roman, but the atmosphere and execution are Greek. On the east and west sides, owing to the doors, the frieze was not continuous. Instead, there were four separate scenes, two on each front flanking the doors. On the east we have on one side the famous Tellus relief, and on the other hand a sacrifice to the same goddess. In this latter scene we remark an overhanging rock on the left, which supports the shrine of the Penates, and in the centre a rock altar with a tree behind it. All these characterise the scene as taking place out of doors. The Tellus relief on the other side of the door is a landscape composition. But it is not entirely original, for the

<sup>1</sup> Courte, *Berlin Sitzungsbericht* 1882, p. 572; Hulsen, *Jahrbuch* 1888, pp. 10 ff.; cf. the round building at Ephesus. Benndorf, *Epheus* i, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ara Pacis Augustae, Sonder-Ausgabe der Antikensammlung, Vol. II*, Vienna, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Pasqui, *Notizie degli Scavi* 1903, p. 549 ff. The most recent work on the subject is Sauerbeck's article *Zur Ara Pacis Augustae*, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte, Kunst und Wissenschaft*, 1909, No. xxvi.

well-known relief from Carthage in the Louvre shows that their common prototype was of the Hellenistic age. It should be observed that the three groups mentioned are much longer than they are high, and that there is practically no open space above the heads of the figures.



FIG. 3.—PILASTER FROM BASILICA AEMILIA.

There is on the outside, below the frieze, a very elaborate acanthus scroll, in which swans, frogs, mice, and other animals are introduced, and on the inside, on the back of the blocks of the frieze is a series of garlands hanging from ox skulls. The rendering of every detail in

this vegetable ornament is wonderful. Everything is very finely and clearly defined, and appears to have been laid upon the marble, rather than cut out from it. Thus, in this one monument alone we see that in Augustan art landscape motives, such as temples, overhanging rocks and the like, and vegetation were popular. Other monuments of the period, such as the pilasters of the Basilica Aemilia<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 3), the sarcophagus from the Palazzo Caffarelli,<sup>2</sup> and the altar with plane branches illustrate the same tendency.<sup>3</sup> Two other reliefs in the Louvre,<sup>4</sup> which are probably Augustan, have the same characteristics. We can also group with them the famous relief at Ravenna,<sup>5</sup> although it contains no landscape elements. Although the representations of natural objects, such as fruit or foliage, are delicately and accurately rendered in Augustan art, they seem to lack life and atmosphere. They and the scenes they adorn are conceived in an academic and ideal style. This is due almost entirely to Greek influence. As in literature, so in sculpture, Augustus attempted by eclectic Hellenism to create in Rome an imperial art worthy of her world wide dominion. Although this attempt left its mark on Roman art, it failed because Tiberius and his successors had neither the will nor the power to continue it. We possess no monuments of Tiberius' reign. The relief fragments of the throne from Cervetri with the well-known personifications of Etruscan cities belong to that of Claudius.<sup>6</sup> In these there is vegetable ornament rendered naturally but less formally.

The next dated monument is the Arch of Titus. The reliefs are long and narrow, and there is the same processional treatment as in the *Ara Pacis*, which was probably the model for it. But here we have an open space above the figures in both scenes. This was necessary to accommodate the standing figures of Titus and Victory in the chariot, and the spoils of the temple. But did the artist definitely choose this composition in order to introduce the 'Respirazion' seen by Wickhoff?<sup>7</sup> Probably circumstances

<sup>1</sup> The block in the text has been kindly lent by the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. It originally appeared in Hulsen's article in *Mon. Mitt.* xvii (1902), p. 53, Fig. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Altmann, *Die Antiken u. Ornamente d. ant. Sark.*, p. 66, Fig. 25; Dragendorff, *Bonner Jahrbuch* 103, p. 90 and Taf. III.

<sup>3</sup> Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, Pl. IV; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. XXI.

<sup>4</sup> Heron de Villefosse, *Crat. S. m. n.*, 1006-1007.

<sup>5</sup> Bernoulli, *Röm. Forsch.*, Pl. VI. We might also add the Sorrento Basis (Heydemann, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, Pl. X), and a relief at Palermo (Petersen, *Ara Pacis*, p. 75, Fig. 30).

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. Inst.* 1842, Pl. C; Bernoulli-Schoetz, *Arch. m.*, No. 212; Hellag, *Indic.* i.<sup>2</sup> 677; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. XXXII.

<sup>7</sup> Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 77, Figs. 29, 30.

compelled him to adopt it, and his effort to produce his best work unconsciously gave it the effect discovered by the critics. In these reliefs there are no landscape elements, unless one may include the arch in the relief of the golden candlestick as such. But wherever there is any vegetation, as in the laurel wreaths and the laurel branches borne by one or two of the figures, we find the same feeling for nature already remarked in the *Ara Pacis*. In other monuments of the Flavian period, such as the circular reliefs on the arch of Constantine<sup>1</sup> and the monument of the Haterii,<sup>2</sup> landscape motives are very popular. In the former the sacrifices at country shrines seem inspired by the same spirit as some of the 'Alexandrian' reliefs. The pilaster from the monument of the Haterii shows how the artists of this age delighted in depicting nature, a delight only equalled by their masterly rendering and accurate observation of floral shapes, for by this time art was free from the academic spirit of the previous age.

All these have an architectural background, which offers little scope for naturalistic effect. In execution and conception they are equal to the similar scenes on the *Ara Pacis*, but it is to be noticed that the drill was employed. In the frieze of the Forum Transitorium (Pl. XVII., Fig. 1)<sup>3</sup> which was finished by Nerva, trees, rocks, and buildings appear. From this we can perhaps assume that even in composition of a classical type such as this, it was usual to introduce landscape motives.

The *plutei* in the Forum,<sup>4</sup> which are probably Trajanic, are long, and well adapted for the representation of a procession. Instead, the scenes they depict have little or no action, and recall those on the north and south sides of the *Ara Pacis*, which are the forerunners of the group method of composition. These scenes have also an architectural background, but this is less carefully worked than that in the Domitianic reliefs mentioned. The leaves on the fig-tree that appears on the *plutei*, like the trees on the frieze of the *Forum Transitorium* and the Domitianic medallions are not delicately cut out by the chisel on the background as in Augustan reliefs, but are deeply undercut by the drill so as to have the appearance of hanging free in the open air.<sup>5</sup> The lack of action in the

<sup>1</sup> *Papers B.S.R.* iii, Pls. XXI, XXII; Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1910, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wickhoff, *op. cit.* Pls. VII, VIII; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. XXXV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Inst.* 1877, pp. 5 ff; *Mou. Inst.* x., Pls. XL-XL a. Anderson phot. 2230.

<sup>4</sup> Hulsen, *Forum Romanum*, pp. 86, 87, Fig. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the relief in the Lateran with quinces and lemons, Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. X.

*plutei* should be carefully noted, for in the Trajanic period the processional method of composition gives way to the group system.<sup>1</sup> The best example of this is the arch of Benevento.<sup>2</sup> There is very little open space above the heads of the figures, but all the scenes are conceived as groups and not as views of a procession. In nearly all trees or buildings are introduced, but rather as illustrations of locality than for artistic effect. In the battle scenes on the Arch of Constantine<sup>3</sup> and the reliefs relating to them, trees, round Dacian huts, and similar motives frequently occur. They reappear on the column,<sup>4</sup> where they are again illustrative rather than artistic. In this same monument we notice for the first time a new method of expression which consists in giving a kind of maplike projection to the scene by placing distant above nearer objects. This results in what a writer on the Renaissance plans of Rome would call a *veduta prospettiva*. We shall refer to it throughout as 'bird's-eye perspective.' This is of course the only way in which a complicated subject can be rendered in relief. By it we are enabled to see the inside and outside of cities and camps at the same time. In such scenes we obtain a clear view of what is happening in the distance without losing sight of the foreground. This method also leads to a conventional means of representing a crowd, by showing four or more rows of heads one above the other. This last peculiarity is not confined to Trajan's column, but occurs in some of the battle scenes as well.

The only Hadrianic historical reliefs that exist are the two from the Arco di Portogallo.<sup>5</sup> These show the continuance of the group method of composition, and in one a building is introduced to localise the scene. No sculptured monuments of the reign of Antoninus Pius survive, but the decorated base of the honorary column erected after his death has been preserved.<sup>6</sup> There is no attempt at landscape in the scene in the front, which is framed by two personifications, *Roma* and the *Campus*

<sup>1</sup> *Papier, B.S.R.* iii., pp. 280, 281, 292.

<sup>2</sup> Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 109, Figs. 37, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pls. XLVII, XLVIII; for other Trajanic reliefs v. *Papier B.S.R.* iv., pp. 244 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cichorius, *Die Reliefs des Trajan's Säulens*.

<sup>5</sup> *Papier B.S.R.* iv., p. 258, Pl. XXXIII; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. LXXI.

<sup>6</sup> Amelung, *Sculpt. d. Vat. Mus.* i, Pls. CCXVI, CCXVIII; Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXII; to the same period belong the two Asclepeion reliefs in the Palazzo Rondanini, Matz-von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke von Rom*, 3522, 3523; *R.M. Mittheil.* 1886, pp. 166 ff.; cf. Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXXI.

*Martius*. On the sides the *decursiones* in honour of the dead emperor are represented. These are rendered in the bird's-eye perspective just mentioned. But here this principle is carried so far that the distant figures stand quite clear of those in front.

More important are the reliefs that commemorate the German campaigns of Marcus Aurelius. The reliefs of the column,<sup>1</sup> erected to him after his death, are executed in the same manner as those of Trajan's column, which was obviously the model for the later monument. The scenes are spread out by means of the bird's-eye perspective, and the conventional landscape motives are treated illustratively. The eleven panels from the arch of this emperor are treated in quite a different manner.<sup>2</sup> The scenes are composed on the group method, and so far carry on the earlier tradition. But in details they differ considerably from the Trajanic and Hadrianic panels. They are taller, and there is always, as noticed by Monaci,<sup>3</sup> an open space above the heads of the figures. This open space in all but three is filled by representations of buildings, when the scene is in Rome, or by trees when the scene is in the field. But the effect produced is similar to that of the Flavian medallions on the arch of Constantine, and that given by the bird's-eye perspective method. The scene appears as a picture of a place, as a view of a city, or a landscape. By means of the illustrative landscape motives, the locality is not merely indicated, but actually represented to some extent. There is a wide difference between these sculptures and the Greek votive reliefs. In the latter the presence of a votive pillar in a relief indicates a shrine, a tree means that the action takes place in a grove, and so on. In the Roman reliefs mentioned harmonious grouping of the figures round trees and buildings, which thus brings them into closer relation with one another, gives a true pictorial effect.

The age of Septimius Severus has left us only two important reliefs: the campaigning scenes on his arch, and the relief in the Palazzo Sacchetti.<sup>4</sup> The latter has an architectural background and, though a *pluteus* in shape, shows that the tradition of the group composition still existed in this period. The maplike projections of the arch show a

<sup>1</sup> Petersen, Domaszewski, and Calderini, *Die Marcusan*.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii., pp. 251 ff., Pls. XXIII.-XXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Comm.* 1900, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Papers B.S.R.* iv., pp. 263 ff., Pl. XXXIV.

development of the bird's-eye perspective method. The history of the Parthian War, or rather of its chief incidents, is shown entirely as a *veduta prospettiva*.

Now that our brief survey of the development of landscape treatment in Greek and Roman reliefs is completed, we may pause for a moment to attempt to recapitulate the main changes observed. We notice that landscape elements do not appear in Greek reliefs till the end of the fifth century B.C. They are as a rule trees or votive reliefs on pillars, and serve to indicate the locality of the scene. In the second, perhaps in the third, century B.C. we see from the Telephus frieze and the reliefs at Munich and from Tralles that a desire for a closer rendering of material objects was felt. The careful treatment of foliage on the monuments mentioned suggests that they may be regarded as the forerunners of the Augustan style.<sup>1</sup> A lack of dated monuments prevents us from following the development of landscape in Greek reliefs any further. But the grave reliefs from Asia Minor and Alexandria show that landscape motives were popular in the former country, and never used in the latter. Finally, the stele of Artemidorus, dated to the late first century, A. D., has the full landscape conception similar to that which, as we have seen, is common in Rome from the Flavian period onwards.

In Rome we have found that in the Augustan age landscape motives were popular. These are of the conventional Greek type but rendered with a marvellous skill that seems independent of material. To the sculptors of this period, as Dragendorff has said, clay and marble, stucco and metal were alike. Accurate and wonderful as the works are, they nevertheless very academic in composition. It should be remarked that in this age the drill is very seldom used: the chisel was the tool employed. In the Flavian period the pilaster of the monument of the Haterii and the medallions on the arch of Constantine show a less restrained treatment of nature. By a judicious combination of the use of drill and chisel, foliage

<sup>1</sup> The interval between these reliefs and the Augustan age is filled by a class of reliefs already grouped by Wickhoff (*Röm. Art.*, p. 36, note 3), in which the treatment of the foliage is identical and like that of the Greek reliefs referred to. The principal members of this group are the Bacchic scene—five replicas, two in the Capitol, Schreiber, *Heinrichische Reliquien* (cited as *H.R.*), Pls. XLVI, XLVIII, one at Naples, *H.R.*, Pl. XLVII, and two at Bologna, the Dolon relief (Vienna, *H.R.*, Pl. XLV; Rome, Hellag—1090), two fragments in the Magazzino Archeologico at Rome (*H.R.*, Pls. XL, XLI), the Icarus relief (Housser, *Neu-Atlas de Reliefs*, pp. 189 ff.), the Citharoedus reliefs—Studniczka, *Zeitschr.* 1900, pp. 75 ff.), and a relief in the Vatican (*H.R.*, Pl. LXXIV; Ameling, *Sculpt. of Vat. Mus.* II, pp. 358 ff.).

and flowers are no longer rendered as though glued to a marble backing ; instead, they hang freely over it and almost seem to be trembling with the breeze. The use of the drill becomes more marked under Trajan and Hadrian. The result of this is that vegetation is rendered more vigorously, but more roughly. In the Aurelian and succeeding periods, the drill is the principal tool. It is always used for undercutting foliage, which shows in consequence greater play of light and shade, but a less faithful rendering of the natural forms. The academic manner of the Augustan artists constrained them to use landscape motives in the Greek manner, merely as typifying a place. But even here they are treated more freely than in Greek reliefs. In the Flavian period, although the landscape elements are practically the same, their more natural treatment and closer relation to the figures produce a pictorial effect. This principle is carried on in the Trajanic and Aurelian periods, although the landscape motives introduced are illustrative rather than artistic. But it cannot be denied that the panels from the arch of Marcus Aurelius, for all their faulty execution, have more pictorial qualities than the carefully finished Augustan reliefs. The former have a warmth and atmosphere which the chill formalism of the latter has totally missed.

Our skeleton history of the development of landscape in relief from the fifth century to the age of Septimius Severus is complete. We are now better qualified to decide the date of the 'Hellenistic pictorial reliefs,' and may attempt by their style and characteristics to assign them to what we consider their proper place in the history of ancient art.

### III.—THE SPADA RELIEFS AND THEIR KIN.

The 'Alexandrian' reliefs published by Schreiber fall into several classes. The first and most important is that which consists of the large pictorial reliefs called by him '*Prachtreliefs*.'<sup>1</sup> The most famous group of these are the eight reliefs in the Palazzo Spada at Rome, which were found in 1620 at S. Agnese.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Brunnenreliefs*, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig ii.<sup>2</sup>, p. 150 ; Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, pp. 30 ff.



A.—*The Spada Reliefs.*

I. The Theft of the Palladium<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XVII., Fig. 2). The composition of this relief is totally unlike the usual representations of this legend, so common on gems, especially that signed by Felix,<sup>2</sup> and found also on one of the silver vases from Bernay.<sup>3</sup> The nearest parallel is to be seen on a Lycian sarcophagus at Athens.<sup>4</sup> But after all, as Furtwangler pointed out, the relief is founded on the well-known Diomed type<sup>5</sup> attributed to Cresilas. The figure is slightly altered to suit a relief. The modelling of the torso, especially in the sharp divisions between muscles, and the hard line below the breast, is almost exactly that of the Munich statue. This statue was popular at Rome, as is proved by the many existing replicas,<sup>6</sup> and by the fact that it appears in the stucco decoration of the tomb of the Pancratii.<sup>7</sup> To complete the scene, the artist has added the figure of Odysseus, which he seems to have borrowed from a statue of the Venice type.<sup>8</sup> But it is considerably altered and clumsily inserted. The body is very awkward and the drapery is carelessly treated. The eyes are plastically rendered in the Hadrianic manner. The hair and beard are worked by the drill, and also resemble Hadrianic reliefs. Above the heads of the figures is an open space which is occupied by a temple. This is not a Greek temple. It has no *pteroma*, and the walls are ornamented with square pilasters. In the gable are a snake, a shield with a Gorgoneion, and a helmet, which, as Helbig says, indicate a temple of Athena. This refers to that version of the legend according to which both Odysseus and Diomed entered Troy, and is another point of a difference between this relief and the other representations mentioned.<sup>9</sup> Finally we may notice that the temple and Odysseus are not in true proportion to one another.

II. Daedalus and Pasiphae<sup>10</sup> (Pl. XVIII., Fig. 1). This relief also is in composition quite unlike the Pompeian wall painting (Pl. XVIII., Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *H.R.* Pl. VII. Phot. Anderson 1987. There is a fragment of a replica in the Museo delle Terme, *H.R.* Pl. XIX L.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwangler, *Ant. Gemmen*, Pl. XLIX, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Photo. Gnaudon, B. 539.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Mus.* 1877, Pl. XI.

<sup>5</sup> *Ma to pteas*, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> Furtwangler, *Met. Zeits.*, pp. 149 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher, *Lection der Myth.*, 3<sup>te</sup> ed., p. 667.

<sup>8</sup> Furtwangler-Urichs, *Denkmäler der ant. Skulptur*, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Helbig, *ibid.*, p. 159. <sup>10</sup> *H.R.* Pl. VIII. Phot. Anderson 1986.

Helbig, *ibid.*, p. 1205-1208; Robert, *Ant.*, 23, 111, Fig. 35. Phot. Bregt 11204.

In these Pasiphae is seen seated on a throne, while Daedalus standing before her presents the wooden cow. Here we are shown Pasiphae visiting Daedalus. He sits, saw in hand, on a stool, clad only in an exomis. Before him is the wooden cow, behind which is Pasiphae. Her pose at once recalls somewhat similar figures on Attic grave reliefs,<sup>1</sup> and the scheme and handling of her drapery have a Neo-Attic character.<sup>2</sup> More similar yet are the representations of Amyclone on gems.<sup>3</sup> In the small part of Daedalus' beard that is original we again see clear traces of drill work. The background, which extends some distance above the figures, is partly occupied by architecture meant to represent the palace of Minos. But it is very clumsily and flatly rendered. In general the composition is poor.

III. The Death of Opheltes<sup>4</sup> (Pl. XIX., Fig. 1). The scheme of this relief corresponds more closely with the traditional representations of the subject. But it has not much resemblance to the version shown in a wall painting,<sup>5</sup> nor to those on coins.<sup>6</sup> The relief is remarkable for the number of persons represented. The two warriors seem to be derived from a fourth-century work, such as the frieze of the Mausoleum.<sup>7</sup> One warrior leans over a rock, a motive that occurs on the frieze of the *Forum Transitorium*.<sup>8</sup> Most noticeable is the artist's effort to give depth to his landscape. There is an overhanging rock behind the main scene, on which stand a tree and a temple. The latter is apparently not Greek. It has no columns at all, merely two square pilasters by the door, and in the gable a shield between two snakes. Between the main scene and the background the figure of Hypsipyle is introduced. She is on a smaller scale, and her pose is very awkward. One of her feet is seen just behind the central hero's right foot. The flying drapery is very tame, and is most clumsily spread out. Her hair, which is rather long and ropy in texture, has the same qualities as that of Endymion and Andromeda in the Capitoline reliefs and the Medusa Ludovisi.<sup>9</sup> In general this relief has the appearance of an eclectic composition, but its elements are less obvious.

<sup>1</sup> Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. græque* ii., Figs. 195, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hauser, *Neo-attische Reliefs*, Pls. II, III.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrbuch* 1889, Pl. II. 3, 4. <sup>4</sup> *H.R.* Pl. VI. Phot. Anderson 1980.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1156.

<sup>6</sup> Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *Nouv. Comm. Paus.* Pl. I, 2-9.

<sup>7</sup> Collignon, *op. cit.* ii., Fig. 106.

<sup>8</sup> *Ann. Inst.* 1877, pp. 5 ff.; *Mon. Inst.* s., Pls. XLI, XLI. a.

<sup>9</sup> Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 38, Fig. 14.

owing to the depth of the landscape and to the fact that there is less empty space above the principal figures.

IV. Adonis wounded<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XIX., Fig. 2). This representation of Adonis, if it really is Adonis, seems to be unparalleled. In style and technique it has a general resemblance to statues made in the Hadrianic period, especially the Eros of Centocelle and the so-called Antinous of the Capitol.<sup>2</sup> The forms of the body are very smooth and fat. The figure also has some likeness to the later variants of the Scopaic Meleager, in which a chlamys is added.<sup>3</sup> The hounds (the boar's head is a restoration) are also attributes in the statues. In any case the artist of this relief seems to have intended the figure as Adonis. It is noticeable that the wound is in the calf, and not in the thigh. There is also an actual error in the muscles of the lower left leg, which is not anatomically correct. The square pilaster of the rustic shrine in the background appears to be Roman rather than Greek. But the skilful rendering of the tree trunk, lightly sketched on the ground, gives an admirable idea of depth. The composition is pleasing, but the right side of the figure, in spite of its mask of drapery, is rather clumsily flattened against the background.

V. Bellerophon and Pegasus<sup>4</sup> (Pl. XX., Fig. 1). In this relief also the artist has borrowed an older motive and given his own rendering, for an exactly similar group is found on a sarcophagus at Athens,<sup>5</sup> and on a late ivory box from Veroli at South Kensington.<sup>6</sup> These probably go back to the same original, perhaps a painting. The landscape elements, the rock and the tree, are well balanced, but there is no studied symmetry and the lines of the composition are self-contained. There is one noticeable fault. Pegasus is shown on too small a scale. The artist has sacrificed truth to composition. Were the horse represented to scale, it would more than fill the relief ground. There is a large open space above Bellerophon's head, only partly filled by the beautifully carved foliage. Lastly, the figure of Bellerophon himself has an eclectic character. In pose and proportions it recalls the Polycleitan Doryphorus. In this respect it resembles a relief in the Villa Albani,<sup>7</sup> another still existing on a tomb on the Via Tiburtina,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ILL.* Pl. IV. Phot. Anderson 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Bruun-Bruckmann, 379; Dietrichson, *Adonis*, Pl. IV, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ameisung *S. u. p.*, *Ver. Mün.*, pp. 33 ff. <sup>4</sup> *ILL.*, Pl. III. Phot. Anderson 1892.

<sup>5</sup> Robert, *Ant.*, 83; *Ver.*, Pl. L. <sup>6</sup> Venturi, *S. u. p.*, *Art. Trecenta*, p. 403, Fig. 367.

<sup>7</sup> Hellwig n. 4, 823. <sup>8</sup> Bartsch, *Ant.*, 87; *Ver.*, Pl. XLVII; *Phot. B.S.R.*, m., p. 140.

and the well-known relief from Argos.<sup>1</sup> This composition therefore seems eclectic.

VI. Amphion and Zethus (Pl. XX., Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> Here again there is a good attempt at depth in the landscape. The little shrine with its square pillars recalls that on the relief of Bellerophon, and does not seem Greek in character. Within is a statuette of Artemis closely resembling the type that is common on Neo-Attic reliefs.<sup>3</sup> The seated figure of Zethus recalls a type of Paris that is usual on sarcophagi.<sup>4</sup> Amphion, on the other hand,



FIG. 4.—AMPHION AND ZETHUS; FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF AT RAVENNA.

is an adaptation of a well-known Hermes type, which is probably Praxitelean. The best examples are the statues in the Belvedere<sup>5</sup> and from Andros.<sup>6</sup> The type also occurs in an Antonine relief in the Villa Medici.<sup>7</sup> The usual name of the Spada relief, Apollo and Mercury, shows its eclectic character. The sculptor chose types, set them in a romantic landscape, and named them to suit his patron. Unfortunately, as Helbig says, Amphion is the more muscular of the two brothers. No similar represent-

<sup>1</sup> Friedrichs-Wolters, 504.

<sup>2</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. V. Phot. Anderson 1979.

<sup>3</sup> Hauser, *Neo-Attische Reliefs*, types 3 and 9.

<sup>4</sup> Robert, *Ant. Sark.* ii., Pl. V.

<sup>5</sup> Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* ii., p. 133, Pl. XII.

<sup>6</sup> Brunn-Buckmann, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>7</sup> Matz-von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke*, 3521.

ation of this myth is known. That this composition was popular is shown by the fact that there is half of a replica at Ravenna (Fig. 4). From this we see that the drapery behind Amphion is wrongly restored in the Spada relief, and that there should be a votive pillar behind him. Also there should be a crouching dog before the rock on which Zethus sits.

VII. Paris and Oenone<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XXI, Fig. 1). This relief is one of the most ambitious in its landscape depth, and has special interest on account of a replica of the upper scene formerly existing in the Villa Ludovisi. This replica, if not itself earlier in date, seems at least to have been derived from an earlier version of the scene, which differs in some important particulars from the Spada relief, e.g. Oenone, instead of leaning on Paris' shoulder, leans on empty air. The composition was probably influenced by a painting in which Oenone leant on some support which could not be plastically rendered. There is no stern-castle on the ship, and the landscape above is totally different. This extends further across the relief, and shows a town in section. It is clumsily done. The sculptor possibly attempted to render plastically a town standing on the sea-coast with its walls appearing on higher ground inland. There is, however, in it the same square moulding which runs across the Spada relief. This has no meaning unless we take it to indicate 'distance planes.' The town is more distant than the ship, but, if placed above it in the relief, would appear to be standing in mid air, and so, the atmospheric distances of painting being impossible in sculpture, this awkward device was adopted. The artist of the Spada relief took this composition and compressed it slightly, and to make it taller added the river god below. But in order that the bay in which the ship lies at anchor should not appear in mid air he had to add another square moulding below it in imitation of his original. This river-god is a typical example of such personifications in the late third or in the second century B.C. Oenone is brought nearer to Paris and leans lightly on his shoulder. But the greatest difference is, as has been said, in the architecture above. By compressing the scene the sculptor made the heads of Paris and Oenone stand out above the moulding, and in front of what is intended to be a very distant landscape. The town appears as one round and two oblong buildings erected on colonnades. These rather resemble the pictures we have of Roman villas.<sup>2</sup> The whole scene is an example of

<sup>1</sup> *H. J. Pl. X.1: Arch. Z. 11*, 1889, pp. 145 ff., Pl. XIII. *Phœ. Anderson* 1954.  
<sup>2</sup> *Restowzewa, Jour. d'É.* 1904, pp. 103 ff., Pls. V-VII.

'bird's-eye perspective' which occurs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, on the base of the Antonine column, and on the arch of Septimius Severus.<sup>1</sup> Paris and Oenone are the central point. From their rocky seat they look down on the scene below and round them. The river is nearest to the spectator, then the two figures, then the ship, and finally the town. In technique the only point to observe is that the treatment of the drapery of Oenone recalls Neo-Attic work.

VIII. Paris and Eros<sup>2</sup> (Pl. XXI., Fig. 2). This relief, obviously intended as a pair to the Paris and Oenone, is an abridgment of a larger composition. The scheme is derived from the same source as an Augustan relief at Munich.<sup>3</sup> This shows a herdsman seated on a rock before a herm, while below feeds a herd of cattle. Here there is the same effort to obtain depth by placing the distant figures on the rock that serves as the background for the nearer ones. Perhaps the cattle were introduced to fill up the necessary shape, since the artist could not expand the figure of Paris he had chosen. Paris with Eros whispering in his ear often occurs in Pompeian paintings, but the figure is different.<sup>4</sup> This Paris is a statue type, probably going back to the same original as the Paris of the Galleria delle Statue in the Vatican.<sup>5</sup> It belongs to a representation of the 'Judgment of Paris,' for this figure occurs frequently on reliefs in that connection. These are the Ara Casali in the Vatican;<sup>6</sup> the stucco reliefs of the tomb of the Pancratii;<sup>7</sup> two sarcophagus fragments in the Louvre;<sup>8</sup> an Apulian vase at Karlsruhe;<sup>9</sup> a cameo at Berlin;<sup>10</sup> and a relief of the second century A.D. from the Ludovisi collection.<sup>11</sup> In this last, cattle and a rock background appear, and the goddesses are statue types, the Hera being derived from the so-called Hera of Alcámenes. These instances are enough to show that this figure of Paris was eclectic and popular. In any case it seems evident that the artist intended to represent the Judgment of Paris, but finding it an impossible subject for a tall relief filled up the vacant space with the cattle.

<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 180 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XI. Phot. Anderson 1985.

<sup>3</sup> Furtwangler, *Glyptothek*, 251; *H.R.*, Pl. LXXV.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1271 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* ii., Pl. XI.VII.

<sup>6</sup> Maynial, *Mélanges* 1903, Pls. III., IV.

<sup>7</sup> *Mon. Inst.* vi., Pls. XLIX., LII.

<sup>8</sup> Robert, *Ant. Sark.* ii., Pl. V. 16, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Roscher, *op. cit.* iii., p. 1619.

<sup>10</sup> Furtwangler, *Gemmen*, Pl. LII. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Robert, *Ant. Sark.* i., p. 17.

B.—*The Reliefs in the Capitol.*

The next two reliefs which we have to examine are the two in the Capitol which are always grouped with the Spada reliefs.

I. Perseus and Andromeda (Pl. XXII., Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Here again in the figure of Perseus we have an adaptation of the same Hermes type that was used for Amphion.<sup>2</sup> So it is useless to point out again that the figure is eclectic. There are traces of wings on the head, which belong to Hermes and not to Perseus. Further, the type does not correspond to that of the Hanover group<sup>3</sup> and the Pompeian paintings<sup>4</sup> (Pl. XXII., Fig. 2). In these Perseus always has his right foot raised on a rock, and in his left hand carries the harpa and the head of Medusa. But, when compared with Amphion and the Hermes type referred to, the likeness is obvious. If we blot out Perseus for a moment from the composition, Andromeda is at once recognisable. She is a Neo-Attic dancing girl very similar to Hauser's type 31.<sup>5</sup> She also has some resemblance to a relief from Pergamum<sup>6</sup> and the well-known dancing Muse.<sup>7</sup> But there is no likeness between her and the Hanover group or the Pompeian paintings. In short this relief was manufactured in the same way as that of Zethus and Amphion. Two popular types were taken and placed in the romantic situation of the heroic rescuer and the persecuted heroine. In this case the name chosen was Perseus and Andromeda. With a few alterations the relief could have represented Telephus and Auge, Hypsipyle and Euneos, Acolus and Hypsipyle, or any similar myth. The rock is conventional, and the sea monster does not seem very dangerous. Helbig<sup>8</sup> imagines that this relief depends on a painting, because of the blank ground behind Perseus, and we know from Pliny<sup>9</sup> that Nikias painted this subject. We have already pointed out that this relief differs from the Pompeian paintings. In them the composition is larger, and local personifications are introduced. The blank ground and the absence of any ambitious landscape treatment seem to me to show that this relief is earlier than the Spada set. We also have to notice that the background is not prolonged above the figures.

<sup>1</sup> *H.R.* Pl. X; Helbig<sup>2</sup>, 469.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach, *Revue* n. p. 509; *E.R.* 1074.

<sup>3</sup> See Hauser, *Neu-Attik* 31. *Ac.* 107.

<sup>4</sup> Waddington, *Revue de l'Archéologie* p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> v. above p. 187.

<sup>6</sup> Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, 1187 ff. Phot. Brogi 6254.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiq. Douvres* n., Pl. XXXV.

<sup>8</sup> *Führer*, 469. <sup>9</sup> *N.H.* xiv. 132.

II. Endymion.<sup>1</sup> This also is totally different from the Spada reliefs and the Perseus and Andromeda, both in style and motive. I have not been able to find any similar representation of Endymion. This is essentially a one-figure relief, and as such is not complete in itself. The imagination has to supply the other figure, the approaching Artemis. There is throughout an unchangeable background of rock, so rendered that it seems extremely steep. Such a ground precludes the possibility of a second relief plane, and so the dog, which should stand above Endymion on a sloping rock, appears instead to cling in some miraculous manner to the precipice overhanging him. In general the style of this relief is very good. The idea of sleep is well rendered by the relaxed limbs and drooping head. The peculiar ropy treatment of the hair resembles that of the Medusa Ludovisi, of Andromeda, and of Hypsipyle already mentioned.<sup>2</sup> In any case there does not seem to be any eclecticism about this natural youthful figure. The beauty of the long slender legs is probably due to the influence of the model. From its superior work and style this relief is also probably earlier than the Spada set. Here again there is little open space above the figures.

C.—*The Reliefs in the Palazzo Colonna.*

I. Hermaphrodite and child.<sup>3</sup> Although the figure is clearly that of a Hermaphrodite, yet the figure has considerable likeness to the statues of Hermes with the infant Dionysus.<sup>4</sup> In one of these, that engraved by De Cavalleriis,<sup>5</sup> a bearded Herm serves as a support on the left side of the figure. The hair of the Hermaphrodite has a strong resemblance to that of Hypsipyle, Andromeda, Endymion, and the Medusa Ludovisi.<sup>6</sup> On the left we see an archaistic statuette of Artemis, which recalls the Neo-Attic reliefs. The fluttering chlamys also suggests the same class of reliefs. Behind the figures is a blank wall and behind this appears a circular shrine, with a tree and a large bronze vessel on a pillar. In this relief the background is again extended above the heads of the figures.

II. Paris.<sup>7</sup> The figure of this relief strongly recalls the right-hand

<sup>1</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XV.

<sup>4</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire* ii., p. 173. 7, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig<sup>2</sup>, 1103.

<sup>6</sup> Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XVI.



figure of the San Ildefonso group,<sup>1</sup> and the likeness is increased by the statuette at the side. As the San Ildefonso group is eclectic, this relief too probably depends on a statue type which seems to go back to the Polycleitan school. If also the group is, as usually believed, Hadrianic, then this relief probably belongs to the same period.

III. Olympus. (?)<sup>2</sup> This relief is also unfortunately incomplete. As indicated by Matz and von Duhn the central figure recalls that of Olympus in the well-known group with Pan.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise there is nothing remarkable in the relief, except that there is again an open background above the principal figure.

Matz and von Duhn point out that these three reliefs clearly belong together,<sup>4</sup> both by style and composition, and can hardly have been executed before the second century A.D.

#### D.—*Reliefs in the Lateran and Vatican.*

I. Leucothea and Pan.<sup>5</sup> The myth which this relief illustrates only occurs once, as far as we know, in Greek literature, in a poem of Euphorion. He flourished in the third century, and was a native of Chalcis in Euboea, and died in Syria as librarian of Antiochus the Great. As regards the execution of the relief itself, the drapery of Leucothea is very similar in treatment to that of Electra in the group of Menelaus.<sup>6</sup> The rendering of the tree and its foliage is almost identical with that of the panels from the arch of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>7</sup> The leaves and branches are thick and heavy, and deeply undercut, and so appear to be standing in the open and not against a background. This is matched by the cutting of the rock, the plumage of the eagle, and the hair of the goats. The relief is prolonged well above the heads of the figures, and great prominence is given to the landscape elements. From its style alone this relief, whatever the date of the composition may be, cannot be earlier than the Aurelian period. To about the same date belongs a fragment in the

<sup>1</sup> Collignon, *op. cit.* ii., p. 668. Fig. 352; Friedrichs-Wolters 1665; Hauser, *Neu-Attische Relief*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XVII. Amelung-Holtzinger, *Museum and Ruins*, i. p. 141, fig. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrichs-Wolters, 1510.

<sup>4</sup> *Antike Bildwerke*, 3576. <sup>5</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XXI.

<sup>6</sup> Collignon, *op. cit.* iii., p. 665, Fig. 349. <sup>7</sup> *Plafond B.S.R.* iii., Pls. 23 ff.

Vatican with the same subject, but with the composition reversed.<sup>1</sup> In this the rock and the tree are on the right hand side of the relief, while the eagle is seen on an overhanging ledge in the centre. Below the tree the Satyr is seen walking to the right. There is no evidence to show the attitudes of Leucothea and the infant Pan. But a fragment of a much better and earlier replica, also in the Vatican,<sup>2</sup> shows that their positions could also be changed. In it the infant Pan is seated to the right. Unfortunately this is all that is preserved of the relief, so that no opinion can be formed as to the composition. If we may date the Lateran relief and the other replica in the Vatican to the Aurelian period, this fragment cannot according to its style be later than the time of Hadrian.

II. Autolaus and Asclepius.<sup>3</sup> The execution of this relief is not very good. The rock, tree, and dove are rendered in a manner that recalls the naturalistic details of the Leucothea relief and the panels from the arch of Marcus Aurelius. The figure of Autolaus is very flat, and rather clumsy. Although the figure is in profile, the eye is shown *en face*. This is a peculiarity that occurs first on Trajanic reliefs.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, since we have already compared the working of the tree to Aurelian reliefs, we may venture to date the relief to the period between these two limits.

#### *E.—Relief in the Louvre.*

Young Satyr.<sup>5</sup> This relief has great likeness to the Spada reliefs. The smooth, delicate work of the pine tree is very similar to that seen on the Bellcrophon and Amphion and Zethus reliefs. The treatment of the rock also is almost identical. The rendering of the nude in the strong, youthful body finds analogies in the reliefs of Opheltes, Adonis, and Amphion and Zethus. Other points of comparison are the great prominence given to the landscape, and the wide open space above the head of the figure. In this relief, as in the Spada reliefs, the human figure is not the principal element of the composition, but is of equal importance with the landscape motives. A comparison of the illustrations of this relief with the Spada series shows more clearly than any words could their great likeness in style and composition. Thus we may conclude that to whatever date we assign the Spada series, it must be the date of this relief also.

<sup>1</sup> Amelang, *Skulpt. Vas. Mus.* ii., p. 380, Pl. XLII.      <sup>2</sup> Hellig i.<sup>2</sup>, 394.

<sup>3</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XIV.      <sup>4</sup> Stuart Jones, *Papers B.S.R.* iii., p. 227.      <sup>5</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XXII.

F.—*Reliefs in the Villa Albani.*

I. Daedalus and Icarus.<sup>1</sup> There are two examples of this relief in the Villa Albani. One<sup>2</sup> in *rosso antico* is almost perfect, the other<sup>3</sup> of white marble is badly damaged, only the torso of Icarus and the right foot of Daedalus being preserved. But there is no doubt that the subject of the two is identical. In the first the background is plain, and the figures stand on a rocky surface, in the other the figures are seen before a wall built of squared blocks. It will be seen that this group has no resemblance to the representations of this subject in Pompeian paintings.<sup>4</sup> But a very similar version of the same subject occurs in the stucco decoration of the court of the *Thermae Stabianae* at Pompeii,<sup>5</sup> which belongs to the fourth Pompeian style, and so to the last period of that city (63–79 A.D.). The whole scene has rather the appearance of a statue group set before a background. The Icarus has considerable resemblance to the Olympus relief in the Palazzo Colonna. The other figure recalls the Spada Daedalus, but of course the relief here is much lower. It does not seem that either of these reliefs is very early in date. The *rosso antico* replica is probably of the Hadrianic age, since it is supposed that coloured marbles were first used for sculpture in Rome about that time.<sup>6</sup> The other, since it was found on the slope of the Palatine above the *Circus Maximus*,<sup>7</sup> is probably not earlier in date than the time of Domitian, who was the first to extend the imperial palace in that direction. The similar version of the subject at Pompeii, already mentioned, shows that it was in use during the Flavian age.

II. Huntsman resting in a wood.<sup>8</sup> This relief has already been referred to in connection with the Spada relief of Pegasus and Bellerophon, to which it is related. The execution of this relief is far inferior, especially in the landscape motives. The rendering of the trees in particular has no community of style with the Spada set, but rather resembles the panels from the arch of Marcus Aurelius, and the Leucothea relief in the Lateran. We have already pointed out that this type of relief from its likeness to the Doryphorus relief from Argos, is eclectic in character. To judge by its style, it probably dates from the Aurelian period.

<sup>1</sup> *H.A.*, Pl. XI. — Helbig *ibid.* S31. — Helbig *ibid.* S26.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig, *Wien. Z. f. d. K.*, 1209, 1210. — *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1906, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrichs-Wallars, 1300. — Helbig *ibid.* S26. — Helbig *ibid.* S23; *H.A.*, Pl. LXXVI.

G.—*Fragments in the British Museum and Museo Delle Terme.*

Theseus and the Minotaur.<sup>1</sup> The two fragments of this relief that are preserved only show enough to enable us to decide the subject. The position of the two figures can be determined with certainty. This shows that in composition the relief, apart from the actual positions of the legs, resembled the statue groups, and not the Pompeian paintings dealing with this subject. The statue groups have one marked peculiarity. The Minotaur is rendered in the severe, archaic manner, and Theseus in a free, more developed style.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately we cannot tell whether the relief resembled the groups in this respect. It differs from them in the fact that Theseus wears a chlamys. This, however, may have been introduced by the artist to mask the connection of the body with the background. The background, a wall built of square blocks, is similar to that in one of the Daedalus and Icarus reliefs found on the Palatine. Since the fragments of this relief were found at the same place,<sup>3</sup> the similarity of the backgrounds makes it probable that they belonged to the same set. Therefore we may date this relief also to the early second century A.D.

H.—*Relief at Munich.*

Polyphemus.<sup>4</sup> This relief in its present state is incomplete, and its original size cannot be determined. The subject is simple: Polyphemus has just dragged into his cave one of the companions of Odysseus whom he is about to tear in pieces and devour. Two points are noticeable in the execution, the high relief, and the cave background. The positions of the figures, which are practically the same as in a statue group in the Capitol, show that both are derived from the same original. This was almost certainly a work of sculpture in the round, to judge by the Capitoline group and the statuesque qualities of the Munich relief. So in this also an eclectic element is present and the composition is not original. The cave background is well suited to the subject, and was also a popular and easy method of giving depth to the relief. It appears on the *Ara Pavis*, but, although there are reminiscences of it in some of the Spada series and

<sup>1</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XXVI.<sup>2</sup> See *E.V.* 704; Mariani *Mon. Ant.* vii, pp. 377 ff.<sup>3</sup> Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 144.<sup>4</sup> *H.R.*, Pl. XVIII.; Furtwangler, *Glyptothek*, 250.<sup>5</sup> Helbig i., 415.

their kindred reliefs, it seems to have fallen out of fashion. We may, then, venture to assign this relief to the Augustan age, which date is justified by its style.

I.—*The Grimani Reliefs at Vienna.*

I. Ewe and Lamb<sup>1</sup>; II. Lioness and Cubs.<sup>2</sup> These two reliefs, which were probably meant to serve as elaborate water-spouts for a bath or fountain, or some similar purpose, have been so often described and discussed, that we need not devote much space to them. In both the animal figures are framed by a cave background, above which are placed trees, a shed, and a rustic shrine with a votive relief. As lions' heads are a usual shape for a water-spout, it is not surprising to find one so used here. But we must admire the ingenuity of the artist in finding a suitable pair for this motive. Wickhoff's demonstration that these reliefs were Augustan in style has now found general acceptance.<sup>3</sup> The treatment of the foliage is identical with that of the *Ara Pacis*, especially in the precise manner in which the leaves and flowers are laid on the background or just relieved from it. The handling of the rock is the same as in the sacrifice to Tellus, and the rendering of the sheep can be paralleled in other Augustan reliefs. The detailed working of the garland hanging over the votive pillar in the lioness relief is exactly similar to that of the wreaths on the inside of the *Ara Pacis*. We shall therefore be following the widely accepted view of Wickhoff, when we conclude that these reliefs are Augustan.

Thus in the whole series of 'Alexandrian' reliefs we have one fixed point from which we may attempt a chronology of the others.

There is little doubt that the Grimani reliefs, as we have already remarked, are Augustan. The most noticeable feature of the composition is the cave background. Similar to them in this respect is the Polyphemus relief at Munich, which we have already conjectured to be Augustan from the likeness shown by its rock ground to the *Ara Pacis*. As further evidence that this cave method of composition was popular in that period, we may take a sarcophagus in the Louvre Pl. XXIII. . This, which is dated by Robert to the early first century A.D., has on it scenes from the myth of Actæon.<sup>4</sup> Each of these scenes is framed by cave-like overhanging rocks,

*H.R.*, Pl. II. — *H.R.*, Pl. I; cf. Schreiber, *Denkm. ant.*

Wickhoff, *Denkm. ant.*, p. 35 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Heron de Villefossez, *cat. S. Louvre*, 459; Robert, *Mon. ant.*, vol. I; Altmann, *Arch. u. ant. Inst. Sa.*, p. 79. — *Ann. d. Mus.* 22692.

above which other figures appear. On the rocky sides grow tall, slender trees, probably pines or cypresses. We thus have a definitely Augustan group of reliefs, the date of which depends on points which are not in dispute. We may perhaps include in this Augustan group the Endymion relief in the Capitol. This has a rocky background, but no cave. It is also a single figure relief like the Grimani pair and the Polyphemus. As regards style Wickhoff has already claimed it as Augustan, so there can be little hesitation in assigning it to the first century A.D. Not far removed in date from the Endymion is the Perseus and Andromeda relief. This has an overhanging rock in the background, but has more than one figure. In style it is less original and its figures are even more eclectic than the Polyphemus. Probably it may safely be attributed to the late first or early second century B.C. Two figure compositions that we have already conjectured to be of this date and which are influenced by statue types, are the Daedalus and Icarus, and the Theseus and the Minotaur reliefs. Both of these, like the Perseus and Andromeda have a rather plain background, and, as far as we can tell, no elaborate landscape. In style, too, they resemble the Capitoline relief, as well as in the balance observed in the grouping of the figures. We may therefore assign them to the same period.

To a totally different group belong the three reliefs in the Palazzo Colonna, and six of the Spada set, Amphion and Zethus, Opheltes, Bellerophon, Adonis, Daedalus and Pasiphae. All of these have an open space above the heads of the figures, and a more or less elaborate landscape background. Matz and von Duhn express the opinion that the Palazzo Colonna reliefs cannot be earlier than the second century. In discussing the historical panels on the arch of Benevento and from the arch of Marcus Aurelius we pointed out that in the Aurelian reliefs there is an open background above the figures which is lacking in the Trajanic series. The latter also have a far less elaborate landscape setting. Thus on the analogy of Roman historical reliefs of similar shape the Spada set should fall about the middle of the second century A.D. Therefore they may not unreasonably be attributed to the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. This date would agree well with that assigned by Matz and von Duhn to the Palazzo Colonna reliefs, which are, as we have seen, closely related to the Spada series. The Louvre relief, which is also of Roman provenance and is similar in character and shape, may also be attributed to the same

period. The other two Spada reliefs, the Paris and Oenone, and Paris and Eros, are according to Wickhoff as late as the age of the Antonines. At all events we have seen that in style and composition they differ considerably from the others. In both the figures are small, the relief is constructed of two tiers, and the human figure is almost subordinate to the landscape. In these circumstances we may assume them to be later in date, perhaps even as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius. The remaining two of this class of '*Prachtreiefs*,' the Leucothea and Autolaus reliefs in the Lateran, have already been conjectured to belong to the Aurelian period. These have some likeness in composition to the Spada series. But the figures occupy less space in comparison, and the background is higher and more open. They thus seem to fit in very well with what we know of the Aurelian style, for the historical reliefs of this period are less crowded, and have a high ground. We have thus sketched out the chronology of these reliefs, which we may tabulate thus:—

I A.D.	50 A.D.	100 A.D.	130 A.D.	160 A.D.
Gemini Reliefs. Polyphemus.	Indymon.	Perseus and Andromeda. Theseus and Minotaur. Daedalus and Icarus.	Spada Reliefs (6). Palazzo Colonna. Louvre.	Spada (2). Lateran (2).

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In the last section reference has frequently been made to the adaptation of statue types in reliefs, but apart from the Diomed<sup>1</sup> no definite instance of such adaptation has been produced. Fortunately there is a relief in the Antiquarium at Munich (Fig. 5),<sup>2</sup> which though it does not actually contain a statue adapted to a relief, yet is a remarkable instance showing how statues came to be used in reliefs. The relief in question, which may be part of a sarcophagus, represents an engaged colonnade with Corinthian capitals. Between one pair of columns is a candelabrum on a high base, and between the other pair is a statue of Pan on a tall base,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Christ, *Führer für die Antikensammlungen*, p. 31, No. 609; the photograph here reproduced I owe to the kindness of Dr. Sieveking.

giving the impression of a statue set under a colonnade against a wall. But in the upper left hand corner of the background is a herm or a rock carved in low relief. On the right side of the background is a pine tree in high relief, and all round is an ornamental frame. Thus we have the statue standing on a base under a colonnade with landscape motives carved on the wall behind as a suitable setting. If this was the practice in Rome in the Augustan age, to which the Munich fragment is dated, we can easily understand that by the Hadrianic period, to which as we have seen most



FIG. 5.—RELIEF AT MUNICH.

of the Spada reliefs belong, it became usual to put the statues themselves into pictorial reliefs instead of merely placing them before a decorated background. A similar use of a statue type is to be seen in a fragment of a frieze in the Vatican representing Theseus' desertion of Ariadne,<sup>1</sup> in which Helbig says the Ariadne is derived from a statue. To the same class also belong other fragments of a frieze in the Gabinetto delle Maschere illustrating the labours of Hercules,<sup>2</sup> and the frieze in the

<sup>1</sup> Helbig<sup>1</sup>, 214; Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* ii., p. 640, Pl. LXI.

<sup>2</sup> Amelung, *Skulpt. Vat. Mus.* ii., pp. 690, 715, Nos. 431, 442, Pl. LXXX.



Palazzo dei Conservatori, which has been published and discussed by Schreiber.<sup>1</sup>

These examples suffice to show that the adaptation of statue types to reliefs was not confined to the Spada series and their kin, but was comparatively common. Most important is the Munich fragment, which shows how statues came to be incorporated into large pictorial reliefs.

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de l'École française de Rome*, 1913, fig. 7.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

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LA CIVITA IN THE VALLEY OF  
THE SABATO

BY

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## LA CIVITA IN THE VALLEY OF THE SABATO.

IN the upper valley of the river Sabato, eight kilometres above Serino, the mountains close in on either side and at the narrowest part an irregular rounded spur juts out on the east bank. The Sabato flows at its foot, and two torrent beds, cut through the neck of the land behind, almost isolate the hill from the main mountain range; a ring of grey stone walls rising from the edge of its steep sides encloses the level ground of its summit. The ruin, marked on the survey map<sup>1</sup> by an arbitrary line, is there called Civita; in the neighbourhood, as well as in such notices of it as appear in books, it shares this name with the less vague one of Sabazia. My attention was drawn to the site by Commendatore Orilia, who had himself some time ago published upon it an article in which he argued against the correctness of the name Sabatia or Sabazia and put forward the suggestion that this might be Picentia, the chief town of the Picentini after the year 260 B.C.

His negative case against the Sabazia attribution seems to be fully made out, and with his permission I quote from the article<sup>2</sup> such extracts as should dispose of this literary and local tradition.

‘Philip Cluver of Danzig (1580–1623), the celebrated geographer, in his *Italia Antiqua* (Lugd. Bat. 1626) in speaking of the Hirpini, cites—lib. iii. cap. viii. p. 1199—two passages from Livy xxvi. The first is ‘Omnes Campani, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, etc.’ (c. 33). The second ‘Campanos omnes, Atellanos, Calatinos, Sabatinos, . . . . .liberos esse iusserunt’ (c. 34).

The regions inhabited by the Campani (Capuani), Atellani, and Calatini are well known: the Sabatini, however, leave room for conjecture. Cluver imagined that this name was derived from that of some unknown

<sup>1</sup> Carta d'Italia dell' I.G.M.—f. 185, ii. Salerno (1 : 50,000).

<sup>2</sup> Errico Orilia, *Nella Valle del Sabato* in *L'Ingegneria Moderna*, Napoli, April 30, 1903.

city, and wrote 'Videtur fuisse oppidum apud fluvium, nomine Sabatium, unde oppidanos nominant Sabatinos. Quo situ fuerit incertum est: conicio tamen fuisse inter duo oppida quae vulgo vocantur Terranuova et Prata'

A place halfway between Terranuova and Prata is the small town of Tufo. It is 20 kilometres from the Valley of Serino and no remains of any ancient city exist there.

So far as I know all other writers who treat of the question are later in date than Cluver.

Bellabona (*Ragguaglio della Città di Avellino*, Trani, 1656) quotes Cluver and makes him say that the city of Sabatia stood on the spot called Civita, where are the ruins under discussion, whereas these are in fact 8 kilometres from Serino or 28 from the spot indicated by Cluver.

G. Battista Pacichelli (*Il Regno di Napoli in Prospettiva*, 1703) places the unknown city actually at Serino: for against the word SERINO is shown a perspective drawing of the township, within which is comprised a walled enclosure marked by the letter A, and in the text we find A 'Sabatia, an ancient city called "Civita."'

Comm. Orilia also quotes Nicola Amenta (*Vita di Leonardo di Napoli*, 1705), Lorenzo Giustiniani (*Biblioteca storica e topografica del Regno di Napoli*, 1793), and Nicola Corcia (*Storia delle due Sicilie*, 1845) and shows that all these merely repeated Cluver's theory, though Romanelli, in the absence of all evidence of a city called Sabazia, supposes that the inhabitants were named after the river. Mommsen, who draws upon Giustiniani *Topografia degli Irpini*, in *Bollettino dell' Istituto*, 1848, 161 *sqq.*, remarks that there may have been a city called Sabazia, but shows himself doubtful on the point.

'In fact we may conclude that the sole source from which are drawn the arguments to the effect that the ruins of Civita in the upper valley of the Sabato, 8 kilometres from the Monte di Serino, belong to a city called Sabazia, is the simple name of a people "Sabatinus" given by Livy. Moreover Cluver refers to the inhabitants of a city which he baptized thus, situating it on the Sabato certainly, but between Terranuova and Prata, about 20 kilometres from Serino and 28 kilometres from the place called Civita.

Ancient authors make *no mention* of any city called Sabazia. Is, then, a single timid conjecture of Cluver, unsupported as it is by any

remains, enough to create the name of a city and to attribute it to ruins 28 kilometres from the spot to which the conjecture refers?'

Having abandoned the identification of Civita with Sabazia it remained to collect evidence for or against the Picentia theory. Accordingly the Commendatore and I paid a visit to the place together and subsequently I spent four days on the spot. The local proprietors interested themselves in the question and with their help such digging as time allowed was done in and around the walls. This work was of course on a small scale and purely tentative in character, its object being to

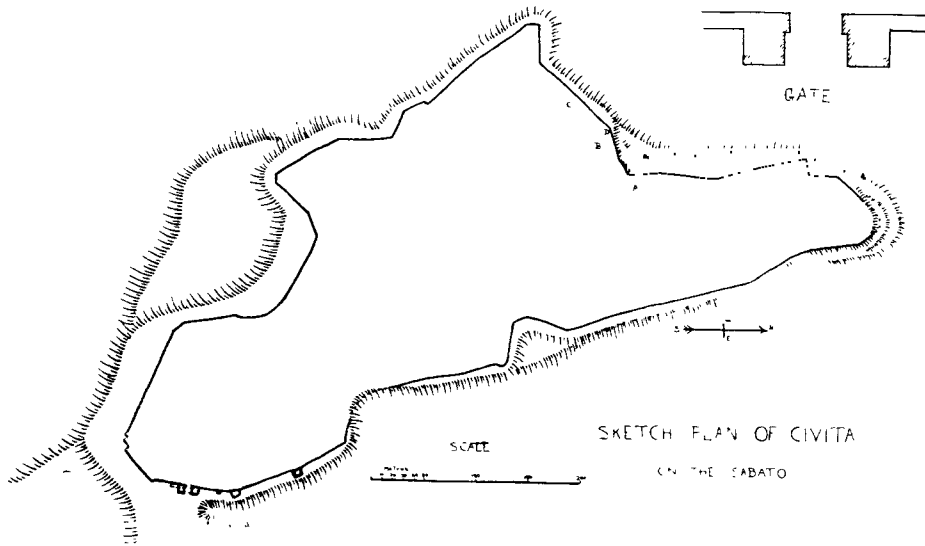


FIG. 1.

collect information of any kind as to the nature and, if possible, the name of the site: the results were not very conclusive, but will perhaps justify their publication.

Fig. 1 shows a sketch-plan of the walls. As this had to be made out in haste with the aid only of a tape and a prismatic compass, and as the overgrown condition of parts of the wall and its ruin in others made even such work difficult, it cannot claim more than an approximate degree of accuracy. The irregular form is of course dictated by the contour of the hill which it follows; but the crookedness of the structure, even where

straight lines were possible (a crookedness greater in the original than in the plan), as well as the want of precision in the angles, seems due to the haste in construction of which evidence is given elsewhere. For the most part the walls are standing to a height of from one to four metres; only on the north and north-east have they entirely disappeared, and even here the shape of the ground gives tolerably well the line they must have followed.

The walls are of lime-grouted rubble: the stones are mostly water-worn pebbles from the river bed, the lime also being found on the spot. The lower part is sometimes of larger stones roughly coursed and in a few spots cut blocks had been properly laid; but it was clear that the general method had been that of heaping in stones at random between plank casings and pouring the lime over them. The thickness of the wall varies between a metre and a half and three metres.

The most imposing ruins are those of the great gateway on the west, apparently the only gate in the whole length of the wall, unless indeed the presence of a few large stones on the east face, where the modern path enters the enclosure through a breach, be evidence of a second and a smaller door.

The gateway,<sup>1</sup> which has been largely filled up by the falling in of the upper structure, is in a rectangular tower projecting 5·60 metres from the outer face of the wall. The passage-way was faced with masonry, and above it was a guardroom, the beams for the floor of which were bedded deep in the masonry of the side walls where the lime, in which they were set, preserves the print of the grain of the wood. The angles of this tower, as of the two other projecting towers along the east face, have quoins of masonry laid in alternate headers and stretchers: some of these are of tufa tolerably cleanly cut, some of the hard limestone or coarse marble from the neighbouring mountains. The hard stone blocks both in the tower corners and in the lining of the passage-way are of different kinds: either they are large, fairly well faced, and with sharp angles, or they are mere pebbles naturally more or less square and perhaps chipped roughly into a manageable form. In the former case the best face of the stone is not always placed outwards. A large slab is built into the wall high up with its worked face downwards and only its rough end showing, the whole length of the stone running back into the wall. Set in the rubble

<sup>1</sup> *Plat.* XXIV, Fig. 1, and *Ground Plan*, Fig. 1.

just under one of the beams of the guardhouse floor is a shaped stone with a joggle-hole in its upper face on which the beam rested. These ashlar stones came undoubtedly from an older building. Where they were laid against rough boulders the gaps caused by the shape of the latter were filled up with fragments of tile and rounded drain-pipe. Such fragments of tile are commonly found mixed with the rest of the material. Even wooden beams and planks were used, not let in for structural purposes, but piled in at random amongst the rubble so that they run at all angles with the wall.

In fact it is clear that the whole structure was thrown up hastily: the materials used were those most ready to hand, supplied by the hills and by the stream as well as by the debris of some building or buildings that had already occupied the site; and such was the haste that the superior quality of the latter was not turned to the best advantage. The object of the builders was to secure themselves on their hill top behind some kind of fortification, upon whose appearance they had no time to spare.

The area enclosed by the walls is large. Its most marked feature is the almost entire absence of ruins within it. In the big projecting angle on the west side were traces of two small buildings, the walls of which were partly excavated. They were of exactly the same character as the main wall itself, though of course less substantial: in a house at the point marked A on the plan the cement formed a ridge at 0·70 metre above the foundation of the walls, apparently denoting the level of a mud floor, which could not itself be traced: above this level the wall rises to a height of 1·30 metre. Close by this house, at a point marked C in the fortification wall, going either well into it or right through it, there were round holes into which, during the process of construction, heavy timbers had been inserted. There was a row of five holes, practically at one level, giving a total length of 8·00 metres: to the east the wall was broken away and the fifth hole was beyond the break and a little higher than the others. At 0·50 metre above this line of holes were two others, similar to them. The timbers must have served either for the roof of a hut inside and against the wall, or for a platform against it: the height, allowing for the accumulation of soil below, would warrant the former view, while the height of the wall above the beam-holes is perhaps somewhat against the latter. The holes had an average diameter of 0·18 metre, and those in the



lower row were 1·00 metre above the present ground level and 2·00 metres below the present top of the wall. At the point D there were standing the walls of a small house of three rooms, behind which was a square platform consisting of a hard level lime pavement supported by rubble walls. I had not time to examine or to plan this, and it may be modern—the character of the construction makes it hard to judge. Another such platform stood near the point C: here again I was in doubt as to the age of what looked extremely like a threshing-floor: there was no building in connection with it and a trench run at the last minute along its east face failed to produce a single stone.

Apart from these exceptions, two of which are of doubtful antiquity and a third merely conjectural, there are no remains of buildings visible within the walls.

Let into the rubble walls of a modern hut inside the enclosure were three or four large worked blocks of coarse marble, of which two, apparently fragments of the same stone, seemed from the worn surface to have served as a threshold. Outside the enclosure on the S.W. is a modern hut, in front of which lies a fragment of the moulded base of a large column: it is of coarse marble; the shaft had a diameter of 1·065 metre; the moulding is simple and poorly worked. These stones, together with the blocks built into the circuit wall, are the only evidence of a building with any pretensions to style or good construction.

The absence of signs of buildings within the enclosure is remarkable. The soil has been worked a good deal and in places is terraced; but there is no such accumulation of stones (indeed stones are rare) nor such traces of lime as would naturally result from the wholesale destruction of buildings or from the existence of foundations just below the surface: trenches in three distinct spots failed to produce any signs of these. The materials, judging from the scanty remains that do survive, would not have been worth carting away as building material, nor are there houses in the neighbourhood to have been built from them. Rough stones are used in terracing the actual hillside, but this fact would not account for more than the demolishing of part of the outer wall, certainly not for the disappearance of buildings on a considerable scale; nor would stones have been carried for such a purpose to any distance along the valley, when they are always to be found on the spot.

The natural conclusion is that most of the houses within the enclosure

were built of perishable matter, wood and straw; probably a large part of the area was always vacant.

The rough and hasty construction of the defensive walls, the absence of solidly constructed buildings within them, and the single gateway, all point to the site having been not so much a city as a shelter, a place of refuge to which in time of danger the scattered population of the valley might take their families and their cattle.

Between the two ravines behind the fortress hill is a tongue of high ground with steep sides, which at its north point broadens out into a small level plain, lying a little north of the axis line of the gate of Civita.



FIG. 2.—PROFILES OF RIMS OF POTTERY FROM LA CIVITA.

Hereabouts fragments of weathered pottery lay thick; local tradition spoke of the discovery here of large earthenware vessels and of 'iron lamps.' Accordingly a couple of trenches were driven along this level space, which produced a fair number of broken sherds. The most important of them were fragments representing the greater part of a large olla of coarse red clay, hand-made: the rim was about 0.40 metre in diameter, very thick, the edge turned out and flat. With this were one or two fragments of much decayed bone, one apparently from a human humerus. Amongst the other fragments were a rim (Fig. 2, No. 6, of red clay with a bright red smoothed but not burnished surface, a rim (Fig 2,

No. 7) of plain orange clay, a rim (Fig. 2, No. 8) of reddish buff clay with a buff-grey surface, all wheel-made, a rim (Fig. 2, No. 9) of rough reddish orange clay, hand-made; also the base of a vase of buff clay, the upper part painted with an ochreous red that has run down in streaks to the foot; two pieces of ware with straight or waved bands of 'comb-drawn' incised ornament, and one piece with rough thumb-pressed ornament in low relief. All these were found in the trenches at but a little depth below the surface. On the surface was picked up a rim (Fig. 2, No. 11), with 'comb-drawn' incised ornament, of pink ware with dull red paint on the surface, and a rim (Fig. 2, No. 10), hand-made, of reddish-orange clay. On the hill behind the second little ravine, further from the walls of Civita, fragments of pottery were again plentiful and similar stories were told of the finding of tombs. Here again, therefore, some trenching was done. The pottery found was like that of the former site: a fragment of a large hand-made olla, two or three pieces of smaller hand-made vessels, and a quantity of wheel-made fragments: among these a rim (Fig. 2, No. 1) of ill-levigated red clay with smooth red-brown surface, with a band of chocolate-coloured paint round the edge; a rim (Fig. 2, No. 2) of red clay with finely burnished surface; and a rim of a flat plate with a similar finely burnished surface.

In the field close by were picked up a rim (Fig. 2, No. 3) from a bowl, wheel-made, of rough red clay with the natural surface not smoothed nor finished off; a rim (Fig. 2, No. 4) from a wheel-made bowl of rough clay, ill-burnt, being yellowish grey in the central section and red near the surface; the surface itself varies from red to brownish grey; a rim (Fig. 2, No. 5) from a jar, wheel-made, of rough red clay, unlevigated and discoloured.

At the end of this ridge, about one kilometre to the north, the ground formed a rounded hillock, fronting, like Civita itself, on the Sabato valley and on the east dipping somewhat down to the neck that connects it with the hills behind. It is a place eminently suited to be the necropolis of Civita. According to the perfectly consistent reports of local witnesses, three or four years ago a wandering peasant without permission of any sort started excavating here on his own account. Before he was sent off by the Guardie dei Boschi or forest guards he had opened several tombs and had found a small earthenware vase, a metal dagger, an object with metal studs supposed to be a belt, and a square plaque with incised

ornament. The accounts given of these objects differ somewhat, but clearly he found something. The traces of his work left by him were evident enough, but did not point to his having opened more than four or five tombs. A peasant assured me that, years ago, when he planted the young chestnut trees that now cover a large part of the site, he set in seventy plants and lighted on as many tombs. Allowing for exaggeration the number would still be considerable; but he did not appear to have found any objects in them.

A fair amount of work was done here, and one tomb was found intact. It lay roughly S.E. by N.W. at a depth of 0·75 metre from the surface, a little way from the brow of the hill. The grave, which measured 2·20 by 0·45 metre, had a roof and floor of tiles and sides and ends of rough lumps of tufa or of lime; it rested directly on the lime of which the hill is formed. All the tiles used were fragmentary: the original measurements averaged 0·65 by 0·50 or 0·63 by 0·45 metre. They were of coarse reddish clay with two flanged sides. Six large fragments formed the cover, a half tile being used at each end so that the flange overlapped the stones below: the cover was two tiles thick. The body had lain on a single row of tiles, the flanges forming a ridge on either side of it: it had entirely disappeared, and there was nothing in the grave. A second grave close by lay roughly E. and W.: it had been slightly disturbed (probably by tree-planting) and the cover was broken through, but on the floor-tiles were the remains of a body lying with the head to the E.: traces of the skull and of one arm remained. There was nothing else in the grave. A third tomb had been opened and a good deal ruined. It lay N.W. and S.E., and part of the skull was found at the S.E. end. Part of the floor of the grave, at the N.W. end, was made of an earthenware half-pipe 0·50 metre long, with a diameter of 0·15 metre tapering down slightly at one end.

No more tombs were found, though loose tiles were numerous. Amongst these one had impressed on the clay with a blunt stick the letter S, another the mark  $\complement$ ; one fragment of tile had a knob projection on the under side with a hole up it; and several fragments were found of a light yellowish grey or cream colour. These cream coloured tiles are perhaps of local fabric: the red ones are characteristically Roman, of a type that continued in use till well into the Christian period.

All the evidence found, scanty as it is, goes to show that the *enceinte* wall belongs to the early centuries of the present era. Against what

enemy so formidable a defence was erected it is hard to say—possibly the occasion was the southward march of Alaric after the third siege of Rome in 410 A.D. At any rate neither the wall nor the scanty buildings that at an earlier period stood upon the hill-top of Civita can represent either Picentia or Sabatia, the real or the mythical town of the ancient Sabines.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

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THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY  
OF THE  
ROMAN CAMPAGNA

PART III

SECTION II

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## THE VIA LATINA (SECTION II.).

### INTRODUCTION.

THE work of preparing this, the second portion of the description of the classical topography of the Via Latina, has shown me more clearly than before how impossible it is to hope to attain finality in dealing with the Campagna. The late Henry Stevenson's notes now in the Vatican Library (those which especially concern this district are to be found for the most part in *Vat. Lat.* 10572) are a perfect mine of information, especially when taken with his own copies of the Staff Map on which the ruins he found are marked (now bound up together as *Vat. Lat.* 10587 B), and one realizes more than ever the value and extent of the work he might have done had he lived longer. As I have examined them carefully, I have given full details of their contents. The maps for the present volume were unfortunately made before I had time to consult these valuable sources of information. And yet, when I came to go over the ground again, I found that there were many ruins that even he had not noticed, some of them of considerable size and importance. The truth of course is, that in hilly country so shut in by enclosures, covered too in the main by vineyards, oliveyards, or gardens, and wooded in the higher parts, it is impossible to get the clear distant views that are obtainable in the open Campagna; and even then one cannot be sure, without actually passing over every bit of ground, that there are not some ruins beneath the soil the presence of which is only disclosed by debris. One comes to realize more and more how thickly populated was this part of the country, which seems to have been the favourite summer resort of the wealthier Romans.

Much more research in archives, too, would have to be undertaken before the material available was anything like exhausted. In the present section I have used to some extent the reports of excavations in the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Titolo, iv (1824-1854) now preserved in the



Archivio di Stato: the reports for the succeeding period in the records of the Pontifical Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Fine Arts (1854-1870) preserved in the same archives, I have not as yet touched. The former contain, as will be seen from some of the specimens I have given, most valuable information, of which I hope to make further use.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, besides Prof. Tomassetti's work on the Via Latina already cited I have had the advantage of being able to use an excellent little book by Father F. Grossi-Gondi, S. J., *Il Tuscolano nell' età classica* (Rome, 1908), with illustrations from photographs, a good map, on the same scale as the Staff Map and my own (1:25,000) and a full bibliography,<sup>2</sup> which has appeared since the publication of vol. iv of the *Papers*. A residence of several years at Mondragone has given him the opportunity of accurate local study, and the results have been given to the world both in articles in the *Bullettino Comunale* and elsewhere, and in a work on Mondragone itself (*La villa dei Quintilii e la villa di Mondragone*, Rome, 1901). The present book is an excellent handbook.

<sup>1</sup> The addenda to this and the former parts of the *Classical Topography of the Roma Campagna* are postponed owing to considerations of space.

<sup>2</sup> In regard to the bibliography I may notice the following points. (1) The MS. cited as Anonimo, *Viaggio Antiquario in alcune città del Lazio. Osservazioni su Tuscolo*, and as having been sold in the Vespignani sale as No. 106, is in reality an inaccurate reference to the notes of Nibby (No. 581 in that sale) now in my possession (cited as *Shade* in the text).

(2) The album *Veteris Latii Antiqua Vestigia*, Rome, 1751 is entered twice—once under Anonimo, once under Alii Giovannoli. I do not know of there being any ground for the latter attribution. Almost all the plates as a fact are identical with those in Corradini and Volpi's *Vetus Latium Profanum* (1704-45). The *Veteris Latii antiquitatum amplissima collectio*, noted under the year 1771 (really 1776), is a second enlarged edition of the same collection.

(3) 'Domenico (Frat.) MS. della Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile di Frascati'. This is the same MS. as that quoted by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1884, 172 *opp.* (*Cod. tusc.* 14, I. 11, *Antichità del Tuscolo e delle vicinanze del Lazio eseguita da P. Domenico Cappuccino da Frascati*). My copy of the *Bull. Com.*, which belonged to Stevenson, contains additions made by him to Lanciani's copies, so that I have not thought it necessary to re-examine the MS. myself. It must have been written towards the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century (*infra*, 243), as the passage as to the Villa at Fontana Piscaro (Lanciani, *loc. cit.* p. 201) is an exact copy of Kircher's *Latium*, 73 (published in 1671).

(4) The exact title of the views by Labruzz which were engraved by Parboni and Poggjoli is *Vedute ed avanzi dell' antica città di Albano ora Albano designati dal vero* etc., and there are 24 drawings, not 26. None of these views actually relates to Tusculum; and I do not find any entry in the *Catalogue of the Stourhead Library* (London, 1840) pp. 543 *et seq.* which would justify the supposition that Labruzz or Sir R. Colt Hoare did any drawings there.

(5) To Piacentini's works we should add *Commentarium Graecae Pronuntiationis* (Rome, 1751) and *De Tusculanae Ciceronis nunc Crypta Fervat* (Rome, 1758), cited by Venuti in the preface to the *Monumenti Mitteleuropea*, p. iv, No. 2.

(6) Cozza's work *Il Tuscolano di M. Fulvio Coccone* first appeared in *Giornale Arcadico*, cxc. 97 *et seq.*

XIII.—THE VIA LATINA FROM CASALE CIAMPINO TO GROTTAFERRATA  
(*from the Tenth to the Twelfth Mile*).

In the cutting by which the tramway leaves the highroad the line of the Via Latina was discovered 40 metres within the vineyard, running 30° E. of S. On each side of it remains of tombs of *opus quadratum* and *opus reticulatum* and later burials under tiles were found: a terra-cotta sarcophagus was also discovered. The interval available for the road, including footpaths, appeared to be about 8·50 metres, but the actual roadway, here as elsewhere, was probably about 4·20 metres (14 Roman feet). Here I found some brickstamps on tiles of the first century, perhaps used, however, for late tombs *a capanna*—*C.I.L.* xv. 1383 (a or c), 2333 a (?) (IVN . . . . .) and a fragment of 169 b (?) (OP . D . . . . .) the letters being larger than usual, with a dog (?) in the centre. In the fieldwall, before the tramway was made, I copied a fragment of an inscription on a marble slab 0·20 metre thick in well cut letters



There are, as we saw in *Papers* iv. 130, in the Vigna Gentilini and the Vigna Costanza Senni, the next vineyard to it to the S.E., the remains of four tombs above ground, two on each side of the course of the ancient Via Latina. The first, on the right of the road,<sup>1</sup> though I have wrongly marked it on the left, is a circular mass of concrete: then comes another one, on the left, of concrete, preserved to some height, which is square, and then two others, less well preserved, on the left-hand side of the road.<sup>2</sup> Many ancient gems are said have been found here (Stevenson, *Vat. Lat.* 10572, 34').

<sup>1</sup> The second part of Lanciani's article, describing this section of the road, has not yet appeared. The map is reproduced in *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna* (London, 1909), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The entrance to the catacomb mentioned in *Papers*, iv. 130 is situated immediately to the S. of the tram line, which indeed cuts through some of its galleries.

It has been re-opened, and will shortly be carefully explored. At the entrance we saw a marble slab with the following inscription:—

SEMPRONIAE VENERIAE  
A . V . XIII . M . V  
PERMISSV SEMPRONIAE  
DIGNITATIS  
OPTIME FEMINAE (sic)  
H . T . D . M . AB  
ESTO



little less than five metres wide, is at present filled with earth, as the photograph shows; and the object of the arrangement is not very easily comprehensible. On the north-east side of the platform are no recesses, but a wall supported by buttresses in *opus reticulatum*, while on the south-west, towards the road, no supporting walls were necessary, and on the south-east is the wall of the upper terrace. On the lower terrace the work of laying the tramway brought to light one intermediate wall, parallel to the front wall. Several brickstamps were also found. I noted there a fragment of the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 563 (PAETIN . . . M VINIC PA . . .) of 123 A.D., on a brick which may have belonged to one of the pilae of a hypocaust, a fragment of *ib.* 1196 (123 A.D.) and a fragment of *ib.* 1332 (?) (L NÆV—first century A.D.) On this platform there were also, it seems, burials of a much later period, the bodies being placed under tiles; on some of these were the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 454 c (123 A.D. several copies) 1121 c (first century A.D.), 1318 b (P NÆV . . . . . first century A.D.).

The upper terrace wall of the villa is nearly 70 metres back from the lower; it is built of *opus incertum* of selce of somewhat large pieces, measuring about 0·25 by 0·22 metre, and behind it runs a vaulted passage 1 metre wide. Both these two lower platforms are orientated with the Via Latina, being at right angles to it. On the upper platform is a ruined vineyard house, in which the ancient pavement of *opus spicatum* has been used. There are also several blocks of peperino, and two Corinthian capitals, one belonging to a rectangular pilaster, the other to a round column, in the same material. The flange tiles of the roof had spouts in the form of lions' heads.

Higher up is a third platform, perhaps belonging to the same villa, and faced in the same way as the second, but on a different orientation (though this is not indicated on my map, nor on Lanciani's) and not coming so far to the N.E., so that the tramway line does not actually cut through it. On the same orientation and level with it is a very large water reservoir, with two vaulted chambers, with the usual round air-holes in the roof; each chamber is 58·70 metres in length and 2·62 metres in width. The wall which divides them, 0·92 metre in thickness, has arched apertures in it, alternately 1·15 metre and 0·59 metre in width and 0·90 metre apart. The former go down to the floor level, which must be some two metres below the present ground level, making the total

height to the spring of the vault above about 5.30 metres; while the latter are only 1.80 metre in height, their rounded tops coming within one metre of the spring of the vault.

To this, I think, De Simoni (*Lettere famigliari*, Rome, 1831, p. 6) is alluding, though his description does not make the identification certain. Below this reservoir are the remains of a peristyle in *opus quadratum* of peperino, which was cut through by the tramway: a line of gutter slabs 0.47 metre wide, with flat slabs going parallel to them, was found orientated about 30° E. of N. A little to the N.W. in the tramway cutting are remains of underground passages for storing rain-water, lined and floored with cement, which were about 0.90 metre in width, and originally some 1.50 metre in height. The type is a common one in the Campagna. A round shaft 0.93 metre in diameter found on the S.W. side of the cutting may have communicated with them. To the N. of the peristyle was the pavement of a road going about due E., and descending sharply into the valley, where it probably joined a road, marked also in Lanciani's map, which ran parallel to the Via Latina, below these villas, from the Via Cavona to the Villa Montioni. In the other direction it turned sharply to the S.W. and, crossing the villa, reached the Via Latina.

An allusion to the discovery of this road is probably made in *Not. Scavi*, 1905, 244,<sup>1</sup> where it is described as about 5 metres wide and as crossing the tramway line obliquely from E. to W. (*sic.*). On the S. of it were found walls in *opus reticulatum*, only one chamber being measurable: it was 3.50 metres long and 2.10 wide. Close to these walls was a circular shaft, walled, 1 metre in diameter, communicating at the bottom with an underground passage (no doubt the one we have just mentioned). Otherwise the official reports on the discoveries made in this district are lamentably scanty. The somewhat detailed description I have given is based on frequent visits during the progress of the works.

The tramway line (not indicated on my map) passes between the two groups of ruins to the S.E. of the large villa just described. These two groups probably belong to another large villa. That to the N.E. is a platform of *opus reticulatum* in selce and tufa, orientated 25° W. of N. Within

<sup>1</sup> The fact that it is described as being some 680 metres from Villa Senni shows that Grossi-Gondi (p. 60) is wrong in attributing this description to one of the roads above the Villa Montioni. It is, however, a great pity that any ambiguity should have been possible.

it, at its lowest level, is a subterranean reservoir measuring 2·97 by 4·16 metres, with vaulted roof, and running E. and W: it has a circular shaft in its N.W. angle. To the S.W. are large vaults with brick facing, orientated about 10° E. of N. In the tramway cutting were the possible remains of a late burial 'alla cappuccina.'

To the N.E. again, and on the further side of a depression, is the prominent platform of a very large villa, just to the S.E. of which is a house marked 214. The platform is faced with *opus incertum* of selce, approximating to *opus reticulatum*, in bands about 2 feet high. On the N.E. there is a wall with a lofty projecting tower at the N. angle (with a vaulted chamber inside it), on the N.W. a high substruction wall at first, and then as the ground rises, low arcades, some twenty in number. On the S.W. there is only a little walling, the edge of the platform being mainly formed by the natural rock.

Below it, to the N.W., another villa is marked in Lanciani's map, but there are no traces of it to be seen: it is quite possible, but by no means certain, that a modern cultivation terrace marks the site of an ancient terrace wall.

At the electric power station for the tramway I saw the following objects, found in this section of the tramway works: part of a draped statue, an ox-skull in marble about 0·50 metre high (now in the museum of the Abbey of Grottaferrata), various fragments, several terra-cottas, and a few brickstamps, *C.I.L.* xv. 479 (123 A.D.), 1121 a (1st century), 1239 a (1st century), with points between some of the words—thus Q·LEPIDI·Q·F IDVARI: and a rectangular stamp, unpublished in *C.I.L.*, MARIO, in one line only—not therefore a fragment of 818 *L. Antonius Mario*.

Opposite the uppermost of the villas we have described, on the right-hand side of the high-road, just before the fifteenth kilometre stone, a lane turns off to the right, which is probably ancient: no pavement is to be seen *in situ*, but there are paving stones and fragments of selce in the field walls. It is supposed by Rocchi to be the *deverticulum* leading to the springs of the Aqua Tepula: in vol. iv. p. 131, l. 18. I have wrongly attributed to him what is really Lanciani's view.

The modern house called La Torretta commands a fine view, and probably occupies an ancient site: no platform of a villa is visible, but there are a few blocks of marble and other debris. The lane descends past it steeply, and the ancient road is believed by Lanciani to follow the same

course, while Rocchi and Grossi-Gondi, whom I have followed in my map, take it along the side of the valley, and then make it descend only when it reaches another path, which is almost opposite to the springs of the Aqua Tepula, being at the same place joined by the path coming from the Camposanto of Grottaferrata (*infra*, 227). No pavement is to be seen *in situ* in either case, but Rocchi (*Diss. Pont. Acc. Arch.* Ser. II. vol. vii. (1900) 224 n. 3) notes the discovery in 1898 of some pavement belonging to it in a vineyard about 100 metres N.W. of this junction of paths.

The source of the Aqua Tepula has been identified, and no doubt rightly, with the Sorgente Preziosa; but the credit of the first identification is not due to Secchi, as Lanciani (*Comentari di Frontino cit.* p. 294) and Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, p. 84 n.) suppose, but to a far older authority, as is clear from the passage of Holste quoted in the footnote.<sup>1</sup>

The temperature of the spring has been observed to be 61°–63° Fahrenheit in winter, when that of the air was only 47°, while that of the Aqua Julia (*infra*, 386) was 50°–52°. This circumstance, and the agreement with the indications of distance given by Frontinus, suffice to identify it; but no remains of its channel are to be seen, or have ever, so far as I know, been found, until it appears near Le Capannelle, running above the Marcia and below the Julia. There are remains of aqueducts near the Mola Cavona and in the Valle Marciana, which I agree with Tomassetti (p. 87) in considering to be mediaeval.

The valley itself was according to M. S. De Rossi the bed of an ancient lake, on the banks of which Latin pottery has been found (cf. *Primo Rapporto sulle scoperte paleoetnologiche* 41; *Secondo Rapporto* (1867) 30). Of its classical name we have already spoken (*Papers*, iv. 126); in the tenth century we find a church of S. Maria in Diaconia mentioned there in

<sup>1</sup> Holste, *Col. Dresd.* F. 193, f. 43. 16 October, 1649. Inspeci fontem Tepulae, vulgo nunc la pretiosa dicta; est in valle Marciana sub Burgetto castello diruto in via Latina ad XII lapidem; in dicta valle ad Crabram est officina ferraria, ultra eam ad CCC circiter passus scaturit fons aquae copiosissimus, vulgo La Pretiosa dictus. quam Tepulam esse ex Frontino certissimum est, distat enim duobus m. pass. a decimo (vulgo Le Murene) dextrorsum deflectentibus. Sed cum Frontinus neget Tepulam certum habere fontem sed ex venis collectam, existimo venas illas in unam corrivatas, postquam Juliae ductu receptae (43) amplius in urbem fluere desierunt, hoc fonte simul prorupisse. Quod etiam idem Frontinus Tepulam agro Lucullano concipi ait, id huic fonti maxime convenit. Nam villae Luculli maxima extant vestigia sub Burgetto ad sinistram viae Latinae, ubi substructione, ingentes per vineas aliquot porrectas insperit (the reference is to the ruins described *infra*, 218): at hisce vestigiis villae Lucullanae DCC circiter passibus abest fons ille Pretiosa dictus; puto tamen multo longius se protendisse agrum Lucullanum per subjectam planitiem usque ad pontem Crabrae sub Decimo ubi immensa illius villae vestigia visuntur quae vulgo il Centrone dicuntur.

bulls of 955 and 962, another form of which, Jaconia, still occurs as the name of the valley according to G. B. De Rossi (*Bull. Crist.* 1872. 101 = 113 of the French version). What may be the origin of the name Valle Nicosia, which appears on the map as the name of the small valley N.W. of the Colle dell' Asino, I do not know.

The discovery of a fragment of an unimportant funerary inscription in the district of Valle Marciana, but in the territory of Marino (*i.e.* probably a little to the N.E. of Le Selve, and certainly W. of the communal boundary which runs southwards from the Colle dell' Asino) is recorded in *Not. Scavi*, 1903, 22. It had, however, already been copied by Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 2).

In 1840 the remains of a small temple measuring 11.38 metres long by 6.36 wide, with Doric columns, were discovered on the right bank of the Marrana Mariana in the Valle Marciana, upon a small hill of peperino, and are described by Blessig (*Bull. Ist.*, 1840, 161 = Canina, *Tuscolo*, 99: the passage is quoted in full by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1905, 143). The walls were of concrete, and at intervals there were bonding courses of tiles, one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 725 (Faustina the younger). It contained a dedication to Septimius Severus by the people of Tusculum, and ran thus [*Divo*] *Severo patri Antonini Pii felicit Aug(usti) [Tu]sculan[um]*. Cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. 2497, where it is wrongly inferred from Blessig's account that the discovery took place a mile below the abbey of Grottaferrata: what is really stated is that the valley of the Marrana widens out at that point, and forms what is known as the Valle Marciana, but the precise site of the discovery is not given, and as Lanciani says, cannot exactly be fixed.

On September 6th, 1597 a license was given to Marzio Colonna to excavate in a place called Valle Marrani in the territory of Tusculum, and to extract any marble, travertine, statues, or treasure that he found.

(Provvedimenti del Camerlengo 1597/98 c. 149, in the Archivio di Stato at Rome, quoted by Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 50.)

The ruins actually visible in the valley are entirely mediaeval (Tomassetti, p. 87) and the same is the case at the picturesque waterfall called the Cascata dei Gavotti. Indeed, I have not been able to find any traces of the specus of the Aqua Julia either in the Valle Marciana or in the gorge going up to the Ponte Squarciarelli (cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1887, 82).

The mediaeval castle of Borghetto, which is built right across the Via Latina, and seems to have been intended to block it, was probably erected



about the tenth century by the Counts of Tusculum. Like that of the Caetani on the Via Appia, it led, as Nibby justly remarks (*Analisi*, i. 300), to the abandonment of the road, which in both cases had to pass right through the castle. It is mentioned under the name of Civitella in the bull of 955 of Agapitus II. in favour of the monastery of S. Silvestro. In 1436 it belonged to the Savelli.

Tomassetti (p. 133) says that it rests upon foundations of selce concrete of the Roman period, belonging to a villa; but these foundations are in reality mediaeval, and follow the whole line of the mediaeval *enceinte*. Nor is the cistern nor any other of the constructions within the walls anterior, in my opinion, to the Middle Ages. De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 117, places near here (there are several villas, of course, which would suit the identification) the villa of the Javoleni, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2499, a dedication to C. Iavolenus Calvinus Geminus Capito having been found in 1741 not far off ('nella via Latina presso il Castellaccio' according to Giorgi). His career included a tenure of the consulate as *suffectus* (the date is uncertain), but his name is not elsewhere mentioned. (*Prosopographia*, ii. p. 151, No. 12). In the donation of the seventh century made by Sergius I. to the church of S. Susanna (compare the register of Gregory II.) the *fundus Capitonis cum casis et vineis seu oratorio sanctae Faustinae posito via Latina milliario plus minus XII iuxta massam Marulis* is mentioned, which must be identical with the site of the villa of the Iavoleni and seems to place it rather further along the road. In the Massa Marulis there was also a Basilica of S. Peter<sup>1</sup> and a *colonia quae dicitur Pofinis* situated just behind its apse.

The account of Ramagini states that the inscription was found 'nel territorio di Grottaferrata (that is on the N.N.E. side of the Via Latina) rimpetto alla vigna di Monsignor Ciampini' which would agree sufficiently with Giorgi's account if we suppose the inscription to have been found just below Borghetto, 'in sight of' or 'opposite to' the vigna Ciampini. I do not think therefore that Grossi-Gondi *Bull. cit.* 28, is right in emphasizing any slight disagreement between the two accounts; and the two sepulchral inscriptions which he cites do not prove very much one way or the other.

<sup>1</sup> From two documents of 955 and 962 we know that this church was deserted, but that its ruined walls still existed near the Valle Marciana (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.*, 1870, 106; 1872, 117). In the *actum finium* of the church of SS. Giovanni and Paolo on the Caelian we find two estates mentioned near the eleventh milestone—*Fundus Publica* and *Fundus Casa Quinti*—which we cannot fix more exactly.

One of them (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2546) belongs to a freedman of the Iavoleni, one L. Iabolenus Onesimus, and was seen in the Vigna Ciampini by Lesley; the other (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2546 a) was erected to one Iavolena Artemisia and was found in 1885 in a vineyard between the Oliveto Porcacchia and the road to Frascati (*i.e.* the road to the so-called Torrione di Micara) but not, as is wrongly stated in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, 77 (the statement is *not*, as Grossi-Gondi says it is, repeated by the *Corpus*, which merely places the discovery 'in the vineyard called Borghetto') in the territory of Marino, but in that of Grottaferrata. In the same vineyard was found the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2541a. Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 189) identifies the villa of the Iavoleni with the large villa under the Vigna Montioni. This identification, as Grossi-Gondi notes, agrees with the indication given by the donation of the 7th century, but not with the provenance of *C.I.L.* xiv. 2499. At Borghetto Mr. Baddeley has found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 690 (Severus—the figures in the centre of the stamp being cancelled, as in other cases), 1330 (1st century A.D.), and Giorgi notes as found at Borghetto in 1732 the stamps *ibid.* 1104 (end of 1st century A.D.) 1800 (Septimius Severus(?)). There was also found, in 1885, the lower part of a seated Egyptian statue, in black basalt, used as building material in a foundation wall of the castle (*Not. Scavi*, 1885, 159). The upper part, with the head, was found in 1900, but secretly sold to a foreigner (Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, (Rome, 1910) i. 82 n.). Close by was found a cippus with an unimportant sepulchral inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4230) and a fragment (*ibid.* 4230 a). In a vineyard near Borghetto another unimportant sepulchral inscription was found in 1894, and now forms part of the epigraphic collection of the Abbey of Grottaferrata (*Not. Scavi*, 1894, 380). Just beyond the castle falls the site of the 11th milestone.

De Simoni, *Lettere Famigliari*, (Rome, 1831) p. 7, notes above the castle of Borghetto on the left a square tomb of selce concrete measuring 14.50 on each side outside. The internal chamber is barrel-vaulted, as are its two entrances, and measures 5.35 m. by 4.20 m. In the centre of the vault is a hole 0.36 m. in diameter, penetrating through the vault, which is 0.60 m. thick according to De Simoni, but really about 1 m. In his measurements he omits the vaulted passage or approach on the S. side, 4.20 m. long by 2.10 wide. This building is indicated in our map.

To the N.E. of it is the point at which the (probably) ancient road mentioned on p. 220 would terminate, reaching a large villa,<sup>1</sup> with a well marked and lofty platform, the N.E. side of which is occupied by the buildings of the Villa Montioni. The modern path indeed cuts across the platform of the villa, but the ancient road must have stopped at the lower platform. Of the substruction walls but little is preserved: a lower platform wall of *opus reticulatum*, like the rest and on the same orientation, still remains, and here may be noticed fragments of paving stones, possibly from this branch road. The tramway a little higher up passes across some vaulted chambers belonging to it, in *opus reticulatum* with stone quoins, some of which were water-cisterns. To the S. of the villa is another tomb, and to the S.E. an ancient road goes N.E. to join the road which ran up past the Torre di Micara to Frascati (*infra*, 244).

To the S.E. of it is yet another tomb (?) marked by Lanciani, but omitted in my map, the concrete foundations of which are preserved. To the E. of it is a huge reservoir, with eleven chambers, each 16 metres long and 3.70 metres wide: the partition walls are 0.60 metre thick, the outer walls 0.90 metre thick, and there are also external buttresses. This reservoir is just to the N. of the 16th kilometre of the modern road: on the opposite side of the road, a little further back, on the hill-side overlooking the Valle Marciana, are scanty remains of a villa. To the E.S.E. of the large reservoir another ancient road, which had not been followed far, was said to exist in the vineyard. Freshly found paving stones were certainly visible, and I marked its direction as best I could from the information given me. It was not found in the cutting of the tramway, the work for which, however, revealed the existence of a drain, cut in the rock, about two metres high and half a metre wide. To the E.S.E. of the road last mentioned is another smaller reservoir (6 chambers); and here Lanciani's map ends.

We now reach the path which intersects the Via Latina just W. of

<sup>1</sup> Nibby (*Analisti*, iii. 357) notes the existence in the place called Porcacchia between the Torre di Micara and Borghetto of the fine substructions of a villa, with two terraces one above the other, the lower having rectangular niches, the upper alternately rectangular niches and plain walls: the whole was constructed of chips of selce. The reference may, I think, be to this villa.

*C.I.L.* xiv. 2564 (a marble fragment with the letters . . . *ulam* was found in the Vigna Rosati in Cardoni's time 1757) not far from Ciampino and about a mile from Giottafenata. He mentions there the remains of a large villa, with walls of *opus reticulatum* and the remains of a road: here he noted the brick-stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 595a, 10 (Hadrian) 2244, 2267 (both first century A.D.).

It is very possible that this is the villa of which we are speaking.

the Camposanto (cemetery) di Grottaferrata. It is of ancient origin: its pavement, 250 metres wide, was discovered during the construction of the electric tramway (though its direction is inaccurately given as from east to west in the reports) (*Not. Scavi*, 1905, 244) and some of it may be seen *in situ*.

Following it to the N.E. we find another path diverging from it in a N.W. direction, which is, to judge from the existence of paving stones, probably also of ancient origin, at least as far as the cross road going N.E. from Villa Montioni; but beyond that it presents no definite traces of antiquity, being paved with pieces of selce, which show no signs of ever having been parts of paving stones.

To the E. of the house at point 236 are three small dots in the map: these indicate a large reservoir with five chambers intercommunicating by means of arches. It may have supplied the villa above Fontana Piscaro. The main path goes on across the Macchia di Grottaferrata in a N.E. direction, and to the W. of the Villa Muti joins the road from the twelfth mile of the Via Latina (*infra*, 239).

Returning to the Camposanto and following the path to the S.W. we find no certain traces of its antiquity, though it is a prolongation of what is undoubtedly an ancient line, and falls into the path mentioned on p. 222. Two groups of debris, marking, perhaps, the sites of ancient villas, are indicated to the E. of it in the map; while to the W. are remains of another villa. The locality bears the name of Bagnara (*infra*, 256).

On the N. side of the high-road we must place the Vigna Conti to which Stevenson refers in his notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 57<sup>v</sup>) as belonging to Giovanni Conti and being near the lane opposite the cemetery: in it the ancient road and two cinerary urns of peperino had, he says, been found. A little further on, to the E. of the Casa Santangeli, is the Vigna Giammarioli, where (*ibid.* 34) mosaics, water-pipes, and sculptured marbles had been discovered.

Close to the Casale Santangeli we must place the point at which diverged an ancient road, which Lanciani (*Comentari di Frontino*, cit. 296), Rocchi (*Diss. Pont. Acc. Arch.* Ser. II. Vol. vii. (1900) 223 *sqq.* and Grossi-Gondi (p. 60) identify with the *deverticulum* mentioned by Frontinus (i. 9) as diverging near the twelfth mile of the Via Latina, and leading to the springs of the Aqua Julia, which it reached after two miles more. The line as given on my map is that of Rocchi but may be

incorrect.<sup>1</sup> Grossi-Gondi points out that if, as Lanciani does, one supposes the diverticulum to run in a straight line, it is barely  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile (and not 2 miles) long as far as the springs (which are at the Ponte Squarciarelli, *infra*, 386). This, it is true, might matter little: for Frontinus does not aim at strict exactitude in these indications; but, further, traces of an ancient road were observed in the first half of the nineteenth century near the Fontanaccio<sup>2</sup> (marked on our map to the N.W. of the Abbey of Grottaferrata) running in a S.E. direction, and other traces of it have been noticed near and even within the Abbey itself more recently. Beyond the Abbey it reappeared in the Vigna Santovetti (Secchi, *Intorno ad alcune opere idrauliche antiche rinvenute nella Campagna di Roma*, p. 35, from *Atti dei Nuovi Lincei* xxix. (1876)) and must have rejoined the line followed by the modern road near the Mola, and so have reached the Ponte Squarciarelli. Grossi-Gondi shows its probable course clearly on his map, and also discusses the question whether this road was private or not, coming to the conclusion, as against Rocchi, that it was not, partly owing to the discovery, in the garden of the Abbey, of two unimportant sepulchral inscriptions (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2524, 2559)<sup>3</sup> and possibly of an actual tomb, and of cinerary urns in front of the entrance to the church in 1903 (pp. 61, 80 n. 5). Later tombs covered with tiles (three of which bore the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 534.2, 581.11,<sup>4</sup> 1081.9) and containing lamps were found in the Vigna Passerini, about forty paces from the Abbey, in 1735 (De Rossi, *Ann. Inst.* 1873, 207). The Vigna delle Monache (formerly Villa Carbone and Villa Beccari) lies to the N.W. of the Abbey: in it are the remains of an ancient villa, in two distinct parts. One, to the N.W., lies under and to the S.W. of the house marked 321 in the map, which was the Casino Carbone in Stevenson's time (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 35, 36) and rested upon ancient vaulting, so that he believed it to be the principal building of the villa. Between it and the Via Latina he observed a

<sup>1</sup> I noticed some paving stones in the field wall on the N.N.E. side of the modern road diverging just E. of the Casa Santangeli, which may have belonged to it. If so, then Grossi-Gondi marks it a little too far to the W. (Compare also the next footnote.)

<sup>2</sup> Cozza-Luzi, *Il Tuscolano*, 95. There are indeed remains of the pavement of an ancient road 205 metres wide going in a S.E. direction in the path coming to the Abbey from the Vigna delle Monache, just before reaching the Abbey.

The inscriptions, copied at Grottaferrata, without note of their provenance are *C.I.L.* xiv. 2538, 2544, 2545, 2550, 2551, 2554, 2561a, while *ibid.* 2438 was found vaguely 'near Grottaferrata,' and so was 2566 a Christian inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Praetorius, *Comm. Graec. et ptolem. veterum*, 62 the original authority for the discovery) wrongly describes this as a mark on a lamp—or at least so De Rossi understands him.

pavement in *opus spicatum*, and other mosaic pavements and many walls had he was informed been found between it and the high-road. It is now the site of a large convent of Franciscan nuns, the construction of which has no doubt obliterated these remains. To the S.W. of the convent is a massive embanking wall with large buttresses, in *opus incertum*. The other portion, to the S.E., consists of a platform with some vaulted chambers within it (among them a chamber in the vault of which Stevenson noted a terracotta drainage pipe, and a cryptoporticus, in which was found a fragment of a marble ceiling) on the S. angle of which stands the house which was formerly the Casino Beccari (though when he made his notes it belonged to Nicola Santovetti) but is now included in the property of the nuns. Near the house he saw an ancient wall and other fragments; and to the N.E. of it a reservoir with several chambers, part of which has been converted recently into a cellar, while the rest serves for the foundations of a new building.

Close to this, by the entrance gate, is a marble cippus with a portrait of the deceased in the pediment, and a now illegible inscription, which Stevenson also saw. In this vineyard too Cozza copied the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2533.

A sarcophagus lid of peperino in shape like the boiler of a railway engine (cf. *Papers*, iv. 118) is recorded as having been found about a mile from Grottaferrata towards Rome, and copied by Stevenson. In his notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 19, 35) he states, on the authority of d'Ottavi and Teodoro Croci, that it was found in the so-called 'prato di Grottaferrata' in the Carbone property near the Fontanaccio, *i.e.* in the E. portion of the present Vigna delle Monache. Here were, he notes, also found walls and a large base which Santovetti had seen, and a bas-relief, and a cornice believed to be identical with that over the door of the Abbey church (which is Byzantine). The sarcophagus lid bears an unimportant sepulchral inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2555). I saw it in 1907 at the Casino Santovetti, a little to the E. of the Abbey of Grottaferrata. There are no certain traces of antiquity in the path leading S.E. from the former Casino Beccari to the Abbey.

We may now mention various discoveries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at or near Grottaferrata, the sites of which cannot be very clearly fixed.

Pococke, writing in 1730, notes (*B.M. Addit. MS.* 22981, 60) that at

Grottaferrata 'they lately dug up three marble heads much defaced, one of a young woman, the other I thought was a boy, and the third is young with hair plaited, which might be Cicero's last wife, and the others his son and daughter. There is a very fine bas-relief over a door, but it is broke, one man has the legs of another in his hand and there it is broken and 'tis concluded to be the Roman military charity; here the Hermaphrodite with woman's breasts and man's clothes which I saw in Villa Pamphili near Rome was found.' The last reference is to the Apollo (which went under the name of a Hermaphrodite, cf. Clarac 667, 1548A) described by Matz-Duhn, 188, which is still in the Villa Pamphili (*infra*, 234) and to the fragment of a relief still at Grottaferrata, published by Winckelmann (*Mon. Ined.* 136).

Gavin Hamilton made excavations at an unknown site near Grottaferrata early in 1773. We find him writing to Lord Shelburne on December 26th 1772, 'I have made (few?) discoveries of late, but after Carnival sh(all dig) at Grotto Ferrata, famous for the Villas of (Sulla) and afterwards of Cicero, who have formerly (spoiled) Greece of what they could find excellent,' and on January 29th 1773, 'I am now making my excavations near Grotto Ferrata, where I have begun with some success, having already found some very fine basso-relievos (and) which are already bespoke for the Pope. His Holiness seems to have very extensive views with regard to the new Museum, and the difficulties of sending away antiques increase daily.' (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Lansdowne House*, p. 64.) Exact details of what he found are nowhere given by him.

Of the Abbey of Grottaferrata itself we cannot here speak in detail: its mediaeval and modern history will be found in Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 142 *sqq.* and in Rocchi's *La Badia di Grottaferrata*, ed. ii. (Rome, 1904). See also Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna* (London 1909, 266).

I may notice, however, that Frederick II. removed from the abbey in July, 1242 two bronze statues of a man and of a cow which had long stood there as ornaments of the fountain, and carried them off to Lucera, whence they have long since disappeared (Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, x, pp. 238, 289: Pertz, *Mon. Germ. SS.* xviii, p. 231). The inscription set up by Cardinal Barberini under one of the bas-reliefs which still remains at Grottaferrata is given by Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 74: he speaks of it as *tabula velut e naufragio relictâ*.

Nor shall I attempt here to give a catalogue of the excellent museum of antiquities from the district which it contains, a collection which is continually growing in interest. But I may call attention to the bronze plate, once tied round the neck of a slave, published in *C.I.L.* xv. 7188 (*infra*, 267). It may, too, be worth while to remark that the round base in the Villa Pamphili Doria with Antoninus Pius (?), Roma, Ares, etc. (Matz-Duhn, 3684) was drawn in the garden of the Abbey in the seventeenth century (cf. the Dal Pozzo drawings at Windsor, *Bassirilievi*, III. 34, 35, 45); and that a fragment of a Greek funeral relief in Palazzo Colonna (Matz-Duhn, 3728) is to be united with the fragment mentioned *supra*, 230: Braun (*Ant. Marmorwerke*, I. Taf. ix a: cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1838, 22) first recognised that the two pieces belonged to the same relief. An inferior and much injured copy of the group of a cow and a boy in the Sala degli Animali in the Vatican (n° 234) exists in the Museum; cf. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, II. p. 393.

Various inscriptions have been copied at the abbey of Grottaferrata, the provenance of which is not known. Besides those already named we must mention *C.I.L.* xiv. 2519, the cinerary urn of *Celadus, C. Caesaris dispensator*, and *ib.* 2561<sup>a</sup>, a late fragment from the pavement of the church.<sup>1</sup>

The Christian inscription *ib.* 2566 was found near Grottaferrata in 1765: see *Bull. Crist.* 1875, tav. viii. fig. 1.

*C.I.L.* xiv. 2535 was found 'in fundo quodam monasterii Cryptoferratensis.' It is a sepulchral inscription with an appeal for the sanctity of the tomb *per deos superos inferosque te rogo ne ossuaria velis violare. M. Calpurnius M. L. Sulla Calpurnia M. L. Fausta liberta.*

E. Q. Visconti, in his MS. preserved at Paris, gives as found in 1780 'nello scavo di Grottaferrata,' an excavation of which we have unluckily no further details, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2520 (a sepulchral inscription). Nor do we know exactly where *C.I.L.* xv. 1030. a. 13 was found ('ai Montiglioni' near Grottaferrata) nor *ib.* 313. 18 copied by Giorgi 'on the road to Grottaferrata in the ruins of an ancient path, on the right.'

The abbey rests upon the substructions of a Roman villa. (Whether the *opus quadratum* blocks, noted by Nibby, *Schede*, i. 56 in the wall of the church on the side towards the garden, belonged to this or to

<sup>1</sup> I may here call attention to the votive inscription seen in the sixteenth century in the pavement of the church, which mentions a bishop Fortunatus (of Labici) of the fifth or sixth century. (De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 112; Duchesne, *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* xv. 1892, 496.) There was no bishop of Tusculum before 1110.



some other ancient building is doubtful.) On the S.W. side overlooking the deep narrow valley of the Acqua Mariana, is a cryptoporticus, originally double; the walling is faced with *opus reticulatum* of selce, with quoins of the same material. Several photographs of the details (B 1-7, 63, 64) have been taken by the Ministry of Public Instruction, cf. *Catalogo delle Fotografie del Gabinetto Fotografico*, Rome, 1904, p. 43. Pl. XXIV. fig. 2, from a photograph of my own, shows the abbey from the opposite side of the valley of the Marrana Mariana.

This villa has by many been identified with the villa which Cicero owned in the territory of Tusculum, to which there are so many references in his works. The evidence for the determination of the site is carefully examined by Grossi-Gondi (pp. 64 *sqq.*) who states the other rival views—that of Zuzzeri, *Antica villa scoperta sul dorso del Tuscolo*, recently adopted by Schmidt, *Cicero's Villen* (reprinted from *Neue Jahrbucher f. d. Klassische Altertum*, ii. (1899)) 30 *sqq.*, who places it near the Villa Rufinella (*infra*, 338); that of Canina (*Tuscolo*, p. 90), who places it near the tomb of M. Metilius Regulus (*infra*, 241) but to the east of it, extending from the Ponte della Macchia to the Villa Muti; and that of Albert, adopted by Lanciani, who identifies it with a villa on the Colle delle Ginestre (*infra*, 256).<sup>1</sup> From Cicero's own writings we learn (1) that the villa of Lucullus was not very distant from his own (*De finibus*, iii. 3; iv. 28; *Acad. prior* ii. 48), (2) that the villa of Gabinius (*infra*, 251) was also not very far away, (3) that Cicero paid a water rate to the people of Tusculum for the Aqua Crabra, which must therefore have supplied his villa (*De lege agraria*, iii. 2. 9) *ego Tusculanis pro aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia mancipio fundum accepi; si a Sulla mihi datus esset, Rulli lege non penderem*. It is clear from Frontinus that the springs of the Aqua Crabra were situated higher than those of the Aqua Julia, and were inferior in quality to them (*infra*, 388) and, as we shall see, they rise in a basin about six hundred metres above sea level.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, hardly conceivable

<sup>1</sup> Others finally, such as Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. 87, Zuzzeri, *op. cit.* 48, and Eschinardi, *Esposizione della Carta Cingolana*, 374, suppose that Cicero had *two* villas, and the last named cuts the knot of the controversy by remarking that there were reasons for placing it at Tusculum, and others for placing it at Grottaferrata, that some desired to place it a little way above the Villa Sacchetti (Rufinella), where its ruins might still be seen; and that one might conclude that there were two for different seasons! Venuti, in his revised edition of Eschinardi (p. 274) is among those who place it at the Rufinella.

<sup>2</sup> Grossi-Gondi (p. 83, n. 2) is wrong in suspecting a misprint in Lanciani's *Comentari di Erentino* (*Mem. Lincee*, Ser. III. vol. iv. (1880) p. 321). See *infra*, 388.

that they supplied the ancient villa near the Villa Rufinella, having regard to the contour of the ground and the course of the modern Acquedotto Aldobrandino (see Canina, *Tuscolo*, 85, and our maps). But the Aqua Crabra could, there is no doubt, have easily reached any of the other villas; and, inasmuch as we do not know how much water Cicero took (it is most unlikely that he was the only user of the aqueduct) nor what was the actual course of the ancient aqueduct, we cannot infer much from the present course of the two channels which now receive the springs of the Valle della Molara.

The other arguments which have been brought in to determine the site of the villa are (a) various objects which have been or are said to have been discovered on the various sites proposed (a) near the tomb of Metilius Regulus, some inscriptions (in reality either spurious or not belonging to the site: cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. 222\*), two statues, one male and one female, crowned with laurel, a statuette of a boy, two bas-reliefs and two headless busts, one with the name of Cato, the other with that of Cicero, the discovery of which would prove little, being if anything in favour of Canina's view, though the evidence, even if trustworthy, is insufficient<sup>1</sup> (Grossi-Gondi 71);

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the account of Mattei (*Tuscolo* 72) is untrustworthy as regards the inscriptions need not condemn it as a whole, for we have an independent version of the same discovery in a MS. now in the library of the Episcopal seminary at Frascati (*Cod. Tusc.* 14, i. 11 f. 188), which is given by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 190. From this we learn that the site belonged to one Luigi Ceppi, that Cardinal Francesco Barberini had the statue of the woman, the two busts, and a fragmentary group, and that Cardinal Massimi had (Mattei says bought) the male statue, the statuette of a boy and the two bas-reliefs, which measured six palms (1.33 metre) square each: they were placed in his palace in Rome at the Quattro Fontane, and sold on his death (when the palace was also sold) by his brother, and removed to France. The fragmentary group which Cardinal Barberini had is thus described, 'a very beautiful broken fragment, on which one sees two small feet without legs, and two other feet with the thighs, with a cloak over the thigh of one of the boys (the group cannot represent anything but two boys embracing) and these fragments are now in front of the Palazzo Barberini, where the sculptors are at work and where there is a large quantity of various ancient fragments found partly at Grottaferrata (cf. the inventory published in *Documenti Inediti*, iv. pp. 56 sqq., Nos. 47, 53, 63) and partly in the plain now called Le Frattocchie' (*infra*, 282). The Cardinal Massimi meant is no doubt Cardinal Camillo, whose collection of antiquities in his palace at the Quattro Fontane, is spoken of in the *Nota delli Musei* (p. 33) placed at the end of the 1664 edition of Lunadoro's *Relazione della Corte di Roma*: he was made Cardinal in 1670 and died in 1679. Grossi-Gondi is probably right in supposing that the *Cod. Tusc.* is mistaken, and that the Cardinal Barberini meant is really Cardinal Carlo (*infra*, 253). None of the antiques can now be traced, though the two busts are mentioned in the inventory above cited, which dates from 1738, in the list of fragmentary statues, etc. (p. 59, No. 87, 'two square bases like terminal figures without head and arms, one of Marcus Cato and the other of Marcus Tullius Cicero, one palm (0.22 metre) high and wide excavated at Grottaferrata'), while the group of two boys might correspond with several of the fragments described (e.g. p. 70, No. 287). The history of the Barberini collection, like that of all the great Roman collections of sculpture, has yet to be written.

(β) at the Abbey of Grottaferrata—the circular base mentioned *supra*, 231 which was wrongly believed to be the *τραπεζοφόρος* mentioned by Cicero, and the Hermaphrodite (*supra*, 230) which was wrongly identified with the Hermathena of which Cicero speaks in *Ad Att.* i. 1. 3. The former was, according to the MS. of Padre Garbi cited by Zuzzeri (p. 34) and copied by Kircher (p. 59) but now apparently lost (Grossi-Gondi, p. 227) found in 1600, with the table which stood upon it, in the garden near the fountain of the Mascherone, the table being five palms (1·10 metre) thick. That it consisted of two parts is clear from the drawings at Windsor which were made when it was still at Grottaferrata. The table proper was, however, as Matz-Duhn note, not brought to Rome, and seems to have disappeared. The latter had, Kircher says, been at Grottaferrata for a considerable time, and was transferred by Camillo Pamfili to his villa. It is in reality an Apollo, not a Hermaphrodite at all, though it is so represented in the work on the Villa Pamfili published by G. G. de Rossi and engraved by Dominique Barrière of Marseilles (Rome, n.d.—about 1660–70).<sup>1</sup> Matz-Duhn do not give the provenance, which seems, however, to me to be certain.

(γ) at the villa near the Rufinella—a *horologium solare* mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xvi. 18) but not of course (as Zuzzeri wrongly maintains) an object of sufficient rarity to be of the slightest use to identify the site; and a brick bearing the stamp M. TVLI (*C.I.L.* xv. 2277), of which, however, another copy was found near Aricia in 1729, and a third seen in Rome in the Museum of Cardinal Zelada in the 19th century: Mommsen notes, too, that it should be earlier in date than Cicero's day, inasmuch as by that time it had become the practice to express double consonants by double letters, and cognomina were already in common use in families of senatorial rank. Lanciani (*Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, 264) seems to admit the possibility that the brick, which as he believes bears Cicero's name, was transported as building material to the Rufinella from the Colle delle Ginestre: this I am hardly inclined to accept.

(δ) the testimony of tradition, which places it at the Abbey of

I have made an attempt to deal with the collection formed by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in his villa at Tivoli in *Archæologia* lxi. 219–277.

<sup>1</sup> It was dedicated to Giambattista, the son and successor of Camillo Pamfili; and the *imprimatur* was given by Fr. Hyacinthus Libellus (1660–1668).

Grottaferrata—a tradition, however, which, as Grossi-Gondi well points out (pp. 75 *sqq.*), is not traceable earlier than the middle of the 15th century: Pius II. in his *Commentaria*, speaking of a visit of May 30th, 1463, says *monasterium est in agro Tusculano situm, Marianum inter et Lucullanum, quo in loco Ciceronis villam fuisse putant et ibi quaestiones Tusculanas editas*.

But in the chronicle of Petrus Aurelius, Bishop of Sinigaglia, who described the journey of Gregory XI. in 1377 from Rome to Anagni, we find no allusion to this tradition in the description of the Abbey; and it probably grew up in the time of Cardinal Bessarion, who became commendatory Abbot of Grottaferrata in 1462, and whose relations with the humanists of his time are well known to us.

Even if it were proved that the site was continuously inhabited, and especially from the 5th to the 11th century A.D., when S. Nilus founded the Abbey (Grossi-Gondi, p. 80, n. 5) this would have no bearing on the question.

(c) the comment of a scholiast on Horace, *Epod.* i. 29, *neque ut superni villa candens Tusculi*, which runs thus: *Tusculi superni: hoc est in monte siti, ad cuius latera superiora Cicero suam villam habebat Tusculanam*. This passage is made use of by Zuzzeri, but it furnishes an argument of little value; nor does the description of the villa of Gabinius as *ad hunc Tusculani [in monte] montem* in Cicero's speech *in Pisonem* (21. 48) give us any sufficient ground for adopting this view, and the reading is quite uncertain.

That which I have given is adopted by Müller; but some MSS. give simply *in hunc Tusculanum montem*. In any case *mons* is much too vague to compel us to place the villa actually on the hill of Tusculum.

Lanciani tends, as I have said, to adopt the opinion of Albert (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 192) and Grossi-Gondi (pp. 92 *sqq.*) follows him, while admitting that there is no certainty to be attained, in thinking that the Colle delle Ginestre is the site which corresponds best to the indications which Cicero gives us. Unfortunately (for it would be far more interesting if it were possible to come to a positive conclusion) I am obliged to say that I think we must, in default of further evidence, refuse to attempt to identify the site more precisely, and that the one really certain indication is that given us by Cicero's mention of the Aqua Crabra (*infra*, 388).

Grossi-Gondi brings forward two other arguments from passages in

Cicero's own letters in support of Albert's view, which we must examine carefully before dismissing the subject ; but I cannot, as I have said, admit their validity. I do not think that Grossi-Gondi is right in the sense that he gives to the passage, a part of which he quotes, from Cicero's letter *Ad Atticum* xii. 36. *Fanum fieri volo, neque hoc mihi eripi potest. sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter poenam legis studeo quam ut maxime adsequar ἀποθέωσιν: quod poteram, si in ipsa villa facerem, sed, ut saepe locuti sumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. In agro ubicumque fecero, mihi videor adsequi posse, ut posteritas habeat religionem.* He maintains (p. 94) that had the *ager* selected been bounded by a public road, the inconvenience of a change of proprietors could have been avoided by erecting the monument, according to the then prevailing custom, on the edge of the road, and declaring on the monument itself how much space *in fronte et in agro* was allotted to the sacred area of the tomb. He goes on to argue that Cicero could certainly have erected it even in the grounds of his own villa, had this been situated upon an important road, upon which it was the custom to erect monuments: instead of which, Cicero insistently asks Atticus to find him another site distinct from his Tusculan villa. The latter, therefore, he maintains, was not touched by any main road ; and he uses this argument as an important element in the determination of the site of the villa.

I must confess that the first few words (which Grossi-Gondi omits) *fanum fieri volo . . . sepulcri similitudinem effugere studeo* seem to me not at all consonant with the idea that Cicero could have contemplated erecting the *fanum* along a public thoroughfare, where, as we know (from examples, it is true, of the imperial period), the external form of a temple was so commonly adopted for a tomb. Instead of this Cicero is always begging Atticus to buy him a garden, and suggesting to him various proprietors (Cic. *Ad Att.* xii. *passim*) ; and it appears to me to be clear that his desire is to erect it in a fairly secluded spot and yet not entirely out of the way: cf. *Ad Att.* xii. 19, where, after expressing his fears that his property at Astura, though suitable, might too often change hands, he adds, *cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare et quidem ob hanc causam maxime: nihil enim video quod tam celebre esse possit.* 'I can hardly agree with the words I have italicised in Tyrrell and Purser's note 'Cicero was desirous that the shrine dedicated to his daughter should be in a central site, where the traffic would be constant and abundant,' for it will be

noted that he speaks here too of his desire for a garden, not of a site on a high-road). I am therefore inclined to interpret *in agro* more simply. Cicero is afraid that if he erects the monument in the villa itself, close to the house, a subsequent owner may find it in his way, and remove or alter it: on the other hand, if he erects it away from a house, or in grounds specially set aside for the purpose, he thinks that, wherever the chosen site may be, he will be able to secure the respect of posterity.

The other passage cited by Grossi-Gondi (p. 92) again only in part (he omits the second sentence) *ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore: devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν et habet alia δύσχρηστα. Sed de Formiano Tarracinam pridie Kal. Ian.; inde Pomptinam summam, inde Albanum Pompeii, ita ad urbem III. Nonas, natali meo (Ad Att. vii. 5)* must similarly be taken in a wide sense. It does not mean that the villa was a mile or half a mile, more or less, from the Via Latina, or, as he says (p. 96), of the Colle delle Ginestre, 'distant from an immediate or easy approach from the Latina' (except that this is a rather steep hill, it is as close to the road as it well could be); but that the Via Latina was not one of the main highways of Italy, like the Via Appia, on which are situated all the places he names in his letter, and along which he himself was travelling from Brundisium, where he had arrived on November 25th (50 B.C.) on his return from Cilicia (*Ad Att. vii. 2*). Tyrrell and Purser rightly translate 'it is out of the way for chance rencontres' (with travellers of his acquaintance who would convey his letters). The next letter (vii. 3) was written on December 9th from Pontius' villa in the territory of Trebula, a town which probably stood on the hill of Tripaola, and had a post station (*vicus Novanensis* or *ad Novas*) on the Via Appia between Calatia and Caudium (see Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, ii. 753, 810). Where the next few letters were written we do not exactly know. The one we are examining (vii. 5) says *sororem tuam non venisse in Arcanum miror*. This was an estate of Cicero's brother Quintus, the exact situation of which is not certain. Nissen (*op. cit.* ii. 673) refers *arx Fregellana* in Liv. ix. 28 (cf. Diod. xix. 101) not to the citadel of the town of Fregellae (as does Colasanti, *Fregellae*, 139) but to the hill fortress of Rocca d'Arce, 504 metres above sea-level, above the modern village of Arce, five miles N.N.E. of the site of Fregellae, and defended on the most accessible side, he says, by a polygonal wall.

This seems to me very reasonable: for the name *Arx* was given to the

place by the Geographer of Ravenna (iv. 33) and Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Lang.* vi. 27), belonged to it through the Middle Ages (when it was regarded as impregnable) and still clings to it. Moreover, it supplies a good derivation for the name Arcanum, which we cannot otherwise explain. Hulsen, indeed, (s.v. *Arx* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 1493) regards it as certain. Cf. Mommsen in *C.I.L.* x. p. 555. It had, however, probably in Cicero's time already been incorporated in the territory of Arpinum (*Ad Att.* i. 6. 2). From what follows I think it is clear that we must not suppose that Cicero himself had actually gone so far out of his way as this: he had merely heard the news that Pomponia (Atticus' sister and his own brother's wife) had not come there.

The next letter (vii. 6) contains no local indications, and the next (vii. 7) intimated that he would be a day later in reaching Pompey's Alban villa, and consequently also in arriving in Rome. The next, however (vii. 8), speaks of his arrival at Formiae on Dec. 26th, and in the next (vii. 9) we have the explanation of the phrase we have been examining: '*Cotidiene*' inquis '*a te accipiendae litterae sunt?*' *Si habebo cui dem, cotidie.* '*At iam ipse ades.*' *Tum igitur, cum venero, desinam. Unas video mihi a te non esse redditas, quas L. Quinctius, familiaris meus, cum ferret, ad bustum Basili<sup>1</sup> vulneratus et spoliatus est,* and on the fourth of January he was already in Rome, where he laid down his *imperium*. The reason for his preferring the frequented route along the Via Appia was thus obviously that it afforded better opportunities of sending and receiving letters, and especially for his correspondence with Atticus, who was in Rome, and to whom he was writing constantly, expecting to meet him either in Pompey's villa or in Rome (*Ad Att.* vii. 8. *animadverteram posse pro re nata te non incommode ad me in Albanum venire III Nonas Ianuar. Sed, amabo te, nihil incommodo valetudinis feceris. Quid enim est tantum in uno aut altero die?*).

So that we cannot out of this passage, any more than out of the first, draw any indications for the site of his Tusculan villa.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Asconius *In Milon* (p. 50, Orell.) *Via Appia est prope urbem monumentum Basili, qui locus tibi cinis fuit perinfamis.*

XIV.—THE VIA LATINA FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE THIRTEENTH MILE.

Just after the twelfth mile<sup>1</sup> of the ancient road, which falls approximately at the modern tramway junction (where the line to Frascati diverges from that to Grottaferrata) a road branches off through the Macchia di Grottaferrata, almost due N., which probably follows the line of an ancient road.<sup>2</sup> I noticed in 1904 fresh paving stones in the fieldwall, probably found in making the vineyard on the E. A little way along it, on the W., Stevenson noted in September, 1891, in the vineyard of Teodoro Croci, the pavement of the Via Latina, which is thus marked a trifle too far south in my map. Here too in 1854 were found many blocks of 'sperone,' a kind of tufa (*Lapis Gabinus*) belonging to the substructions of the road (*Atti. Min. Lav. Pubbl.* 9287, cited by Tomassetti, p. 141 n.). Just to the N., in the vineyard of Antonuccio Vendetti, a lead pipe was found (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 1<sup>v</sup>, cf. *ibid.* 36).

I cannot fix the exact locality of the following discovery referred to in Stevenson's notes. A letter of April 4th . . . from Pasquale Antini (*cod. cit.* 20<sup>v</sup>) informed Stevenson that he had found in the Santovetti property a rectangular shaft about 1 metre by 0.50 metre and about 3 metres deep, and other channels of peperino of various sizes, one about 0.30 metre in diameter, and various points where the ancient road existed (the reference is in all probability to the Via Latina).

Stevenson (*cod. cit.* 23<sup>v</sup>) appears to have then visited the place itself, for he noted that the ancient road passed near the shaft, and that here was the vineyard of Costantino Longacci.

In *Bull. Com.* 1902, 109 Grossi-Gondi describes the discovery in the Vigna Tappi (formerly Passamonti)<sup>3</sup> near the tomb of Metilius Regulus of the pavement of the road: its direction, he says, confirmed Rocchi's theories. Remains of other tombs were found and near one of them an unimportant inscription of one Fabius Augustalis, and other objects.

<sup>1</sup> Near the twelfth mile was a church mentioned in the Bull of Sergius I, and the Regestum of Gregory II: *basilica S. Petri intra massam Marulis via Latina milliario ab urbe plus minus XII.* (Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 890: cf. *supra*, 224).

<sup>2</sup> This is also the opinion of Nibby (*infra*, 240) and Stevenson.

<sup>3</sup> It is mentioned as existing in this vineyard by Cozza in *Giornale Arcadico* exc. 115 = *Il Tuscolano*, 123. Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 19) notes that he had been informed of the discovery of two marble sarcophagi in this vineyard.



The ruins marked to the W. of the road in my map, were brought to light in the course of the tramway works: a vaulted substruction in concrete, 2.50 metres wide, was found, and to the E. of the road a very large reservoir in *opus reticulatum* was discovered, consisting of three parallel vaulted chambers each 53 metres in length and 3.41 to 3.52 metres in width, divided by walls 1.50 metre thick: there were several apertures in these walls, each 1.65 metre in span.

A marble cinerary urn, without inscription, and some pottery and glass were also found (*Not. Scavi*, 1904, 273); and I also saw a late tile burial in the tramway cutting.

Further N., on the west side of the road, is a large and prominent tomb, a lofty square mass of selce concrete, with a (probably) modern chamber in the upper portion. Grossi-Gondi gives a photograph of it (tav. x.). It is very possible (though not, I think, at all certain) that *C.I.L.* xiv. 2501 may have belonged to it. One fragment was copied in the territory of Grottaferrata in 1673, another built into the Casale Santangeli, some 500 yards to the S.W., and a third is said to have been excavated near that casale. It is the sepulchral inscription of M. Metilius Regulus, *consul ordinarius* in 157 A.D. (*Prosopographia*. ii. p. 371. No. 385.)

In Nibby's time (see below) the vineyard belonged to Gaspare Baccari, having previously been the property of Silvestro Tiberi. He notes the existence close to it of fragments of columns and Corinthian capitals in peperino, and fragments of marble. I have seen tufa columns and similar fragments myself.

To the W. of this tomb the tramway works brought to light (and destroyed, the remains of a structure in *opus quadratum* of tufa, the blocks being 1 metre thick (*Not. Scavi*, *loc. cit.*). Grossi-Gondi notes it as interesting, but does not give full particulars, speaking of it as though it were the stylobate of a tomb or a temple. Nibby (*Schede* i. 71-73, 110) in a detailed description of the ruins in this district (which he visited in October, 1822), which does not appear in his published works, speaks of it as having a façade facing S.E., in *opus quadratum* of tufa, which appeared to have been added later. From this one descended into a small corridor of selce concrete, and thence into a chamber faced with small pieces of incrustations from the Anio (Italian writers call them 'Tartari tiburtini') as a method of decoration. The door was central neither with the passage, nor with the chamber, which was a nymphæum or bath: a kind of step

had been added later, which partly covered the facing of 'tartari.' A water channel or specus, of the height of a man, the direction of which was almost diagonal to the entrance, seemed also to be an addition. It is *apparently* to this place that the erased plan in Stevenson's notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 25) refers.

To the E. of the so-called tomb of Metilius Regulus and of the modern road, a path runs E., which Nibby marks in his map as following the line of an ancient road discovered and destroyed not long before his visit. To the N. of this, in the then Vigne Zocchi, Vannelli, dell' Osso, and Amadei, he saw the remains of a large villa in *opus reticulatum* of selce, with quoins of the same material, facing and parallel to the road through the macchia di Grottaferrata.

On the E. portion of the site was a large rectangular open space, probably a piscina or fountain basin, with an apse facing E., measuring some 130 metres in circuit. He noted the existence of marbles of all kinds and of fine architectural fragments as indicating the magnificence of the villa. To the S.W. of the piscina he saw remains of chambers in brickwork of the first century A.D. : one of these was decorated with niches in which (as in the domus Augustana on the Palatine, in the portion under the Villa Mills the door of communication was in the niche itself. The other walls were mainly long substruction walls, one on the front of the villa having square niches. He mentions that he saw a column of grey marble, and architectural fragments in peperino. The modern house (marked 344 on the map) is built, of course, of ancient materials. Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 23) has some notes as to this villa. A large mosaic and two trapezophori were reported to have been found there ; and on the terrace where the house stands a floor of *opus signinum* was discovered in which were various round pits 0·80 metre in diameter and the same in depth, with marble at the bottom. He also noticed column drums of grey marble and peperino, a small head of a boy crowned with ivy, etc., and also the ancient road, some 17 yards from the edge of the macchia. He mentions too (*ibid.* 34<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>) a bas-relief with putti in the main street of Grottaferrata, which was found here or hereabouts, in the Quarto Cipriana.

This name, which belongs to the locality from the Via Latina as far as the S. boundary of the macchia, gives Nibby a reason for calling this the villa of Cato, inasmuch as he made Cyprus a part of the Roman Empire : but for this view there is but little foundation. To this villa would belong,

as Grossi-Gondi points out, the discoveries upon which Canina relied (*supra*, 233) for determining the site of the Villa of Cicero; but the evidence derivable from them is too slender. There is hardly more reason for supposing this to have been the villa of the Vibii, as Grossi-Gondi (p. 99) is inclined to do. The inscriptions which he cites as found here are none of them other than sepulchral, and are of people of no great position, so that the evidence for his theory must be considered insufficient. De Rossi (*Ann. Inst.* 1873, 190) only speaks of tombs of the Vibii in this locality.

The inscriptions in question are the following:—(a) the triplicate inscriptions<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* xiv. 2556, 2557, 2558—the first (entire) found below the Vigna Cavalletti (cf. *Papers*, iv. 127) in 1857, the second (a fragment) between Borghetto and Ciampino in 1873, and the third (again a fragment) in the Vigna Gambini at Campovecchio (*infra*, 269) relating to the concession of a sacred area by one Varena Sabina, in which M. Publilius Strato, freedman of Publilia and of C. Vibius Rufus, erected a tomb for himself, Varena Sabina, and members of her family, and for some of his own relations, freedmen and freedwomen, (b) a sarcophagus bearing the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2525 (Matz-Duhn, ii. 2572), (c) the cippus bearing the fragmentary sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2560.<sup>2</sup>

The old path through the macchia of Grottaferrata soon turns N.N.W., and is joined by the path coming from the cemetery of Grottaferrata.

To the W., just outside and north of the macchia, Stevenson in his map has marked the pavement of a road, and in his notes (*cod. cit.* 54<sup>v</sup>) has a long passage in regard to it. He saw a few paving stones on the edge of an oliveyard and the macchia (which are still there) and was informed by the sacristan of the church of S. Pietro that the pavement had been found a little further E. in his vineyard, and also, along the road, buildings, tombs 'a cappuccina' with lamps and a ring with a cornelian bearing a Gnostic device or inscription, a fragment of a lead pipe, with five or six letters, which had been sold to Monsignor Battamelia, etc.—also a rectangular shaft with footholes 3 metres deep, leading to a drain parallel to the road. The road must have come out, he thinks, near the entrance to the Villa Muti from this side: but there are no pavingstones in the S.W.

<sup>1</sup> I omitted to mention the third copy in *Pf.* 75, iv. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Here is or was in the 'eighties the Vigna Consoli, and here was copied the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2434. In the Quarto Cipriena another inscription of this nature was found in 1894, and is now preserved at the abbey of Grottaferrata (*Nz.* 3, 1894, 313).

enclosure wall of the Villa Muti, which is entirely covered with cement, so that it is impossible to say whether the road went on eastwards towards the Villa Montalto beyond its junction with the road through the *macchia*. Going westwards, he notes that it was found lower down the hill in the Vigna Muti: there is a house there (not marked in the map) with debris of a villa, but no certain paving stones. In this vineyard, or at point 344, were found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 213, 686, 708 a, 1762, 1770, 1798, 1802, 1861, copied by Giorgi on Oct. 10, 1732, and Feb. 23, 1733, in the Vigna Amadei, beyond the Villa Rocci (now Muti), and *ibid* 361, 12 123–125 A.D.) copied in the same vineyard by Lupi. Giorgi also saw in a vineyard house below the Villa Spada and opposite to the Villa Amadei a sarcophagus with the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2699.

The Villa Muti itself (formerly Villa Varese and Villa Rocci) occupies the site of a large villa, of which, however, few remains are now visible.

The account of *Cod. Tusc.* 14. i. 11, f. 141<sup>v</sup> *sqq.* is a mere translation of Kircher, *Latium*, 73 *sqq.* It is wrongly referred by Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 201) to this site: the plan on p. 73 is that of the villa at Fontana Piscaro (*Papers*, iv. 135) and that of the round piscina (p. 74) is that of the circular reservoir to the N.W. of that villa (*Papers, ibid.*).<sup>1</sup> Nibby in *Analisi*, iii. 354 (cf. *Schede*, i. 75, where he deduces its shape only from the appearance of the ground, the rest having, he says, perished) makes the same error.<sup>2</sup> He, in his description, notes the air of desolation which then pervaded the villa, and gives copies of *C.I.L.* xiv. 2605, 2721 2 (*infra*, 249), both first recorded here by Fabretti, with no information as to their provenance. He also notes the existence, under the inclined plane leading to the upper terrace, of some walling in polygonal work or selce, with a later facing of *opus reticulatum* of the same material, of which in *Schede cit.* he gives a sketch.

In *Not. Scavi*, 1884, 157, Lanciani describes, with a sketch plan, several rooms in *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum* with fine mosaic pavements (belonging thus probably to the first century A.D. and repaired in the second century) found on the uppermost terrace: apparently the angle of an atrium or peristyle was found, with Doric columns of peperino. Three brickstamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 272–123 A.D.: 1333—first century A.D. ? :

<sup>1</sup> Pl. XXXV. Fig. 1 shows the facing of the platform W. of this reservoir.

<sup>2</sup> He remarks, too, correctly that this site belonged once to the Rocci, then to the Varese, and finally, after being bought by Cardinal York for the episcopal seminary, took the name of Vigna del Seminario.

1986–Hadrian (?) were found, also some fragments of terracotta friezes, and the hand of a discobolus, finely worked. The substructions in *opus reticulatum*, according to Lanciani (*Bull. cit.*) extend for a length of over 150 metres.

The inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1625 a, a dedication to M. Petronius Honoratus (*Prosopographia*, iii. 207) was copied here by Doni early in the seventeenth century. At this time a small house, erected in 1579, was transformed into a fine palace by Monsignore Arrigoni (d. 1616). It is, therefore, considered probable by Lanciani, and by Grossi-Gondi (*op. cit.* 121), that the inscription was found here, and not brought from Rome: so that the latter, with some reserve, attributes the villa to this personage. Here was also copied the sepulchral inscription of one Claudius Verus, an *evocatus* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2617).

The walling seen by Nibby and Lanciani is now almost entirely hidden. There are, however, in the garden various antiquities—numerous statues of no great merit, though one, in the upper garden, is of interest, if only because there is a coloured drawing of it among the drawings of the Dal Pozzo-Albani collection, formerly in the possession of Sir A. W. Franks, and now in the British Museum (vol. i. f. 143). It represents a Roman lady with a head-dress of the Flavian period lying on a couch with her head on the pillow: she rests on her left shoulder, holds a garland in her left hand, and her drapery in her right: the statue is 1.77 metre long and 0.66 metre across: there is also a good piece of a frieze with bucrania, 1.77 metre long, 0.85 metre high, which Nibby also mentions.

Among the antiquities in the Villa Muti many were probably found in Rome, and brought to it for its adornment. Among these we may reckon the inscription Kaibel *I.G.* xiv. 1110 relating to the *Synodus Heracleistarum*, which was established near the baths of Trajan.

The tramway from the Villa Muti follows a new road across the valley to Frascati; but the older path descends due N. There are no certain traces of antiquity in it: at a chapel of the Crocefisso it joins the path from Torre di Micara to Frascati (see *Papers*, iv. 133). To the W. of this point Stevenson noted unimportant traces of antiquity at two places where now nothing is visible *cod. cit.* 44 and a pilaster capital at the house of the Vigna Senni on the north of the path which is still there, as are also other marble fragments. Going further W. we pass the path from

the Villa Montioni, and then reach the entrance gate of the Vigna Bevilacqua. Outside this there are, as Stevenson notes, four paving stones *in situ*: the direction of the road to which they belonged is uncertain. Stevenson was told by Micara that he had found the ancient road between the entrance gate and the Torrione di Micara, and that it then ran across the modern path to the oliveyard on the other side (by T on our map) and came out at this point; but he suspected the information. If this were true, we might probably suppose that a branch of it would have gone on in the same direction to the point W. of the Villa Muti, where two (or even three, see p. 242) probable lines of ancient road already join, at the N. edge of the Macchia di Grottaferrata; but along the diagonal path running S.E. to this point there are no certain traces of antiquity. I saw on its S.W. side a channel in *opus incertum* 0·59 metre wide and about 1·20 metre high, roofed with a large block of peperino.

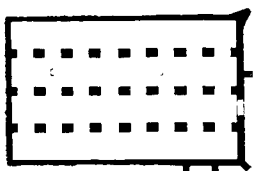
Entering the oliveyard, we first reach a small casale, on the edge of the villa as marked in the map, which rests upon an ancient reservoir, in four compartments: in the field-walls Stevenson noticed fragments of mosaic and a broken rectangular brickstamp with large raised letters IC { . Near the larger casale is much debris: lower down is the terrace wall of the villa, partly of polygonal work in a poor and not very compact kind of selce, and partly of *opus incertum*. Nibby describes it in *Analisi*, iii. 354; in *Schede*, i. 76 he states his belief (correctly, I think) that the *opus incertum*, which is larger than usual, is a repair, made out of broken polygonal blocks. Stevenson, on the other hand, considers it probable that they are contemporary. Nibby gives a plan *ibid.* 108. The total length of the platform is about 200 yards, and of the polygonal work, about 100 yards.

There is a drain in it 0·43 metre wide and about 1 metre high, just at a vertical junction shown in the plan and in the photograph. The interior of it is lined with *opus incertum*; and in any case there is no doubt that the polygonal work belongs to the villa, and not to any previous construction (for parallel examples see pp. 368, 403). A view of it was made by Dodwell, *Pelagic Remains in Greece and Italy* Pl. 121 and a photograph is given on Pl. XXV. Fig. 1.

To the N.W. Stevenson noted (*cod. cit.* 45) the existence of a water reservoir with a single chamber, which I found from his indications: it is faced inside with *opus reticulatum* of selce, and sunk below ground

level: it is 370 metres wide and over 18 long—perhaps originally as much as 26 metres.

Further N.N.E. is the Casale Piccolomini, where there are some selce *reticulatum* cubes in the walling, but nothing ancient *in situ*. On the summit of the ridge above it to the S.S.E., opposite the Casale Bevilacqua, and not far from the path from the Torrione di Micara to Frascati, there is a villa in selce concrete with a reservoir in its platform crowned by a mediaeval or modern house: and to the E.N.E. on the next ridge to the E. (that which runs N.N.W. from the villa Muti) to the S.S.E. of the knoll marked 241 in the map, there is another large villa, with extensive substructures: at one point above the vaulting I saw a herring-bone pavement and the base and the beginning of the drum of a column, 0.42 in diameter, cut out of one block of peperino, still *in situ*. Higher up the hill are the remains of an enormous reservoir, the concrete of the exterior of which is quite rough. A plan is here given.



The Villa Pallavicini or Bel Poggio<sup>1</sup> very probably occupies an ancient site, but there is no absolute certainty to be attained. A mass of concrete in the bend of the drive ascending on the N.W. side is almost certainly ancient; but the two parallel passages under the upper garden, lined with big roughly parallel-pipedal blocks, show no decided traces of antiquity, and the substruction walls of the garden are, as far as can be seen, quite modern. If, however, the site is not really ancient, the lofty platform on which the garden stands, gives a good idea of what those of ancient villas must have been. There are in the garden two or three possibly ancient marble heads of no merit.

The deep cutting through which the path passes S.E. of the Villa Pallavicini may be of ancient origin, but there is no certain evidence. To the S.E. of this cutting, in an oliveyard S. of the Villa Conti, is some ancient debris, which probably marks the site of a villa. Below this the cutting for the new road and the tramway has brought to light two drains cut in the rock.

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani *Monumenti di Roma Antica* iii. 500 tells us that its construction was attributed to the Strada; it then passed to the Dukes of Genovesi, then by marriage to the Borromeo and successively to the Visconti and Pallavicini families.

Between the road leading round to the Hotel Frascati and that which leads to the Villa Pallavicini, in the oliveyard are pozzolana pits, several of the galleries of which cut through a round topped Roman drain 0·45 metre wide, cut in the soil, going about north and south.

The Villa Conti (now Torlonia) also occupies the site of an ancient villa. (See Wells, *Alban Hills*, i. Frascati, 134 for further details.) The substruction wall above the modern highroad has semicircular niches, and the plaster facing of these imitates *opus reticulatum*: it is not unlikely that this masks ancient work, and there is certainly a substruction wall of *opus reticulatum* with quoins of selce under the garden-terrace in front of the villa, at its W. angle, and an ancient drain may be seen still lower down. There is also much debris further back, in the ilex grove behind the modern villa, and, in the level space in front of the waterfall, which is on the same level, the outline of a large rectangular chamber may be seen. Above the waterfall, however, there are no traces of ancient buildings. There is, too, further E., not far from the chapel of S. Antonio on the road from Frascati to Marino, a building in *opus reticulatum* of selce, only part of which was excavated in the course of the enlargement of a pozzolana quarry. A chamber some 8·30 by 4·10 metres was found, with the south side (one of the two long sides) open: here were two square pilasters, which supported the roof, the bases of which, of peperino, were still *in situ*: the capitals, of the same material, had Ionic volutes and garlands of flowers. On the right was a narrow space (probably merely an air-space between two walls) 0·70 metre wide, and beyond it the walls continued. Two brick-stamps were found there, *C.I.L.* xv. 911<sup>a</sup> (first century A.D.) and a fragment of a lunate stamp OPV·D.....|Q.....and some fragments of terracottas.

A full account is given by Stevenson (*cod. cit.* 135),<sup>1</sup> who visited the villa in August, 1892:<sup>1</sup> cf. *Cronachetta Armellini*, 1892, 178, in which further discoveries are mentioned, notably of a wall 28·80 metres long, of a coin of Domitian, and of a vase representing a chariot race with an inscription which is possibly to be associated with the *Sodales Iusur iuvenalis* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2640, *infra*, 362). Further associations with games are connected with this site, for in November, 1896, the wall dividing the

<sup>1</sup> Ten years earlier, in October, 1882, Dressel copied in this villa the brickstamps *C.I.L.*, xv. 388. 5 (Vespasian) 869.3 (end of first or beginning of second century) 2231 a. 1 (middle of first century): but we know nothing of the circumstances of their discovery.



garden from the ilex grove above (which is on a level with the modern villa, fell down, owing to the rain, for a length of some 15 metres: some walling in *opus reticulatum* came to light under the wall, partly at right angles and partly parallel to it; and in the soil, which appeared to have been turned over previously, were found various fragments of marbles and a small lead *tessera* with a figure of Diana running to the left, and the legend *subcur'ator*). (Rostowzew, *Tesserarum Plumbeorum Sylloge*, 863). See *Not. Scav.*, 1897, 419; 1900, 268.

Some earlier discoveries are less exactly noted: thus Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 64, speaks of no fewer than 18 rectangular rooms with vaulted roofs, in *opus reticulatum*, 15 palms (3.35 metres) high, 14 (3.13) wide, and 18 (3.97) long, divided by pilasters  $7\frac{1}{2}$  palms (1.66) thick. These must have belonged to the substructions of the villa, and were apparently situated under the ilex grove (for Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. 117, speaks of the trees growing upon the top of the vaults) which is level with the platform on which the modern building stands, though Montfaucon believed them to be tabernae of the ancient city of Tusculum, while Ficoroni in his commentary on this work (*Osservazioni*, 15) believed them to be baths. Volpi also speaks of them and of a marble table standing on legs not its own, oval in shape, on the sides of which were winged cupids, animals drawing cars, girls sleeping, etc. The description sounds like that of the lid of a sarcophagus. See also Wells, *loc. cit.*

Turning to the history of the villa, we find that Annibale Caro bought in 1563, from the Abbey of Grottaferrata, a villa at Frascati to which he gave the name of Caravilla (Grossi-Gondi, *op. cit.* 114). If Ottaviano Caro, who offered in February 1576 some statues to the Commune of Rome, was a brother or a relation of his, we may perhaps suppose that these were found in this villa. Indeed a letter of Annibale of September 14th, 1565, quoted by Grossi-Gondi, *op. cit.* 116, mentions the villa as being 'nel loco proprio di Lucullo che così mi hanno chiarito li vestigi degli grandi monumenti, e di alcune lettere che vi ho trovato.' The discovery Lanciani supposes to be that of the lead pipes bearing the name of Lucullus, already recorded by him (on the faith of Kircher, *Vetus Latium*, 73)<sup>1</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Kircher says 'altera villa fuit eo in loco, ubi modo hortus Ludovisorum (the later Villa Conti-Torlonia) est, ut ex inscriptionibus quorundam lapidum ibidem inventorum hisce verbis: L. LUCUL. LUC. F.' but Lanciani, perhaps rightly, supposes the reference to be to a water-pipe. Dessau, on the other hand, treats it as a mere invention, *C.I.L.* iv. 269."

*Comentari di Frontino* (*Atti dei Lincei*, Ser. III. vol. iv. (1880) p. 500, no. 580.) This would thus, supposing Kircher's notice as to the find-spot to be correct, fix the villa of Lucullus on the site of the present Villa Torlonia.<sup>1</sup> In that case he cannot have been the founder of the immense villa upon which the town of Frascati is built, and which, being separated from the Villa Torlonia by the ancient road, cannot have belonged to the same owner, as Lanciani had previously supposed (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 182: but see *infra*, 302).

From Annibale Caro the property passed to Cardinal Tolomeo Galli,<sup>2</sup> and then was sold on his death in 1607 to the Borghese family: in 1613, however, it passed to the Altemps, in 1622 to the Ludovisi,<sup>3</sup> and then successively to the Poli-Conti, Sforza Cesarini, and Torlonia families.

It is of course not necessary, as Grossi-Gondi rightly points out (p. 117), to suppose, because Frontinus (*De Aquis*, 5, 8, 10) tells us that the springs of the Aquae Appia, Tepula, and Virgo were situated *in agro Lucullano*, that Lucullus' possessions extended uninterruptedly over the whole area between these points. But even he wishes to believe that the property of Lucullus extended as far as the Torre di Micara (*Papers*, iv. 134) and that this was the tomb of Lucullus, which was, we know, in the territory of Tusculum (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 43, who tells us that the people wished to bury him in the Campus Martius, but that his brother persuaded them to allow the body to be placed in the tomb which had been prepared for it). There are no other points in the various descriptions of the villa of Lucullus, nor in the classical allusions to it, that would help us to localize it more closely, inasmuch as we are unable to fix the site of the villa of Cicero, near which it was. We know from Cicero's *De Legibus* (vii. 13) that Lucullus' next neighbour above him was a Roman knight (not as Grossi-Gondi says, Gabinius), while below him lived a freedman: but this does not help us to determine its position more closely: while

<sup>1</sup> A slight additional argument is found by Grossi-Gondi in the fact that *C.I.L.* xiv. 2721/2. (*supra*, 243) is a dedication by two freedmen of the gens Licinia to their patron, and of course might easily have been found here. I may add that Nibby, like Fabretti, saw the fasces and the axe on the left, and adds the word FECIT at the end of the second line on the right.

<sup>2</sup> According to documents quoted by Schreiber, *Villa Ludovisi*, p. 5, he was known as Cardinalis Comensis, though Mas-Latrie makes him a Neapolitan, and from him the villa acquired the name of Villa Comensis.

<sup>3</sup> With the Villa they acquired fifteen statues and nineteen heads, an inventory of which is preserved, and is given by Schreiber, *op. cit.* p. 26. As to their provenance we of course know nothing.

from Plutarch (*Lucull.* 39) we merely learn that he had near Tusculum 'country-houses and view-points whence the whole panorama could be seen, and elaborately constructed banqueting halls open to the air and covered walks,' and that when Pompey reproached him with having arranged his villa well for the summer but having made it uninhabitable for the winter, he laughed and said: 'Do you suppose I have less sense than the cranes and the storks, so that I do not change my dwelling with the seasons?' Other authors (Varro, *R.R.* 1. 2. 10 and 13. 7: iii. 4. 3: Columella, *R.R.* i. 4. 6: Plin. *N.H.* xviii. 6 § 32) speak mainly of its extent, Pliny remarking that the censors found that there was less to plough than to sweep. The *piscinae Luculli* which Varro mentions are not apparently to be identified with any of the large cisterns in the neighbourhood of Frascati, but were actual fish-ponds at the villa at Baiae rather than at the villa at Tusculum. Columella, copying Pliny, simply says that Lucullus' villa was too large for the ground in which it stood, while that of Q. Scaevola was too small. Varro, however, tells us of an aviary placed under the same roof as a triclinium, so that he could see some of the birds on the table and others flying about the windows.

At c. 158 of the protocollo of the notary Campana in the Archivio di Stato is a document concerning the sale in 1571 by two brothers Caro of Civitanuova to Donna Beatrice Arias de' Cinciis, wife of Dott. Evangelista Recchia, of a villa in the territory of Frascati called Villa Piscina. This is no doubt a different property, but perhaps also once belonged to Annibale Caro. See Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 85, 86: iii. 50 *sqq.*

The Villa Montalto, S. of the Villa Conti and E. of the Villa Muti, was built at the end of the 16th century by Cardinal Ottavio Acquaviva the elder, but after being for a short while in the possession of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, it passed to the Peretti family: it was bought at the end of the seventeenth century by the Odescalchi, dukes of Bracciano, so that it is sometimes called Villa Bracciano (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 54). In 1835 it was sold to the Propaganda Fide, and is now the property of Duke Grazioli.<sup>1</sup> Nibby *Analisi*, iii. 353, is probably right in considering that it occupies the site of an ancient villa, though hardly any actual traces are visible—only ancient concrete at two points on the N.W. side.

<sup>1</sup> Grossi-Gondi (*Lunghe di Castel*, 17—cf. *infra*, 355) publishes a Greek metrical sepulchral inscription preserved there found in the tenuta of Lunghezza or that of Tor de' Sodi (*Papiri*, i. 146; iii. 116).

To the S. of the Villa Montalto is the Villa Cavalletti. An important prehistoric necropolis was found in the grounds to the E. of the villa itself, where T is marked on the map. The objects are now in the Museo Preistorico at Rome. The tombs of the Vigna Giusti opposite Casale del Fico<sup>1</sup> (really on the N.E. side of the Casale Guidi: compare our Map II. with *Not. Scavi*, 1902, 135, Fig. 1, and see *ibid.*, 1877, 327) on the opposite side of the Via Latina, and the tomb of the contrada Boschetto near the so-called Capanne di Grottaferrata, opposite the Mola dei Monaci (*Not. Scavi*, 1900, 405) probably belong to the same cemetery, and the inhabited centre to which it belonged may perhaps be sought on the summit of the hill on which now stands the modern Villa Cavalletti. A full account is given by Colini and Mengarelli in *Not. Scavi*, 1902, 135 sqq.: cf. Pinza in *Mon. Lincei*, xv, 350 sqq.

The summit was later occupied by a Roman villa, scanty remains of the substruction wall of which exist: they are in *opus reticulatum* of selce, facing 30° S. of W. (Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 39 fin. 40, mentions walls 'which came close together like those of a temple' found recently (before 1711) in a vineyard near). For late tombs found near the road see Wells, *op. cit.* 155.

Grossi-Gondi believes (p. 101) that this may have been the villa of Gabinius: Cicero describes it as constructed at the expense of the public treasury, as being of great size, and as not being very far from his own: *ad caelum extruxit villam*, *De domo*, 47 § 124: *ad hunc Tusculani [in monte] montem*, *In Pisonem*, 21 § 47: *bona ad vicinum consulem de Palatio, de Tusculano ad item vicinum alterum consulem deferrebantur*. The last is the statement in the description of what occurred after Cicero had been exiled in his *Oratio post reditum in Senatu habita*, 7 § 18, cf. the similar passage, *De domo*, 24 § 62: *eram etiam tuo iudicio civis incolumis, cum domus in Palatio, villa in Tusculano altera ad alterum consulem transferrebatur† senatus consules vocabant, columnae marmoreae ex aedibus meis inspectante populo Romano ad socrum consulis portabantur, in fundum autem vicini consulis non instrumentum aut ornamenta villae, sed etiam arbore transferrebantur, cum ipsa villa non praedae cupiditate (quid enim erat praedae?) sed odio et crudelitate funditus everteretur*.

But, as we have seen, we do not know the site of the villa of

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson (*ed. cit.* 24, 24<sup>b</sup>) refers more than once to the discovery, on the N. side of the road close to Il Fico, of archaic pottery by Pasquale Anuni, a native of Frascati (now dead) to whom he owed much information. This was found in a natural (?) cavity in a pozzolana quarry.

Cicero, and the evidence for placing the villa of Gabinius here is quite insufficient.

Nor is there any real evidence for placing here the hill of Corne, mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.* xvi. 242 : *est in suburbano Tusculani agri colle, qui Corne appellatur, lucus antiqua religione Dianae sacratus a Latio, velut arte tonsili coma fagei nemoris. In hoc arborem eximiam aetate nostra amabat Passienus Crispus (Proseopographia, iii p. 14, no. 109) osculari conplectique eam solitus, non modo cubare sub ea vinumque illi adfundere. Vicina luco est ilex, et ipsa nobilis xxxvi pedum ambitu caudicis decem arbores emittens singulas magnitudinis visendae silvamque sola faciens.*

Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 198) cites *C.I.L.* xiv. 2628, a pedestal found in the theatre of Tusculum, with the following inscription . . . . *d* . . . . [*de s*]enatus sententia ex muneribus Fabi C. f. Passieni Saturnini auguris aed(ict) lustr(anda). But there is no adequate ground for placing the Villa of the Passieni here, or as Lanciani does, at the Villa Montalto: indeed, as we shall see below (p. 302) there are good reasons for placing it at Frascati.

There seems to be no real justification for identifying the hill of Corne with Algidus, as is done by Morpurgo (*Mon. Lincei*, xiii (1903) 345): see *infra*, 415.

To the E. of the Villa Cavalletti is the modern road from Frascati to the Ponte degli Squarciarelli, which probably follows the line of an ancient road, though, as Grossi-Gondi says (p. 146), after its modernization in the middle of the nineteenth century, it is impossible now to trace its original course. Mattei (*Tuscolo*, 18) speaks of a piece of the pavement of an ancient road remaining above the garden of the Villa Odescalchi (*supra*, 250), called generally Le Pietre Liscie, on the road to Marino. Capmartin de Chaupy, however (*Maison d'Horace*, ii 243), saw paving stones on the road from Frascati to Marino *in situ*, and remarks (in 1767) that they had been since removed; and in 1892 (*Cronachetta Armellini*, 1892, 178) traces of an ancient road were found near the great cascade of the Villa Conti, or Torlonia, though no details as to its direction etc. are given, so that we cannot be sure to what road they belonged; and Stevenson, in his account of an ancient building in this villa (*supra*, 247), does not mention the road at all.

Some way to the S. of the intersection of the modern road with the Via Latina at the Pedica, where Mattei saw the pavement of the ancient road (*loc. cit.*), and on the W. side of the former, Grossi-Gondi (p. 147)

noticed in the Vigna Gentilini, a piece of ancient paving, which I also saw, which proves either that the modern road is to the east of the ancient line, or that (as I have conjecturally shown in my map) there was a branch road diverging S.W. from it and joining a short cut to the road from the Via Latina to the Aqua Julia. Rocchi, *op. cit.*, shows it in his map, and states that traces of pavement were visible until 1897 in the lane prolonging it to the S.W. towards the Mola. Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 597) refers to the section of this road from the Ponte degli Squarciarelli to Marino (*infra*, 280).

Before we follow the Via Latina beyond La Pedica, we must return to the portion between the twelfth and thirteenth milestones. The ancient road ran, probably, straighter than the modern: some of its paving-stones are visible *in situ*, just before the houses marked Il Fico, in the bank on the E. of the road, and also in the fieldwalls; and a portion of its pavement was brought to light just inside the enclosure wall of the Villa Cavalletti, where some brick debris may indicate a tomb. Wells, *Alban Hills, I. Frascati* (p. 155) alludes to the discovery in vineyards belonging to the Cavalletti estate 'nearer the Marino road (than the villa itself) and on a line with that of Rocca Priora' of pavement of the Via Latina (?), with traces of a branch road leading to the villa (?) and of late burials under tiles, one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1445. b. 3 (first century A.D.). Cf. Cozza *Il Tuscolano di M.T. Cicerone* in *Giornale Arcadico*, cxc. 115 (and separately, p. 23), who speaks of having seen the ancient road underground close to the gate opening on to the modern road.

On its north side, just W. of the debouchement of the lane from Grottaferrata to Il Fico, I saw in March 1904, in a quarry, some late tombs 'alla cappuccina': the tiles bore no stamps.

On the south of the road is a district known as Bagnara (the name is not marked on our map, but is inserted in that of Grossi-Gondi) in which stand the Casali Giusti and Guidi. To this locality De Rossi (*Ann. Inst.* 1873, 193) refers the discovery of various important antiquities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He quotes the account of Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. 236) who, writing in 1740, mentions the discovery of a fine statue near the villa of Cicero (which he supposed to be at Grottaferrata) close to the locality called Bagnara, by Cardinal Carlo Barberini,<sup>1</sup> Cardinal from 1652 till his death in 1704, and commendatory abbot of

<sup>1</sup> In De Rossi's quotation *quodam* is a misprint for *quondam*.

Grottaferrata from 1679 onwards; while in 1730, Francesco Bianchi, the then owner of the ground, discovered 'innumerable fragments of worked marbles, very many tiles of the largest size, under which were very numerous dead men's bones [the superlatives are in the original]. Hypocausts and stairs of peperino were also found, leading to chambers paved with mosaic and tessellated work: the walls still showed ancient paintings in places, and were finely built of square bricks. Within the building Bianchi discovered as many as twelve marble statues, which he gave to Cardinal Melchior Polignac, a Frenchman, who soon sent them to France. Among these was found a white stone with large letters (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2514), and the base of a statue with the inscription following (*ibid.* 2517) soon appeared. All these were situated in a quite low part of the site: so that the excavators descended 20 palms (4.45 metres) below the level of the field, which was itself deep, attracted by the discovery of a very fine marble arm and hoping that they would find the rest of the statue.' Giorgi (*Sched. Casanat.* xvi.) gives the date of the discovery as 1731, and Ramagini (*apud* Muratori 353. l. 2) states that eleven statues wearing the toga and other marbles were found. (For Polignac cf. *Papers*, iv. 115.)

As a matter of fact, there were far more inscriptions than the two mentioned by Volpi—indeed the whole group *C.I.L.* xiv. 2505–2518 seems to belong to this site, as they are all given together (except 2507) by an anonymous hand in the notes of Suarez (*Vat. Lat.* 9140 ff. 117, 198—the following note being added on the latter leaf, 'Iscrittoni di Grottaferrata, raccomandato al Don Atanasio Gradenigo monaco di S. Basilio ivi professore—a di' 25 Maggio 1671.')

*Ibid.* 2493 a dedication to Aesculapius) was also found here. From the existence of *C.I.L.* xiv. 2507, 2509 in the Palazzo Sciarra, De Rossi infers that Cardinal Carlo Barberini had already found both the inscriptions and the statues, but had only transferred some of them to his palace, leaving the rest on the site; and he adds a note from a MS. record found by Canon Santovetti that in 1678 Cardinal Barberini transferred to his palace 'two very fine statues of white marble, one of which is a Muse 12 palms (2.78 metres) high, holding in the right hand a plectrum and in the left the lyre: the eyelids are of bronze and the eyes of precious stones. The face and hair are very fine, with a cloak down to the feet. (*Doc. Ined.* iv. 19 sqq.—inventory of 1738, p. 38. 'a statue 12 palms high representing a Muse with the lyre, in part restored . . . valued at 380 scudi.' It was

sold in 1815 and is now at Munich, Glyptothek, no. 211,<sup>1</sup>—really Apollo Citharoedus.)

The second is a Faustina, 10½ palms (2·34 metres) high, the right hand is beckoning, the left holds the spear: the face and marble are of great beauty (*ibid.* p. 25 (?) 'Julia Augusta in atto di commandare alta p. 10').

Not far off were found other statues, of which two are of inestimable value. One is a thirsty slave biting one arm, in the hand of which is a bone . . . which is held in great estimation by sculptors (*ibid.* p. 42, 'A seated statue 7 palms (1·56 metre) long, representing a slave biting the arm of a man, on a wooden pedestal . . . The whole valued at 101 scudi'). The second is a youth carrying a hind in his arms, 5 palms and a half (1·22 metre) high, slightly bent by the effort which he makes to carry the hind in his arms (*ibid.* 'another statue 7 palms (1·56 metre) high, representing a youth with a laurel wreath, dressed as a shepherd, with his knee on a rock supporting a dead kid, on a base of white marble, resting on a sepulchral urn . . . the whole valued at 72 scudi').

These four statues are in the Palazzo Barberini at the Quattro Fontane in the gallery of Cardinal Carlo Barberini.<sup>2</sup> The inventory notes (p. 56, nos. 47, 63) two headless female figures with a cornucopia, and a male torso (no. 53), as found at Grottaferrata; but they may belong to the excavations mentioned *supra*, 233.

We must add that *C.I.L.* xiv. 2523 (the inscription of M. Pompeius Asper, who, however, never rose beyond the rank of *praefectus castrorum* of the twentieth legion) was also seen at the Abbey of Grottaferrata by Fra Giocondo, before it was brought to Rome. But De Rossi can hardly be right in supposing actual kinship between him and the Iulii Aspri; unless we assume adoption, involving of course a change of *gentilicium*. It is certainly true that the dates suit well, the title of *praefectus castrorum* having been in vogue only before Septimius Severus, being replaced afterwards by the form *praefectus legionis* (see von Domazewski in *Bonner Jahrbucher*, 117 (1908), pp. 119, 120) while C. Iulius Asper, who is mentioned in two or three of these inscriptions, was consul for the first time about

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jordan-Hulsén, *Topographie*, i. 3. 60, n. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Cassiano del Pozzo notes in his diary preserved at Naples (*Cat. I.L.* 10) published by Schreiber, *Unde Roma Fundberichte* (reprinted from *Società delle Belle Arti*, 1885) p. 32, no. 30) as existing at the Palazzo Barberini a Capo le Case statues of Hermaphrodites (cf. the inventory cited p. 56, no. 48) found at Grottaferrata in the Vigna Marusi. Whether this refers to these excavations I do not know.



the reign of Commodus (*Prosopographia*, ii. p. 168, no. 115) and for the second time in A.D. 212 with his son C. Iulius Camilius Galerius Asper C. . . . cius, cf. *ibid.* p. 184, no. 157). Grossi-Gondi, whether on his own initiative or from a misunderstanding of De Rossi, wishes to invert the chronological order, and make the Pompeii Aspri the successors of the Iulii Aspri<sup>1</sup> p. 99). This is, I should say, certainly wrong. A more serious question is as to the locality of the discoveries: for, as will be seen from our map, there is another Quarto Bagnara to the W. of the abbey of Grottaferrata (*supra*, 227), and a third in the Quarto Campovecchio (*infra*, 270). The remains now visible are scanty, but there is a good deal of debris in the vineyards, and walls, mosaics, vaulted substructions, etc. have, as I was told at the Casale Guidi (where various architectural fragments are visible), been found in all directions. The low ground to the S.W. of the Casale Giusti and Guidi is now still as La Bagnara; I was told that walls and a mosaic pavement had been found there some twenty years ago, and also a marble threshold close to the path, and that the place was known as Bagni di Cicerone: the discoveries seem to have been made on both sides of the path, which is not, therefore, of ancient origin.

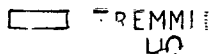
Further to the E. rises the Colle delle Ginestre, the site selected, as we have seen, by Albert for the Villa of Cicero. Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 192, is undoubtedly right in saying that *this* is not the site of the villa of the Aspri. The remains visible on the hill seemed to me to fall into three groups.

On the north-west slope of the hill is a substruction wall of *opus quadratum* facing 30° W. of N., three courses of which still exist, built upon a concrete foundation, and tailing into concrete behind. The blocks are 0.50 and 0.54 metre high, and the faces were apparently bossed. On the W. edge of the hill is concrete facing 20° S. of W., with vaulted substructions much covered by earth. In the vineyard just below I found a fragment of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 911 b first century A.D. .

In the vineyard above Albert saw a *cuniculus* with shafts lined with cement which he took to be an aqueduct (but it was probably a reservoir) and to the E. of it a chamber with paintings: both of these are now covered up. Apparently Stevenson (*cod. cit.* 24<sup>1</sup>) also saw the cistern—the plan

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi (*Bull. Com.* 1872, 121) derives the name of the *Iulii Pompeii Aspri* from the *Crypta fovea* of the Bull of Honorius III. from the Pompeii Aspri. Tomassetti (*Pl. Latina*, 151) from Pompeius Falco. *Plin.* iv. 119. Pompey the Great had a villa at Tuscanum (*Cic. Phil.* xi. 5. § 11), but we do not know where

on f. 25 *may* perhaps refer to it. To the S.E. are remains of the main building, just at the S. edge of the highest part of the hill, consisting of walling of *opus reticulatum*, facing 15° W. of S., cut by the modern path over the top. Further back, under the olives near the top of the hill, I found a brickstamp, which I believe to be unpublished.



The lettering is good, and apparently of the first century A.D. On the E. slope of the hill is a platform of selce concrete facing S., marked as 'baths' by Albert. There are buttresses 1 metre wide at intervals of 3.25 metres, projecting 1.25 metre from the wall, eight of which are visible: the facing (preserved only in one place) was of small *opus quadratum* of peperino, the blocks being about 0.21 metre high and thick. The platform is preserved to the height of about six feet, and it can hardly be described as 'one of the most grandiose ruins of Latium.' (Tomassetti p. 140 note.) The terrace above it has traces of mosaic pavements. Albert discovered there a marble disk, with a double mask on one side and a marine chimaera on the other, also three fragmentary inscriptions, one possibly a dedication to *Jupiter depulsor*, the other two sepulchral in character (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2562, 2563) and the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1323 a (this example of it is not noted in *C.I.L.*). He propounded the theory that this was the villa of Cicero (*Rev. Arch.* xxxviii. (1879) 21 *sqq.*, cf. Pl. XV. for an illustration of the disk).<sup>1</sup>

The view from the hill is a fine one, but not out of the common in this part of the country.

Opposite the Villa Cavalletti a lane diverges from the road from Frascati to the Ponte degli Squarciarelli, which has traces of ancient pavement: I think a branch of it rejoined the Via Latina just to the S. of the Casale Reali, whereas Grossi-Gondi does not admit this. In any case the more important section of it ascended to Tusculum, and with this we must now deal, first glancing, however, at the villa, of which unimportant remains are now visible in the triangle to the E. of La Pedica. Grossi-Gondi (p. 103) places here the villa of Asinius Pollio, but it is clear from the map given by De Rossi (*Ann. Inst.* 1873, tav. d'agg. R.S.) that it was situated a good way further E.

<sup>1</sup> He also describes (p. 27) a sarcophagus of white marble of a young girl (whose body was found within it) discovered in the Vigna Campoli, on the S. slope of the hill of Tusculum: this I cannot locate more closely. It cannot, of course, be the same as that mentioned *infra*. 317.

Grossi-Gondi tells us (*Bull. Com.* 1902, 326) that in a vineyard 300 metres from the last casino of the Villa Aldobrandini due S. of point 550, a metre below some paving stones of this road, there was found the tomb of a child, covered by five pairs of tiles, two of which respectively bore the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1027 and 1036, belonging to about 123 A.D., indicating clearly that its pavement at this point dated at earliest from that period [if not, as one would suppose from the character of this burial, even later]. The discovery is a curious one, and though Grossi-Gondi believes that the paving stones (even though he admits that they had been turned over by a previous owner of the vineyard, so that they were not actually *in situ*) lay sufficiently near their ancient position for us to be certain that the tomb was under them originally, one must, I think, suppose rather that it lay to one side; for it is not easy to believe that this road did not exist previously; while that its course was changed for so trifling an object is inconceivable.

The description of the locality in his *Tuscolano*, p. 103, n. 3, is inaccurate: 'at the highest part of the deverticulum, where it has almost reached the level,' would naturally be taken to allude to the neighbourhood of the amphitheatre; but an examination of the passage in *Bull. Com.* makes the point clear. We may also note that there are now, at any rate, no vineyards E. of point 550 on this side.

We may mention here the inscription of Ulpia Ephyre (*C.I.L.* ix. 3279) probably erected over her cenotaph at Corfinium, where it was seen, built into the cathedral of S. Pelino, by Accursius in the first half of the sixteenth century; while she was actually buried here or in this neighbourhood (*condita tu pleno securo agis otia somno frigore qua gelido Tusculus alget ager, quaque via silicem terit orbita versa rotarum et dat post decimum tertia signa lapis*).

The exact course of this deverticulum<sup>1</sup> cannot at first be determined (though the remains of a tomb(?) in concrete above the letters *Tu* of *Tuscolana* make it probable that the road ran close by); but from the point where it turns to run E.N.E. the pavement (3.12 metres in width) is well preserved, and has been cleared in recent excavations, which took place in 1849-54. Here we find on its left (N.N.W.) a barrel-vaulted chamber in

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani *Bull. Com.* 1884, 195, wrongly places the discovery of the inscription of Rubellia Bassa (*infra*, 333) near the southernmost casino but one of the Villa Aldobrandini, W. of point 550. He notes that near this casino on the N. are the outer walls of a large cistern.

concrete faced with *opus reticulatum*, which may have been, it seems to me, originally a reservoir, but was subsequently a columbarium with niches, each for two urns. Some fifty metres further on are chambers in *opus reticulatum* (25 on the plan, Pl. XXVIII.), in the middle of which is the solid concrete of a square tomb: in an angle of one of the chambers there is a tufa cippus with a hollowed field, but without inscription. A little further on is the core of a large circular tomb (26) a mass of concrete 10·50 metres in diameter: the inscription belonging to it was found in 1849, and runs as follows: *M. Coelius M. f. Vinicianus pr(aetor) Opsilia uxor fecit* (C.I.L. xiv. 2602). Canina (*Tuscolo*, tav. xxvi.) gives a view of this tomb; in *Edifizi*, vi. tav. lxxxiii. he gives another view, and adds the plan and section of a tomb close by discovered in 1854, with a chamber in the form of a Greek cross. From the lettering, the inscription dates from the period of Augustus at latest and we know that Coelius was Tribune of the people in 53 B.C. (Caelius apud Cic. *ad fam.* viii. 4. 3, cf. *Bellum Alexandrinum* 77) and was placed in command of Pontus by Caesar with two legions six years later. For the discoveries of 1875, see Wells, *op. cit.* 193, and *infra*, 334.

Below the tomb is a reservoir (27) noticed also by Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 193), a single barrel-vaulted chamber, 16·50 by 6·00 metres inside, and very well preserved. Further down the slope again, about 200 metres from the modern road, are the scanty remains of a villa (28), a long line of substructions, once supported by a row of buttresses: at the E. end there is *opus quadratum* for a length of 12 metres; and to the E. again (29) a nymphaeum with an apse at the E. end, much sunk in the ground. This I think Lanciani is right in identifying with the site of the discovery (as indicated by De Rossi on his map) in 1849 of the fragment of a large epistyle, with an inscription mentioning some members of the gens *Asinia* (C.I.L. xiv. 2599) *Asinia Pollionis f(ilia) Asini Celeris; Asinius Pollio f(ilius)*, though the fragment was found in a vineyard, which raises a difficulty (*supra*, 258). The bas-relief no. 268 in the Naples museum was not found here, for it was already published by Winckelmann, long before the discovery of this inscription, which was the first piece of evidence for fixing the site of the villa of the Asinii. The inscription too seems to be of a sepulchral nature and thus gives us no right to assign this villa to the Asinii (*infra*, 276).

Further up the hill, to the N., is a fallen piece of vaulted concrete (30). Beyond it the road ascends in a curve, the pavement being well preserved,

(see the plan of Tusculum, Pl. XXVIII.: I have unfortunately omitted to mark the whole extent of it red in my map) and soon reaches the amphitheatre (*infra*, 338). At one point in the ascent the pavement widens out for about two metres on the upper side, the original edging having been removed.

#### XV.—THE ROAD TO CASTRIMOENIUM (MARINO).

A little way beyond the Villa of Voconius Pollio (*Papers* iv. 149) the highroad to Marino is crossed, almost at right angles, by the Via Cavona (*ib.* 125 *sqq.*), which from this point runs N. to the Casale Ciampino and S. to the Via Appia at Le Frattocchie. It will be well first to follow it northwards as far as the Valle Marciana (*supra*, 223).

On the E. side of it, a little W. of the Casa Trinca, are the remains of a large villa in *opus reticulatum*. From this came the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 754 b (Antoninus Pius, Faustina, or Marcus Aurelius) which we found in the vineyard below. Here there is also a small rectangular building in *opus reticulatum*. We saw here, too, on Nov. 23rd, 1899, the following unpublished sepulchral inscription, on a cippus of peperino

CAPTIA · M  
L · HETAERA  
CAPTIA · D · L  
AVGE · POSILLA.

It is possible that the statue with the name of Drusilla, as Venus, seated, from the Vigna Vitali, which is spoken of by Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 19, 157') as found at Sassone, was discovered here, as it is not mentioned in any of the descriptions of the excavations at the Villa of Voconius Polio. Further E. are some ruins in *opus reticulatum* cut by the railway (in the map they are marked only on its north slope).

One might be inclined to suppose that the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2480, recorded by an unknown hand in Marini's papers (*Vat. Lat.* 9127, 115), found near Marino, which is a tombstone of other members of the *gens Captia*, was also discovered near here: the same authority adds that at the same place a broken pedestal of peperino was found, on which were inscribed the words *TEMPLVM SPEI*. Dessau is (not unnaturally) disinclined to accept this as a genuine inscription without further confirmation.

The name Quarto Sassone is derived by Tomassetti (p. 93) either from Saxa, a cognomen of the *gens Voconia* (following Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 171), or from the heaps of ruins existing there. I should feel inclined to derive it from the peperino quarries through which the railway passes E. of point 148. In any case the name can be traced back as far as a bull of 1212.

Below the Villa Maruffi some paving-stones of the Via Cavona may be seen *in situ*. This road is soon crossed by the ancient road mentioned in *Papers*, iv. 117, l. 25 as leaving the Via Latina at the eighth mile. At point 165 it bifurcates, one branch going S.E. to the Via Castrimoenensis at point 225, and the other ascending E.S.E. to the Colle Cimino, where it terminates, so far as I know, near the Villa degli Scozzesi (*infra*, 268).

The first branch, which has paving-stones in the field walls, passes the remains of two villas. The first of them, to the S. of the modern house at point 200, is mainly covered by earth, and only one chamber, possibly a nymphaeum, with a shelf rather over a foot wide round the sides, is preserved. The second, a little N.W. of the Vigna Cervia, is larger: to the N.W. of it is a detached piece of construction, of five courses of *opus quadratum* of peperino, with concrete above, which may be either part of the substructions of a small house, or a tomb. Near the house at point 230 is a reservoir, originally with three aisles, measuring 38.20 by 8.50 metres over all.

Returning to the Via Cavona, we find on the E. of it the Villa Bernabei, and to the E. of that, on the slope, the remains of an ancient villa, consisting of a large platform of *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins and brick also, facing 30° N. of W. and 30° W. of S.: above is a low upper platform with a small cistern in it, measuring 2.74 by 3.50 metres, and only 1.65 metre in height. On the top of the hill at point 192 are the ruins of a small rectangular building of uncertain date.

To the N. again we come to the edge of the hill, and here the Via Cavona, before it descends to the Mola Cavona, is crossed by the road mentioned in *Papers*, iv. 117, l. 22, which branches off from that previously spoken of at point 138, at the N. end of the Colle Oliva, and follows the edge of the hill as far as the Sorgente Preziosa.

The highroad meanwhile shows no traces of antiquity between points 198 and 225. On the S. of it, however, on a slight eminence, is an ancient tomb: externally its plan is square, but its sides are concave segmental

curves: in the centre of the N.E. side is the door, about 2 metres wide, and on the opposite side is a false door cut out of a block of peperino, with a double panel, 1.30 metre wide. In the centre of each of the other two sides is a pillar, and a window in the dome above. The interior is circular, about 6 metres in diameter, faced with *opus reticulatum*, with four niches, and a square pillar of large blocks of peperino in the centre, supporting the dome.

From point 225 a path runs almost due N. along the E. edge of the railway, which is perhaps of ancient origin, though it has no traces of paving; but it seems to be a necessary line of communication. After about half a mile it reaches the northern branch of the two starting from point 165, crosses it, and soon reaches the path along the southern edge of a branch of the Valle Marciana, a little way above the Sorgente Preziosa (*supra*, 222). On the descent to the spring, paving-stones are plentiful, though the cutting through which the path passes has grown several feet deeper by erosion since Roman times. The further course of the path is described (in the reverse direction) *supra*, 227.

Returning to the E. edge of the railway, we find that the path ascends steeply to the S.E., passing the Vigna Onorati on the left: near the house (point 259) there is some debris. Above this we find, for the first time since leaving Fontana Pesari, some definite traces of ancient pavement.

We then reach a large villa to the S.W. of the path, which Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 192) considers to be the villa of the Scribonii Libones (*infra*, 267). Towards Marino is a projecting building with brick and *opus reticulatum* alternating, and behind it is a subterranean reservoir. Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 93) notes the existence of a circular room with herring-bone pavement, with the vault fallen, repaired in places in the Middle Ages. He found in the remains of a portion of the supposed dividing wall (*infra*, 263) two brickstamps—*C.I.L.* xv. 1392 (first century), of which I have also found a copy here (presenting, however, a slight variety in the arrangement), and another, not apparently in *C.I.L.*, *ex fi. matia imeri* (?), while Dessau copied here *ib.* 1086, 15 (154 A.D.), 2270. 2 (first century A.D.) 2288.<sup>1</sup>

The greater part of the remains here visible are, however, mediaeval,

<sup>1</sup> Sepulchral inscriptions of no importance were copied here by Dessau and by Tomassetti 'in the Vigna Ingami' (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2478, 2490, 2491, 4228 a).

and belong to a castle called Castel de' Paoli, described by Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 89 *sqq.*), who also gives photographs of its entrance tower and of the apse of its church (dedicated to the Virgin, and resting upon an ancient vaulted substructure, while the external supporting wall of the apse is also of *opus reticulatum*) in his *Campagna Romana* i. (Rome 1910), p. 176, Fig. 68 and p. 196, Fig. 74. These are the only two portions of it of any importance that are preserved.

We find a *Massa Pauli* mentioned in the eighth century Register of Gregory II, but the reference is no doubt to Tor Messer Paolo, whereas the *Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae quae posita est in loco qui dicitur Pauli* of the Bull of Paschal II. (1116) is probably the church on this site, for on the other no traces of a church are visible. On the other hand the *Castrum Pauli* indicated as a boundary of the territory of Marino in 1286 (*Vat. Lat.* 8034, 182, cited by Tomassetti, *op. cit.* p. 95, no. 6) is Tor Messer Paolo, which is crossed by the boundary between that territory and the Agro Romano, whereas Castel de' Paoli is in the territory of Grottaferrata. There is thus a good deal of confusion between the two sites.

The hill of Castel de' Paoli was occupied first of all by a prehistoric necropolis, a tomb of which was found in the Vigna Onorati or Capri on its north slope, twenty metres from the enclosure wall of the Vigna Trinca: it was a cremation burial, consisting of a large dolium covered by a slab of cappellaccio tufa, and containing five smaller vases. (*Not. Scavi*, 1903, 202.)

It is interesting to us to notice that the Colle Cimino, on the W. extremity of which Castel de' Paoli stands, has been taken by some to be the site of the ancient Castrimoenium. O. Richter (see *Bull. Inst.* 1885, 190) believed that he had identified two considerable portions of fortification walls on this ridge. The first, at Castel de' Paoli, in the Vigna Ingami, he believed to be part of an internal dividing wall, running from N. to S., with the remains of a gateway in it, and saw upon one of the blocks of peperino of which it is composed a mason's mark in the shape of an equilateral triangle, the side of which is 0.09 metre (no. 36 on the plate of mason's marks opp. p. 185). I have little or no doubt, however, that this wall is part of the mediaeval castle: its structure is quite unlike anything ancient known to me, though Tomassetti (p. 92) also believes it to be ancient in origin. The other piece of wall half way down the hill below the Vigna Galassini (not Salassini as he calls it) he describes as forming



part of the primitive enceinte. 'The stones,' he says, 'are hardly squared, but well jointed; with the exception of a portion of the walls of Civita Lavinia, the remains seem to me to be the most ancient in the Campagna Romanà.' In this piece of wall, composed of two or three courses of stones, two blocks occur in which is cut a mark like a broad arrow (no. 37), which so often occurs on the Servian walls. On the plate he gives three other marks as occurring at Castrimoenium (nos. 38-40).

This second piece of wall I have never actually been able to find (*infra*, 267)

Another argument<sup>1</sup> in favour of the theory that this is the site of Castrimoenium is the existence, until a few years back (it has now disappeared), of a curved marble seat bearing in large letters, quite possibly of the time of Augustus, the inscription MOENIEN, no doubt part of the word *Castrimoenien(sium)* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2474). Marocco (*Monumenti dello Stato Pontificio* vii. 47) seems to have seen more of it, for he gives more letters of the word at the beginning, and gives its length as 18 palms (4 metres). Dessau, no doubt influenced by this, suspects that this was once the Vigna Settimi (*Vinea Septimii prope Marinum*), in which one Paolo Mancini copied for Doni several inscriptions which had recently been excavated—a dedication to the *Genius Municipii* by *Q. Aurelius Faustinianus iiii vir* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2454), another dedication *Matri Deum ex iussu Aburius Genialis fecit* (*ib.* 2457), a dedication to Augustus by the municipality (1-2 A.D.) (*ib.* 2459), an inscription recording a restoration to a public building with the munificent assistance of Hadrian (*ib.* 2460), dedications (*a*) to M. Aurelius, made in 145 A.D. (*ib.* 2461), (*b*) to M. Aurelius or L. Verus (*ib.* 2462), and to two individuals unknown, who had held municipal offices (*ib.* 2471, 2472). These comprise the majority of the inscriptions erected by the municipality as such, and all the dedications to members of the imperial house that we know of as having been made by the people of Castrimoenium. It is obvious, therefore, that the Vigna Settimi occupied the site of the forum of the city of Castrimoenium of the second century A.D. (Tomassetti p. 97). Unfortunately, we cannot be certain at present of the position of the Vigna Settimi. (Another inscription, which must belong to Castrimoenium, mentioning the erection of a statue by the *populus*, *ordo*, and *decuriones* of the (*Castr*)-

<sup>1</sup> The document of 1605 cited by Grossi-Gondi, p. 198, n. 1, refers to the mediaeval fortifications of Castel de' Paoli, and is no argument for fixing the ancient city here

*moenienses*) was found in the parish church at Montecelio in 1853, but must have been brought there in mediaeval or modern times.)

In his printed work, however, published posthumously in 1731 by Gori from his papers long after his death (1647) Doni says that he saw no. 2454 in the Vigna Colonna near Marino, and Fabretti (*Inscriptiones*, 77, 82) places it in the Vigna Bevilacqua below Marino (which belonged to the Colonna family). Doni states too that he copied *ib.* 2461 there himself.

In this same vineyard was found in 1632 a travertine slab, bearing a copy of a decree of A.D. 31 (*ib.* 2466), moved in the municipal assembly of Castrimoenium by *L. Cornelius A. f. Fal(erna tribu) Pupillus* in favour of *M. Iunius Silani Uibertus Monimus*, proposing that there should be given to him a site (for his tomb) described as follows: *locus qui est extra portam Medianam ab eo loco in quo schola fuit, longus pedes lxxvii, ad rivom aquae Albanae et a via introsus, in quo antea columnar publicum fuit, latus pedes x* (a site outside the porta Mediana, from the place in which the *schola* was, for a length of 67 feet up to the channel of the Aqua Albana, and inwards from the road, where formerly there was a public quarry, for a width of ten feet). The Aqua Albana here mentioned is very likely identical with the Aqua Augusta (*infra*, 394) though Nissen (*Ital. Landeskunde*, ii. 582) wishes to identify it with what has generally hitherto been taken to be the Aqua Ferentina (*infra*, 279). *Columnar*, a word which only occurs here, is interpreted by Lewis and Short to mean a stone quarry. Silanus' tombstone (*ibid.* 2467) was found at Marino in 1790, but we do not, unfortunately, know the exact spot: the tombstone, however, gives the same measurements, and states that the site was granted by public decree. We also have preserved to us by various Renaissance copyists the tombstone of *L. Cornelius Pupillus* (*ib.* 2468), which Fra Giocondo saw in the theatre (amphitheatre?) at Albano, and later writers in the church of S. Paolo. From this we find that he was a *praefectus fabrum*, and flamen, quinquennalis, and patronus of the people of Castrimoenium.

The dedication made by him to Jupiter and other deities given by various writers and mentioned by Tomassetti (p. 97, n. 2: Orelli, no. 1393) is a forgery of Ligorio (*C.I.L.* xiv. 129\*).

The Vigna Bevilacqua is also called Bel Poggio—the site is a little way to the N.E. of the modern village of Marino—and on the whole, it

seems to me very probable that this was identical with the Vigna Settimi, and that the forum of Castrimoenium in imperial times was situated here. In that case we may, I think, suppose that the ancient town occupied the site to which, as so often in Italy, the mediaeval town returned. Certainly, too, the road from Rome seems to lead far more directly to Marino than to Castel de' Paoli.

In the Vigna Bevilacqua was also seen the sepulchral inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2485) of C. Herius Felix with its curiously pathetic text *C. Herius Felix patron(us) Heriae Helpinis. Hic est ille situs Herius felix coaequalib(us) cuncteis qui veixit annos viginti qui me reliquit leiberta(m) Helpine(m) annorum natam xiii sibi unice caram quae illius ossa restituit (sic) post annos viginti et monumentum nobis aedificavi: qui legit discat esse pius.*

In the Villa Bevilacqua Volpi saw and published (*Vetus Latium*, vii. 150. 15) the inscription, Kaibel *I.G.* xiv. 2092,

Φλαουία Ἀφροδισία Τραλλιανὴ ἐτῶν ἑπτά.

(The relief below it—a woman sacrificing—is described by Matz-Duhn, iii. 3874. The stone is now in the garden of the Palazzo Colonna at Rome.) He states that he also saw there in 1735 several other inscriptions, reliefs, including the fronts of two sarcophagi, and marble heads of men and women. These, however, probably came from Rome itself, as did certainly almost all the inscriptions he gives, and several others seen there by the anonymous copyist of *Cod. Chis.* J. vi. 205 f. 108, 109 and by Fabretti. The case is the same with *C.I.L.* vi. 22303 (see *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 10\* no. 180.\*). *C.I.L.* xiv. 2141 was really found at Civita Lavinia (cf. *in loc.*) not at Marino, as Tomassetti states (p. 97 n. 2). For *C.I.L.* xiv. 2529, 2553, see *Papers*, iv. 131.

To the E. of Castel de' Paoli is another villa, almost over the railway tunnel—a long platform facing 40° W. of S. : to the S.E. below the path is a wall going S.E. which served as a support to the ancient road : it is constructed of alternate bands of three courses of bricks and three or four courses of small blocks of peperino, with terracotta pipes for drainage from the earth behind.

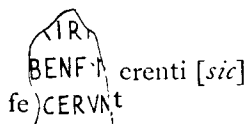
Further E. again, under the letters *C<sup>le</sup>*, running 25° N. of E. is a wall of rusticated blocks of peperino, with good horizontal joints, though the vertical joints are less accurate. The faces of the blocks are much bossed, and the edging is 0.08 metre wide. The blocks are 0.61 and 0.65 high (only

two courses are visible) and the wall forms part of a platform on which is debris of all kinds.

Further E. is a villa, still S. of the path, and to the N. is a reservoir, perhaps belonging to it, and to the N. again another villa.

In the Vigna Galassini is the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2502, a marble fragment belonging to a large circular tomb, and bearing the name of (L.) Scribonius Libo, the *consul ordinarius* of A.D. 16 (*Prosopographia*, iii. p. 184, no. 212). It is not at all improbable that the tomb was erected near the villa and in the property of the Scribonii. In this connection it is interesting to note that a plate from a collar of a fugitive slave, found in the territory of Grottaferrata in 1879, runs thus: *Hilarionis so [= sum] tene me et revoca me, quia fugi de r(egione) xii a balin(eum) Scriboniolum Roma(e)* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7188). The *balneum Scriboniolum* no doubt belonged, or had belonged, to the Scribonii. De Rossi notes that he saw here fine terracottas (*Ann. Inst.* 1873, 219). To the W. of the house are walls in *opus incertum*, and there is a modern substruction wall on the N. side.

A Greek sepulchral inscription on a slab of peperino from the Vigna Galassini is published by Kaibel in *I.G.* xiv. 1484 from Dessau's copy and is now in the museum at Grottaferrata. It runs thus: *τῇ εὐτυχαστάτῃ καὶ ἀειμνήστῃ Αὐρηλία Δόμνῃ Στρατόνεικος ἀνὴρ μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησα*. In *Not. Scavi*, 1898, 458, it is repeated as a novelty; but it had also been seen by Stevenson in Sept. 1883 (*Vat. Lat.* 10568, 10<sup>1</sup>), who notes that the front was originally stuccoed, and the letters outlined in red, and that it was found standing *in situ* (perhaps against a wall) near the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2547, which is on a slab of marble. Stevenson gives a fragment found here.



From this point a path descends steeply S. to point 287, on which there are no certain traces of antiquity, though it seems to mark a necessary line of communication: the modern path is cut diagonally by a drain at the point marked in the map. To the S. again, on the ascent to Marino, there are no definite indications either. In the path going to the E. there are several paving stones loose (apparently none *in situ*).

At the Villa degli Scozzesi, the summer residence of the Scots' College

in Rome, are some fragments of sculpture (including an archaistic Athena with the aegis, lifting up her drapery with the left hand—the height (without the head, which was let in separately) is 0·76 metre—a male Roman portrait head, a draped female statuette, etc.), and architecture (columns and capitals of peperino) and also the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2539. The exact spot at which these objects were discovered is not known, though they are said to have been found on the site, and tradition places an ancient villa here; but there are no ancient remains now visible at the villa itself, though just below there are traces of mediaeval construction; while to the N. are remains of two vaulted substructions, one of bad *opus incertum*, one of *opus mixtum* (both therefore of rather late date), and to the N.E. is a small reservoir, under the house W. of point 334.

It is quite uncertain what course the ancient road can have taken after reaching the Villa degli Scozzesi. It almost certainly did not follow the line taken by the modern path southwards past point 319, for on that there are no traces of antiquity (nor is the path from Marino to the Mola of ancient origin), nor did it make the ascent to the E., to the culminating point S. of Colle Formagrotta. On this high point the only ruins are mediaeval or modern, though I saw there the upper part of a draped female statue. I have therefore preferred not to indicate its course even conjecturally, though, if it went on at all, it would seem most probable that it turned to the N. and led to the group of villas on the next hill northwards, with which it will now be convenient to deal.

Taking these from E. to W., we first find two small groups of ruins W. of the Casa Raparelli, and then a very large villa on the Colle Formagrotta. Here were found two brickstamps (now in the Municipal Antiquarium at Rome, to which I gave them) which appear to be otherwise unknown.

☺	ATIMETI II CAESAR F	<i>Atimeti duorum Caesarum fecerunt</i> (?)
□	PRECIL	<i>Precil(i) or Precil(iorum)</i>

At point 341 are other ruins, in which we found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1324 (first century A.D.) and we then reach the Vigna Campini, the house belonging to which is built upon a small reservoir with a single chamber. Stevenson noted (*Vat. Lat.* 10568, 7<sup>v</sup>) in September 1883 the existence of this reservoir, which, he says, was fed by an ancient aqueduct from the Villa Schiboni. Here he saw four fragments of a bas-relief in

white marble in imitation of the Egyptian style, a large mask representing Oceanus, various fragments of columns of peperino, granite, and travertine, and some paving stones.

In the Vigna Gambini was also found the fragmentary inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2558, which is apparently a part of a third copy of the inscription which we have as a whole in *C.I.L.* xiv. 2556. (Cf. *Papers*, iv. 127 and *supra*, 242.) Possibly the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1263 (134 A.D.) was found in the Vigna Campini (or Gambini—I think the identification of the two is probable) in or about 1863, though it is only recorded as having been shown to Descemet by Gambini in that year.

Further on we reach the Quarto Campovecchio, and the Vigna Gavotti (Villa Lugari Spiga on the map) with the ruins of a very large villa. Piacentini (*Comm. Graecae pronunc.* (1750) 45) records that various reliefs were found here in the eighteenth century, when the villa was built<sup>1</sup> and remains of an ancient mosaic pavement, and also the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2500: 'in vinea Gavotti, quum domus in ea pro rusticatione construeretur, plura anaglypha inventa affabre elaborata, et reliquae non modicae asaroti vetustissimi.' The inscription runs as follows: [*L. Iunius M.*] *f. M. n. Silanu[s Torquatus honoratus an]n. xviii [triumphalib. ornem. q. pr. inte]r civis et peregrinos gener Ti. Claudi C[ae]sar[is] Augus[ti]*. The person in question was a great-great-grandson of Augustus, a brother of the consul of 46 A.D., and was born about 24 A.D. In 41 A.D. Octavia, daughter of Claudius, was betrothed to him. He accompanied the latter to Britain in 43 A.D. and announced his successes in Rome. At the end of 48 A.D. he was falsely accused of incest with his own sister, in order that his betrothal might be annulled, and removed from the Senate; and at the beginning of the next year on the wedding day of Claudius and Agrippina, he committed suicide, no doubt under compulsion. Octavia was shortly afterwards betrothed to Agrippina's son, Domitius. For further particulars see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, ii. p. 249, no. 559.

Piacentini also records the discovery of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 292 (123–138 A.D.). Certainly there are now no traces of ancient buildings at the villa itself, and Piacentini's statement may refer to the large ancient villa now known as Campovecchio, some 300 metres to the S.E.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the construction of the villa is, it is true, considerably earlier (the inscription quoted by Tomassetti p. 145, set up by Paolo Gavotti to the memory of his brother belongs to 1569), and Piacentini may be only repeating what he had heard, and not quoting any good authority.

Other inscriptions formerly preserved at the Villa Gavotti include a dedication by two Lucii Volumnii, Verus and Severus, to Minerva (an altar dedicated by the same persons to Diana Invicta, now in the Villa Casamorato of the Strozzi family at Florence, probably, though its provenance is unknown, came from the same place (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2495, 2495 a)) and the sepulchral inscription of one Italia, a child of a year and six months (*ibid.* 2543).

There were also various sculptural fragments, some of which, according to Tomassetti (p. 144, note) had been brought from Rome—by the Lugari (?), in which case this fact need throw no doubt on the provenance of the inscriptions, the first of which was seen there in the early eighteenth century (cf. *C.I.L. in loc.*). The inscriptions and sculptures have recently been transported to the museum of the abbey of Grottaferrata (*supra*, 268).

Two other inscriptions mentioning the family of the Iunii are to be found in the territory of Tusculum, built into the wall of the Villa Aldobrandini: one of them is published as *C.I.L.* xiv. 2720, while Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 191, gives both.

The ancient villa itself, however, did not occupy the actual site of the casino (marked as Villa Lugari Spiga on my map)—Piacentini merely says that the discoveries were made when the villa was built—as Grossi-Gondi and Lanciani indicate in their map, but lay somewhat to the S.E. Here is a very large platform in *opus reticulatum*, in the N.W. front of which is a nymphaeum, in plan somewhat resembling that under the Villa S. Antonio at Tivoli (*Papers*, iii. 161), with a nave 3.90 metres wide, separated by a row of columns from the two aisles, each 1.04 metre wide, which, like the nave, were barrel-vaulted: the nave alone had an apse (in which was a hole for the water-pipe), the aisles ending off straight. By a modern house I saw part of a statue with the lower legs bare, and an ornamented fringe to the drapery.

In front of the platform there is, I am told, an open circular cistern, which was covered by the vineyard when I was there. The place bears the name Bagnara. Stevenson (*loc. cit. supra*, 268) noted, among many bricks that he examined, only one with a stamp—a palm and caduceus to the right, and the following letters to the left, the left hand portion being fractured: the stamp was rectangular—

{ IDIS  
 { IAI

Lower down to the S.W. under the path is a long narrow platform, and to the N.W. again are the remains of another building, the nature of which is uncertain. Three arches, about 0·75 metre in span and 0·90 deep, separated by pillars 1·04 metre wide, are preserved ; and perhaps we have before us the dividing wall of two chambers of a small reservoir. Close by is a substruction wall of *opus incertum*, near which is a black and white mosaic pavement. Hence the hill falls away somewhat sharply westwards towards the Valle Marciana. Apparently the path which descends hence is of ancient origin, for one of Stevenson's informants, D'Ottavi, told him in August 1891 (see *Vat. Lat.* 10568, 13<sup>v</sup>) that he did not know the direction of the ancient road 'which is close to Maldura, Bernabei, and Valle Marciana'—the northern branch from Fontana Pesari (?)—but believed that the upper part of it followed the path from Valle Marciana to Campovecchio, where he said that there were ancient paving stones.

In the contrada Campovecchio, in ground belonging to Sig. Giulio Quagliarini, remains of a rectangular building measuring 7 by 6·80 metres were found in 1908 (*Not. Scavi*, 1908, 110).

From point 225 the present highroad ascends in zigzags, while the previous road made a wide curve: the cutting through which it went is still followed by a path. This is very probably the ancient line, and I have indicated it as such on the map. The mediaeval road, however, seems, from the trend of its paving, to have run through the Valle Liccia, and, in that case, would have ascended steeply near the station, by the path which in our map is marked conjecturally as ancient, between the two villas by the railway.

In the Vigna Soldini or dei SS. Apostoli, above the road on the N., were found in 1850 the following sepulchral inscriptions, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2469 (the tombstone of Flavia Aug. lib. Marcella, the site of the tomb having been given by decree of the decuriones of Castrimoenium) 2475 (cf. add. p. 492) 2484 (cf. *ibid.*). Prehistoric tombs have also been found in this locality (Pinza in *Mon. Lincei*, xv. (1905) 332).

Hulsen (*Jahrbuch des Instituts*, v. (1891), *Anzeiger*, p. 48) attempted to show that the Apollo Belvedere was found, not at Antium, as had generally been believed, but in the neighbourhood of Grottaferrata. On f. 7 of the sketch-book of the so-called Bramantino in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (ed. Mongeri, Milan, 1875, tav. vi.) is a plan of a hexagonal building, with the statement that 'this foundation and plan were



on the old road which led to Marino above the property of the most reverend cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula, and were ruined in order to remove the stones called peperino: it was there that the figure was found which was standing erect, as it is shown in the drawing. The figure represented Apollo with the bow, and was 18 palms (4 metres) high and the pedestal which you see was  $9\frac{1}{2}$  palms high, and had carved upon it four figures in bas-relief of natural size.' On what was originally the next leaf is a sketch of the figure, and from the scale it is clear that the measure of 18 palms includes the base: so that  $8\frac{1}{2}$  or 9 palms (about 2 metres) remain for the height of the statue; and the sketch resembles the Apollo Belvedere. As to the exact site, 'the property of the most reverend cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula' must be the domain of the abbey of Grottaferrata, held by Giuliano della Rovere in 1476-92 and again in 1495-1503. But Stevenson, to whom Hülsen appealed, seemed to have some doubt as to the meaning of the term 'strada vecchia di Marino,' interpreting it as either the branch road from Sassone to Torre de' Paoli (*i.e.* Tor Ser Paolo) or as the branch road from the Via Latina (at the Squarciarelli?) to Marino. Of the villas of the Scribonii and Valerii, of which he speaks as being nearest to the point in question, the former is to be sought near the Vigna Galassini (*supra*, 267) the latter at Marcandrea (*Papers*, iv. 152 *fn.*). Neither of these explanations is, I feel sure, correct, and the reference must be to the road with which we have been dealing.

Michaelis, however, in the text of the facsimile of the Codex Escorialensis published by Egger (*Sonderschriften des Oesterr. Arch. Instituts*, Band iv. Text, p. 130) rejects Hülsen's supposition, (1) because the measurement of 18 palms, he thinks, refers to the statue alone, (2) because the drawing, which he reproduces, is not really like the Apollo Belvedere. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, ii. p. 265, agrees with Michaelis that the drawing represents another Apollo, which has disappeared.

For the provenance of the Apollo Belvedere we thus have only the authority of Pirro Ligorio and Mercati, the latter being probably dependent on the former, who says in speaking of Antium (*Taur.* vol. 2 = *Ottob.* 3364) 'nelle rovine di essa città fu trovata una statua di quel famoso Apollo che hora veggiamo in Belvedere.' Hülsen is very likely right in maintaining

that all later statements rest on Ligorio, and that he is not more trustworthy here than often elsewhere. It may, however, be well to cite another version of his account, preserved in an isolated leaf in his hand-writing included in a volume of the Dal Pozzo-Albani drawings now in the Royal Library at Windsor (A. 17, f. 17 = *Inv.* 10805) 'Questo profilo è del Nicchio maggiore che contiene in se tredici altri più piccoli, è de la Basilica passata, et quelli caratteri anchora sono contrasegni de l'ordine passato. Era la detta basilica ornata di stucchi et di statue di marmo, del che mostra chiaro i nicchi che ui erano: nel cavarui dentro ui auemo uisto trouare una statua di marmo consumatissima, et con alcuni di questi ornamenti.' 'Una' is a later insertion (in the same hand) and so are the words after 'statua,' the passage originally continued (but the words have been erased) 'di Apolline molto guasta di sorte che non seruiua a nulla, era in atto simile à quello che hoggi dî uedemo in bel uedere, il qual fù portato da Nettuno, che hoggi non è di giouene così bella statua molto integra. Antichamente questo l'uoco doue fu trouata si chiamaua Ansure, hoggi Antio ouer Nettuno.' Here Ligorio seems to speak of two Apollos, the Belvedere and another like it, from Antium. Below is a restored sketch of an apse with niches, lettered 'Nicchio maggiore della basilica passata ouero Tempio, hoggi si uede un poco di esso nicchio.'

After a short ascent we reach the modern village of Marino, which contains no certain remains of ancient buildings, but which, as I have said, probably occupies the site of the ancient city.

Of the history of the ancient Castrimoenium we know absolutely nothing. Pliny (*N.H.* iii. 63) mentions it as a city of the first region of Italy, and the *liber coloniarum* does the same (p. 233) adding that it was *munitum lege Sullana* and that Nero assigned its territory to tribunes and soldiers; but this is all we hear of it from classical writers. We may, however, reasonably identify the Castrimoenienses with the Munienses, whom Pliny (with a slight inaccuracy in this case) mentions (*ib.* 69) among the peoples of ancient Latium who had perished without leaving any trace behind them. It appears therefore to have originated from a camp: the name Mediana, which one of its gates bore (*supra*, 265) is said by Dessau (*ib.* p. 239, n. 1) to be a word belonging to military terminology: from Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*, it appears to be used by Vitruvius, but otherwise to be somewhat late. From the inscriptions we learn that it was a

*municipium*, with an *ordo* of *decuriones* apparently thirty in number; its magistrates were *quattuorviri* and *quinquennales*, and its priests were *flamines*.

We find dedications to Augustus and to M. Aurelius among them, testifying to its comparative prosperity in the first and second centuries of the Empire.

The mediaeval and modern name Marino already occurs in the donations of Constantine to the Lateran baptistery and the basilica of S. John in Albano respectively (*Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne i. p. 175, l. 9 *Massa Murinas, territorio Appiano Albanense, praest. sol. CCC*, p. 185, l. 13 *possessio Marina praest. sol. L.*). For the mediaeval history, I must naturally refer to Tomassetti, *op. cit.* 103 *sqq.*

Other inscriptions belonging to Marino, but of uncertain provenance, may be briefly noted. *C.I.L.* xiv. 2464 (cf. add.) was copied by Fra Giocondo in the church<sup>1</sup> of S. Giovanni or in that of S. Lucia at Marino: it is the tombstone of L. Caecilius L. f. Rufus, probably tribune of the plebs in 63–62 B.C. and praetor urbanus in 56 B.C. He also saw in the same two churches, *ib.* 2481, 2487, two unimportant sepulchral inscriptions.

Dessau, however, notes (p. 237) that Biondo (*Italia Illustrata*, ed. Bas. 1559, p. 319) states that many marbles had been brought from Aricia to Marino for the ornamentation of its churches, and suspects that these inscriptions may have been among them: cf. also *ib.* 2470, a marble stele which Stevenson saw at Marino built into a house, with the sepulchral inscription of one *Seberianus rei pub(licae) ver(na)*, which, Dessau thinks, may also have been transported from some other place.

The inscriptions of which we do not know the previous history, which have been seen at Marino are most of them unimportant sepulchral inscriptions (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2476, 2477—now at Ince in Lancashire—2479, 2482, 2486—the tombstone of a female slave of Lucius Aelius, the son of

<sup>1</sup> Fra Giocondo writes 'in aedibus S. Iohannis et Luciae': Dessau (*C.I.L.* in loc.) wishes to correct to 'aede': Tomassetti, however (*op. cit.* 130), distinguishes the two buildings, and describes remains of each. Opposite the former he notes the existence of a small ancient marble head with a Phrygian cap, built into the wall of a house. Stevenson saw (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 57<sup>v</sup>) at no. 13 of the street parallel to the Corso, a cippus with the bust of the deceased, much weathered. Carlo Pancaldi, in an otherwise worthless letter (*Ricerca Archeologica intorno il tempio di Leucotea Laziale . . . in Marino*, Rome, 1852) in which he attempts from philological arguments to derive Castrimoenium from the same root as *mensis*, mentions a figured capital in the church of S. Giovanni, with a female winged figure rising out of a mass of acanthus leaves, and a genius on each side of her.

Hadrian). 2492 is a broken cippus of peperino bearing the words *ad Quintianu(m)*, the significance of which is uncertain, unless it was a sign-post to the property of the Quintii.

At Casa Rossa (wherever that may be) was found the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2450, which De Rossi saw in the Colonna palace at Marino. Marocco (*Monumenti dello Stato Pontificio*, vii. 47) states that here (though he gives the name as Casa Rocca) was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2391, a fragment of the fasti of the Sodales Augustales of Bovillae; but this may be an error.

Boccanera also carried on some excavations in the remains of a villa on the property of Prince Colonna, in the locality known as Casal Bianco. A large polychrome mosaic was found, much damaged: it was badly executed, and represented various scenes, among which a sacrifice was recognizable. There were also found various sculptures and other objects (*Not. Scavi*, 1885, 78).

A lead weight (384 grammes), found near the Lake of Albano in 1730, and bought by Vettori 'many' years before 1749, is now in the Museo Kircheriano. It bears the inscription: ἀγορανομούντος τὴν β' ἐξάμηνον Τ. Αἰλίου Δομιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδοκίάρχου (?) καὶ πανηγυριάρχου καὶ γυμνασιάρχου. (Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 2417. 1; Helbig, *Führer*, ii.<sup>2</sup> 1453.) Garrucci (*Dissert. archeol.* ii. 79) conjectures with some probability from the mention of an ἀνδοκίρχης that the weight had been originally brought from Sicily, comparing the word ἀνδοκεία (= a balance over) in *I.G.* xiv. 423 (from Tauro-menium).

From Marino also came a *tabula lusoria* copied by Doni (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4125. 1).

According to the indications of the catalogue (1880), the following works of art in the Museo Torlonia were found 'near Marino,' no. 105 (Faun). No. 124 (bust, unknown). No. 283 (Caius Caesar in a toga).

Bernoulli (*Röm. Ikon.* ii. 2, p. 145, no. 68) mentions a bust of Antoninus Pius at Herrenhausen near Hanover, found at Marino in 1764; but no further details are given.

Excavations were made by Fagan at Marino early in the nineteenth century and the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2347. 1 (1st century A.D.) was found: but again we know no further details.

Lanciani attributes to these excavations the discovery of the lead pipes *C.I.L.* xv. 7785, 7788, but, as Dressel points out, incorrectly.

The relief of Paris and Helen in the Naples Museum (no. 268) is said to have been found in the *horti* of Asinius Pollio 'near Marino' (*sic*: cf. *supra*, 259).

In the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv., fasc. 815, are some papers in regard to an excavation carried on by Prince Aspreno Colonna in 1828. They are summarized by Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 98 n.), but I have myself examined them.

The locality is not more exactly described than as 'in the tenuta of Marino.'

The first paper we have is a note dated May 3rd, 1828, from the superintendent of the excavations, Pietro d'Ottavi (which were being carried on in virtue of a permission already obtained in the past) stating that in the past week there had been found four marble capitals, two Ionic and two Corinthian: a fluted pilaster of marble in two pieces, ten palms (2.23 metres) high, four column drums, three fluted, and one unfluted: a marble bust, with a beard, long hair, and a garland; and various slabs of marble. On May 13th the Prince asked for permission to remove the objects to Rome, and this was granted, a letter being sent to his agent, Don Vincenzo Colonna, with a warning that the permission had expired. On May 29th the Prince gave notice of the discovery of two bas-reliefs with figures, and horses, 5½ palms high, and about four wide (1.26 by 0.89 metre): the figures were, however, all broken, and he demanded permission to bring them into Rome. On June 2nd the guard at Porta S. Giovanni reported that two marble capitals had been brought into Rome, and taken to the Prince's palace; but there are no further papers in the fascicolo.

In *Bull. Inst.* 1829, 38 there is a mention of the chance discovery 'between Frascati and Marino' of a 'cassettina' (a small sarcophagus) containing a fine necklace and two bracelets of gold, a ring and a large paste, which passed to the collection of the Prince of Anglona. I know no further details as to these objects.

In 1838 Prince Aspreno Colonna carried on further excavations in a vineyard known as *La giostra* (which means a tilting-yard—it is a name applied, *e.g.* to the supposed site of Tellenae—Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 146), but the result is not known (*Atti del Camerlengato*, iv. 2799, cited by Tomassetti, 99 n.).

As we have seen, the village of Marino occupies a site with precipitous declivities on all sides except the E. On this side two modern roads leave

the town—one goes S. to Castel Gandolfo, the other N.E. to Ponte degli Squarciarelli. The former must, one would think, follow an ancient line, but retains no traces of antiquity.

At the chapel known as La Madonnella, at point 363, a path diverges from it to the E., along the N. bank of the lake of Albano. On its N. side is a circular tomb, a solid mass of concrete, faced originally with blocks of peperino; and just beyond are the remains of an ancient villa in *opus reticulatum* with stone quoins, with a reservoir in its substructions to the N., which, like the tomb, has been partly destroyed in recent years owing to the construction here of a group of modern villas. The remains marked to the E., on the S. side of the path are, indeed, no longer to be seen: though a very little way beyond, on the N. side of it, are the scanty remains of what was once a large villa, on the ridge (marked a good deal too far E. in our map). Among the debris from it Mr. St. Clair Baddeley found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1510 (middle of the second century A.D.).

This is the path which is taken by Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, 16 *sqq.*) to be the prolongation of the road from the Via Appia (*infra*, 290) to the site of Alba Longa, which he placed on the hill of Coste Caselle. But, in the first place, though there are traces of cutting in the rock a little before reaching Pentima Corvina, their age is quite uncertain, for the rock is a soft tufa; and, in the second, there are no traces of early walls or early pottery of any sort on the hill of Coste Caselle. Archaic cemeteries have, it is true, been found just below it, but that will not settle the question (*Journal of Philology*, xxvii, 45 *sqq.*).

The old discussion as to the place of the original outflow of the lake, before the construction of the emissarium (see Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 100) would, since the construction of the more accurate maps now available, have to be settled in favour of La Madonnella (where the rim of the crater is decidedly lower than elsewhere): for Gell is certainly wrong in supposing the lowest point to be near the knoll marked 381, and Nibby's explanation, that some hundreds of feet of the rim have been removed by quarrying, and that the original lowest point must be sought above Albano, is equally unacceptable. There is, on the other hand, much to be said for De La Blanchère's explanation of the object of the emissarium (*s.v.* *Emissarium*, in Daremberg and Saglio, ii. 599) that it was intended, not only to prevent the lake from overflowing, but to reduce its level to such an extent that its

waters would no longer percolate through the lower subsoil and render the country below, between the lake and the sea, damp and unhealthy.

The two most important prehistoric cemeteries of the Alban Hills are connected with the lake of Albano, one being on the north and north-east (tombs to the north of Marino, at the modern cemetery of Marino,<sup>1</sup> in the Vigna Caracci at Prato della Corte, the Vigna Delsette at Capo Croce, the Vigna Trovalusci between Palazzuolo (or Palazzola) and Rocca di Papa, and other tombs between Rocca di Papa and Monte Cavo), the other on the west (on Monte Crescenzo and at Campofattore below it, on Monte Cucco, and in the district below these two hills known as the Pascolaro, right down to the Via Appia). For the references, see *Not. Scavi*, 1902, 145 *sqq.*—it may be noted that the two tombs found in the Villa Monteverde, at the summit of Monte Cucco, are unpublished (p. 150, n. 3)—also Pinza's summary in *Mon. Lincei*, xv. 327 *sqq.* (those near Marino are described pp. 330 *sqq.*, those of Vigna Caracci pp. 385 *sqq.*, those nearer Rocca di Papa on p. 393: cf. the addenda p. 845). Many of the objects found are now in the Museo Preistorico at Rome.

Following the path along the rim of the crater beyond Pentima Corvina<sup>2</sup> we first reach, above the rifle range (Tiro a Segno), some debris, and then, at point 515, above the Pentima Batteferro, the ruins of a villa in *opus reticulatum*, commanding, of course, a magnificent view over the lake and the hills: little of the superstructure is preserved, but there is a small rock-cut underground cistern lined with cement, with a main passage and two branches, and two vertical shafts descending into it. The path goes on and soon falls into that mentioned *infra*, 279, which before long reaches Palazzuolo (*Journal of Philology*, xxvii. 42).

Almost immediately after leaving Marino, the modern highroad to Castel Gandolfo of which we have been speaking crosses the narrow valley which runs below Marino on the S. To the E. of the bridge (Ponte del Parco) by which it does so there are no further traces of the possibly ancient track marked in the map, and this should have been marked as falling either into the road to Castel Gandolfo or into that to Ponte degli Squarciarelli. The valley itself continues for some way further, and is beautifully wooded. At the head of it there is a seventeenth century fountain, built near a

<sup>1</sup> See *Not. Scavi*, 1908, 356. Archaic tombs have also been found at S. Rocco, near the cemetery of Marino (*Not. Scavi*, 1903, 204: cf. *Bull. di Paleontologia Italiana*, 1907, 225).

<sup>2</sup> I shall not at present deal with the lake itself, nor with the ruins along its shores.

spring, which has been taken to be the Aqua Ferentina, so that this would be the site of the Lucus Ferentinus, where the independent Latin cities held their meetings (Parker, *Historical Photographs*, 2358–2362). Nissen, however (*Ital. Landeskunde*, ii. 558), objects, and is followed by Hülsen (in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, vi. 2208), that the grove was obviously not situated in Roman territory, but that, according to the accounts given by Livy (ii. 38) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (viii. 4) of Attius Tullius' meeting with the several Volscian chiefs, it must have been near the road leading to the territory of the Volsci, *i.e.* the later Via Appia. The first part of the objection will not hold, for this spot would have fallen within the territory of Castrimoenium; but I must confess that the second seems to me impossible to overcome, and that I therefore agree that the spring (or stream) and grove must be sought elsewhere—possibly the former may be identified with the outflow of the lake of Nemi below Aricia. To the S. of the Ponte del Parco I observed some years ago the remains of an ancient building lying across the path; the course of it has now been changed, and the remains have been swept away by further quarrying. To the E. is the district called Prato della Corte, and here, under the 'to' of Prato in the map, the path runs through a passage, 2·34 metres wide, belonging to an ancient villa in *opus reticulatum*; just to the S. is a reservoir 3·89 metres in width. It is recorded that the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2489 was found in 1871 in the locality called Prato della Corte.


To the E. of the villa last mentioned, and just beyond the boundary of the commune of Marino, on the left of the path, there is various debris, but no actual walling. Both of these sites are marked in Stevenson's map, but I have found no notes of his regarding them. Further E. again, and S. of the words I Colli, he marks other remains, but I could find nothing there.

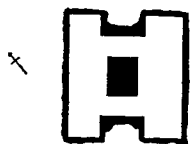
The path we have been following soon falls into another which runs due S. in a deep depression, produced by much traffic and weathering in a comparatively short time, so that in places where (as here) the soil is soft, one must be careful in inferring the antiquity of a road (though in this case I think it probable for other reasons) from the mere depth of the depression in which it runs. For until, a little over a hundred years ago, Pius VI. re-opened the Via Appia through the Alban Hills and across the Pomptine Marshes, the post road to Naples still ran by Marino and to the



east of the lake of Albano to La Faiola and Velletri, leaving Palazzuolo a little way on the right; and from the remains of comparatively modern paving further on, and from Nibby's map, it is clear that this is the line it must have taken. This path comes from the Squarciarelli—cf. Rocchi, in *Diss. Pont. Acc. Arch. cit.*, who believes it to be of ancient origin, and to lead to Monte Cavo (*infra*, 396). It is some 350 metres wide in places.

A little to the north, in the district known as Valle S. Lorenzo, are the remains of an ancient villa in very large *opus reticulatum*, to which may belong the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 145. 5 (beginning of first century A.D.) recorded as found in the Vigna S. Lorenzo in 1727. Here Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 58') mentions the Pozzo Calverino as a spring with ancient channels, and Rocchi (p. 240), who speaks of it as Pozzo Calvino, notes traces of the church of S. Lorenzo and gives copies of two fragmentary inscriptions.

Following the straight path southwards again, there are on the east of it two points where the map marks 'Ruderi.' At both of these we found ancient debris (though the actual constructions visible were mediaeval), and among it the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1051 (after 132 A.D.) and 2235a (first century A.D.), and also the unpublished stamp  P. 2 C I C I E. To the S. again Stevenson marks remains, the nature of which is uncertain. To the E. are two groups of ruins—that to the N. is a villa, scanty debris of which is visible in a modern pozzolana pit; while that to the S. is another villa in *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins, to which belongs a well preserved reservoir under the modern house, with brick-faced walls: a plan of it is here given. To the S. again Stevenson marks other remains (these are near the path mentioned *infra*, 390 *init.*).



We have now reached the limits of our examination on this side, and may, having arrived at the edge of the map, return to Marino once more.

The road leaving Marino in a N.E. direction follows an ancient line, which runs almost straight to the Ponte Squarciarelli. In the first portion of it Nibby saw, between the church of the Trinità, which is within the town, and S. Rocco on the right, a mass of selce concrete which in 1816 he believed to be a tomb (*Schede*, v. 3. cf. *Viaggio antiquario*, ii. 75), but which on further examination in 1823 he believed to be the remains of a reservoir (*Schede*, i. 58); (cf. *infra*, 289, n. 1).

'On the road from Marino to Tusculum' Henzen copied the

unimportant sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2531, 2564 (on peperino cippi).

Further on, at S. Rocco, the highroad diverges from the ancient line. (It may be noted in passing that there are no traces of antiquity visible along the modern path, past the Villa S. Giuseppe to the Casa dei Frati on the road to Rocca di Papa.) There is no pavement on the latter now, but it was seen by Nibby, as the passage quoted in the footnote<sup>1</sup> will show; and a few stones, not *in situ*, are still visible.

On the N.W. of the road is the Casino Schiboni; Rocchi (*op. cit.*) makes the ancient road of which he speaks pass through the vineyard, and states that on the W. there are remains in *opus reticulatum* (p. 238).

Prehistoric objects have also been found in the Vigna Schiboni, in a quarry for the volcanic stone called *sasso morto*, a vase and an arrow head of pale selce (the latter coloured with ochre all over): bones, also coloured, are said to have been discovered at the same time. These objects are now in the Museo Preistorico at Rome (Savignoni in *Not. Scavi*, 1902, 114; Pinza in *Mon. Lincei*, xv. 30).

We must now return to the Via Cavona (*supra*, 260) and describe the buildings on the S. of the Via Castrimoeniensis. We may take as the boundary line between the territory which will now be dealt with and that which belongs to the Via Appia the road leading E.S.E. from Le Frattocchie, past the tomb called Torraccio, across the Quarto Castagnola and the Quarto Spinabella, then the avenue called the Olmata, and the boundary of the Commune of Marino up to the Villa Monteverde and round as far as the Coste Caselle (*supra*, 277). On the E. edge of the 'Via Doganale' (*i.e.* Via Cavona) leading from the Marino road to the Frattocchie, about

<sup>1</sup> Nibby, *Schede*, i. 58, 'dal quadrivio della Via Latina fino a Marino la strada traversa è certamente un diverticolo antico, e precisamente quello per cui secondo Frontino si andava alle sorgenti dell'acqua Giulia che furono quelle che si trovano al di sopra del ponte di Squarciarelli, le quali sono di un' acqua limpidissima che non perde la sua chiarezza neppure per le pioggie autunnali. La distanza, e l'esistenza delle sorgenti non lasciano luogo a dubbio. Lungo questo diverticolo e precisamente dopo il ponte di Squarciarelli trovansi avanzi dell' antico pavimento, cioè i poligoni di lava basaltina posteriormente impiegati nella strada attuale.'

Nibby, *Schede*, ii. 128, notes that the road from Grottaferata through the valley to Marino is ancient, there being ancient paving stones along it, but I am not clear to which path he refers, except that it apparently passed W. of the Ponte degli Squarciarelli: for he says that at one-third of the distance is the picturesque waterfall of the Mascherone, where the factories are, *i.e.*, probably, the Cartiera (paper-works) at point 287. He may be referring to the traces of pavement mentioned by Rocchi (*supra*, 253). Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 57\*) notes the discovery at the Cartiera Magnani of a large human mask, which had recently been sold. I presume he then went on E. of Colle Formagrotta, probably by the path past C. Raparelli (*supra*, 268).

400 yards from the railway, a subterranean chamber 3.63 m. long was recently found: both the barrel vault and the walls were covered with painted plaster, the decorations being in panels, in which were festoons, birds and isolated flowers, but only part of the vault and the upper part of the S. wall were visible, the rest of the chamber being full of earth. In this wall there was a small niche (*Not. Scavi*, 1907, 221).

There is nothing else of note along the Via Cavona as far as Le Frattocchie, and none of the pavement is preserved along this stretch; but it is interesting to note that it serves as a boundary of the commune of Rome for part of its course, from point 168 southwards. Eastwards of this the boundary follows another ancient road, which ascends to the ruins of a very large villa known as Tor Ser Paolo.

The name Tor Messer Paolo can be traced back as far as the eighth century, when it figures as *Massa Pauli* in the register of Gregory II; and it appears again in the tenth, when in a description of the *Fundus Casana* there is mentioned the *mons qui vocatur Paulelli*. (See Tomassetti, *Röm. Mitt.* 1886, 16; *Via Latina*, 90.) It is a question whether the waterpipes bearing the names of Valcrius Messala and Valerius Paulinus, found at Casale dei Francesi (*Papers*, iv. 150), may not have led to or from this villa.

Of mediaeval remains there is but little on this site.

Various discoveries were made in this villa about the middle of the seventeenth century. Kircher (*Vetus Latium*, Amsterdam, 1671—but the *imprimatur* is dated 1668) has the following passage: 'Praeterea spectantur etiamnum in campis passim vastissima infra terram rudera, quae ambulacra, et peristylia referunt, et si recte observentur, illa eandem prorsus formam, quam Lucullana in Agro Tusculano exhibent. Paucis praeterlapsis annis, dum rustici nescio quod solum suffoderent, ex tremulo sono concavum subtus locum subolfecerunt, quo detecto camerarum substructiones praevalidas, praeter alia non exiguam statuarum copiam (Bartoli, in *Roma Antica*, 1741, p. 351 = *mem.* 145, in Fea, *Misc.* i. cclxiv., says that there were 19 statues found) et interea quoque nobile et praestantissimum monumentum repperunt,' i.e. the tablet representing the apotheosis of Homer, which was in the possession of the Colonna till 1805, and is now in the British Museum (*Catalogue of Sculpture*, iii. 2191), which bought it in 1819, though Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 89) states that it is still in the Palazzo Colonna. Kircher gives an engraving of it by Galestruzzi, for which he expresses his

acknowledgment to Marcello Severoli, who was, he says, about to write on the subject. This engraving bears date 1658, and shows the relief already restored. He does not, however, mention the fact, which we learn from Fabretti (*Columna Trajana*, pp. 316, 384), that two other monuments were found on the same site—the Tabula Iliaca now in the Capitoline Museum (Sala delle Colombe, 83) and the bust of Claudius now in Madrid, which was given by the Colonna family to Philip IV—the so-called apotheosis, once borne by an eagle, which is now lost (Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie*, ii. 1, 337, no. 29). Fabretti gives an engraving of the latter, ‘—cuius exemplar pagina sequenti adumbramus, elegantius a praestantissimo Marcello Severolio excipi iussum et eius de Apotheosi tractationi insertum.’ The dissertation of Severoli, however, for which these illustrations were prepared, never appears to have actually seen the light, for we find Gisbert Cuper stating in 1683 in his *Apotheosis Homeri*—cf. the reprint of it in Polenus, *Utriusque Thesauri nova supplementa* (Venice, 1737) ii. 28 C—that Severoli and others had never yet written on the subject, which he was therefore undertaking to do himself. Nor does either Schott, *ibid.* 298, who first wrote in 1714, or Polenus in his preface, allude to Severoli’s work.

Fabretti further states (*op. cit.* 316) that the discovery of the Tabula Iliaca was casual (‘non multis ab hinc annis inter rudera et parietinas lateritiorum fragmentorum iacentem, quamvis terra et arena illi adhaerente vix conspicuam, agnovit, et inter pretiosiora sui Musei habuit D. Archangelus Spagna Romanus, . . . nec diligentiae pepercit, quo parte deficiente potiretur; sed nequidquam labor plurium operarum, eiusque sollicitudo cessit’).

According to Winckelmann indeed (*Kunstgeschichte* ix. 2, § 35 = *Storia dell’ Arte* ed. Fea, vol. ii. p. 215) the Canon was out hunting when he found it. From him it passed to the Spada family, who presented it to the Capitoline Museum. It is very possible that the Colonna family excavated after this discovery had been made, and found the other objects.

As to the remains in which it was discovered, Kircher supposed them to belong to a villa (containing a temple) of Claudius, while Fabretti attributed them to the *sacrarium gentis Iuliae* at Bovillae. That the reference is to this site is perfectly clear from the map of the *Dorsum Praenestinum et Tusculanum*, added to the second edition of the *De Aquis* (1778) of the latter opp. p. 90, in which he marks it ‘BOVILLAE hod(ie)

T(orre) di Re Paolo' (a name which it also bears). That Bovillae was situated on the Via Appia is known to us from later discoveries—cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 230.

Bartoli (*loc. cit.*) states that Cardinal Francesco Barberini 'many years afterwards continued the excavations, though owing to differences between him and the Conestabile Colonna, the work lasted only a short time: still, even from that small excavation, he brought back to Rome very fine pieces in the fine Greek style. A part of the building, circular in plan, was found, at the entrance of which there were two statues, one of a woman standing, and the other of a man, broken, on the ground, in front a sarcophagus, which was left in the same place, which was under the stairs ascending to the upper floor at the sides of the theatre. A remarkable fact was, that the small lateral chambers were all lined with very thin plates of copper, fixed to the wall with nails of the same material. A very large courtyard was found, all paved with mosaic, with gutters through which the water was made to run for the adornment of the place, of blocks of peperino 10 and 12 palms (2·22 and 2·66 metres) long. A quantity of underground rooms were also discovered, which were believed to be the habitations of the slaves, where very fine large masses of marble were excavated. It is said that very beautiful things were also found in the time of Paul III. It must be noted, that in the excavations made by the Constable so many fragments of figures, such as noses, fingers, tips of toes, and drapery were found, that carts might have been loaded with them. From this the richness of the place may be conjectured.'

A fine marble pavement, with a design in *opus sectile* (not true mosaic, but pieces of coloured marbles) representing the origin of Rome, found near Tor Messer Paolo in 1837 in an unauthorized excavation, is mentioned in *Bull. Inst.* 1838, 112; and the documents relating to it are in *Atti del Camerlengato* Tit. iv. fasc. 2768. It was sequestered by the tribunal and handed over to the Colonna family in 1857. It is still in their palace, and has been described and illustrated by Tomassetti (*Röm. Mitt.* 1886, 3 *sqq.* and Taf. i.).

The inscriptions found at or near Tor Messer Paolo are the following<sup>1</sup>: *C.I.L.* xiv. 2426 (an altar of peperino found in 1853, bearing

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* xiv. 2420 is given by Amati in two places in his notes as having been found in the 'tenuta del de Paulo, vicino a Boville'; but in others he assigns it to Latera near the lake of Bolsena, with another inscription which certainly belongs to that locality; and the latter indication is probably correct: see *C.I.L.* xi. 2916, 2919: *Eph. Epigr.* vii. 1256.

the inscription *Herculi Aug(usto) sacrum Delfus Caes(aris) n(ostri) serbus ber(na) disp(ensator) v.s.l.m.*);

2431 (a sepulchral inscription found 'near the contrada torre Messer Paoli' (see Grossi-Gondi, p. 198) running thus: *D.M. Claudiae Priscæ coniugi piissimæ Eutyches Caes. N. ser. Tryphonianus disp(ensator) vill(æ) Mamurranae*. From this inscription we learn that the villa of Mamurra, the well known favourite of Caesar, had become imperial property under the Claudian emperors; and the discovery of the bust of Claudius here may lead us to suppose that the villa of Tor Messer Paolo is the actual villa in question);

2432 (a sepulchral cippus found in the Vigna Trovalucci—not that mentioned *supra*, 278, but another—near Frattocchie and the Via Appia—this fact shows that it was found near Tor Messer Paolo, and not near the Castel de' Paoli to the N.W. of Marino, which the indication of Cozza might lead one to suppose: cf. *C.I.L. in loc.* The two are indeed not infrequently confused—as for example by Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 94).

Marocco, *Stato Pontificio*, vii. 46, records the discovery in the territory of Marino, 'in contrado terre (*sic*) Messer Paoli' (which he expressly distinguishes from the Vigna Ingami) of the dolium stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2506. A report of 1840 (*Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 3031) deals with the chance discovery of paving stones belonging to the ancient road (the Via Cavona?) and of a door-post and the half of a basin, both of white marble, by Giovanni Battista Pellini: cf. Tomassetti, 100 n.

'At Tor Messer Paolo' (without further details) C. L. Visconti noted the discovery of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 122, c. 13 (slightly before 123 A.D.), and I have myself found a fragment of *ibid.* 1239 a. (1st century A.D.).

Excavations carried on by G. B. Guidi in the tenuta of Tor Messer Paolo at the end of 1852 led to the discovery of an ancient villa. A life-size male statue in marble and other fragments were found in the ruins (*Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* xv. p. xxv.).<sup>1</sup>

The actual remains now visible at Tor Messer Paolo are scanty, though the villa itself must have been immense, and commanded a fine view: they consist of two platforms, the tower from which the locality takes its name being on the lower one.

<sup>1</sup> I suspect that the statue of Domitia Longina (?) as Venus (Ny-Carlsberg 541) was found here or hereabouts. According to the Catalogue it was found 'at the Frattocchie near Albano in the villa of the Flavii'—a somewhat vague description, and, if the reference is to the villa of Domitian (which is at Castel Gandolfo), self-contradictory.

The construction is of various styles: we find loose blocks of *opus quadratum*, and several styles of *opus reticulatum*, besides mediaeval additions. In one place is a small reservoir in the platform, 2·37 metres square, in another a second reservoir with two chambers. In the southern portion there are large vaulted substructions, and a cryptoporticus 4·70 metres wide. Columns of porta santa and other marbles are still to be seen lying about.

About 200 metres to the N. of point 207 and the same to the W. of point 209 is a detached reservoir (not marked in the map) with three chambers, barrel-vaulted. This seems to have supplied, not Tor Messer Paolo, but a villa on the hill just to the W. of the Via Cavona, a little to the S. of point 172: there is much debris on the site, but nothing else.

At the north-east angle of the villa at Tor Messer Paolo, near point 221, is an important junction of ancient roads. One of these comes from the Via Castrimoeniensis at point 198: its prolongation runs southwards, with one or two bends,<sup>1</sup> to the Torraccio, a large tomb at point 192, of which Labruzzi gives a drawing (II. 33: cf. *Mél. École Française*, xxiii. (1903), 33). It is square, with a passage 1·20 metre wide going all round the central core of concrete.

Just to the S. of the villa of Tor Messer Paolo, at Costa Rotonda, in the Vigna Quagliarini (cf. p. 271 for land belonging to the same proprietors elsewhere) there was found a large block of marble with an inscription as follows: *salbis dd. nn. Costantino Aug. et Constantino et Costant[io] nobilissimis Caesaribus felices domini fundi*, an acclamation dating from after the death of Crispus (326 A.D.) and before the proclamation of Constans as Caesar (332 A.D.). I very much doubt whether Grossi-Gondi is right in supposing that *felices domini fundi* can be an error for the ablative, and that the *domini* referred to are Constantine and his sons.

Remains of a large building in blocks of local stone were also visible (*Not. Scavi*, 1908, 357).

The road we have been following eastwards from point 168 on the Via Cavona bifurcates almost at once, at point 221. One branch goes on E.S.E. Its antiquity is probable, though not certain, and it should be marked in

<sup>1</sup> The modern path is incorrectly marked as going straight, it really corresponds with the ancient line as given in our map. There is on this no pavement *in situ*, but there are large paving stones in the fieldwalls. It should further be noticed that in the whole course of the succeeding description the Torraccio referred to is the tomb at point 192, not that at point 206 on the Via Appia.

the map as conjectural. In any case it did not exactly follow the modern line, as we find an aqueduct 0·45 wide running S.E. and N.W. across the path near its beginning. On the N. side of it (not marked in the map, but just under the letters 'am' of the word 'Campofattore') are the remains of a large villa. The path going N.W. has been in part suppressed since the map was made.

The Villa Castruccio probably occupies an ancient site also, though there is nothing actually *in situ* to be seen—only architectural fragments, which may have also been brought there from the villa just mentioned. According to the official reports of 1905, in the Quarto Campofattore, in the Vigna Castruccio, are the remains of a Roman villa, in brickwork and *opus reticulatum*. Architectural fragments were to be seen, and a marble statue representing Aesculapius, 1·40 m. in height, was discovered (*Not. Scavi*, 1895, 423): the type was that of the Naples statue (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, i. p. 139, fig. 148). The reference is possibly to the villa N.W. of point 249.

In May 1906, at 56 metres W.N.W. of Casale Liccia, a male statue, with the lower part of the body and the legs draped, was found under the path leading thither from Tor Ser Paolo. Further excavations, in April 1907, led to the discovery of walls in *opus quadratum* of peperino, and in *opus reticulatum*. A room with a hypocaust was found: the pilae were each formed of eleven bricks 0·22 metre square, bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 595b (period of Hadrian). The pavement was formed of large bricks 0·60 metre square and 0·05 metre thick, over which was a layer of *opus signinum*, 0·12 metre thick, which formed the pavement. A late tomb, formed of slabs of peperino and tiles, had been inserted into this room. A water channel, 0·90 metre high and 0·48 wide, lined with cement and floored with *opus signinum*, was found, and also a smaller channel in cement 0·09 metre square, covered with bricks laid flat.

A threshold, with a fine black and white mosaic in front of it, and other walls and pavements were also discovered, and the building was no doubt a villa of a certain importance, some fine painted stucco having also come to light. Fragments of columns and Doric bases and capitals now at the Casale Liccia may have belonged to this building. The other brick-stamps found (*C.I.L.* xv. 557, 565 d or e, and 2227) belong, except the last, which may be earlier, to the period of Hadrian, but most of the walling is in simple *opus reticulatum* and perhaps earlier. (*Not. Scavi*, 1907, 214 sqq.)



As these remains (which have now been covered up) ran across the modern path, the ancient road must have run somewhat differently.

Between the Casale Liccia and the Vigna Gabrielli there is a tombstone of the 'boiler' shape (see *Papers*, iv. 118) built into a wall, bearing an inscription of which I could make out but little: I give what I was able to read. The whole stone is 1.40 metre in length and 0.78 in height, and the tablet, on which is the inscription, is 0.28 metre wide and 0.46 high.

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In the Vigna Gabrielli there still exists a peperino base with a dedication to Hercules Invictus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2455): another altar of the same material, seen there with the first in 1749 (when the vineyard had recently changed hands, having formerly been the property of Giovanni Battista Valenti<sup>1</sup>) is no longer there. It bore the inscription *Laribus, col[legis con]ferentibus [mag(istri) . . .]* (*ib.* 2456).

In the same place is an inscription of one *M. Aurelius Iulianus a rationibus et a memoria* (*ib.* 2463=vi. 1596) erected by his son-in-law Sextus Pedius Iustus (*Prosopographia* iii. p. 20, no. 155) which is not sepulchral but honorary, inasmuch as he afterwards became *Praefectus praetorio* (*Prosopographia* i. p. 209, no. 1268). Inscriptions erected by Pedius Iustus to his father and mother are recorded (*C.I.L.* vi. 1597, 23891), the former was in the collection of Fulvio Orsini, the latter was found in 1788 near the church of S. Carlo a' Catinari in Rome. It is not impossible that the first (if not both) of these came originally from Castrimoenium, for we know nothing of the circumstances of the discovery of either.

There is also a terminal inscription of the Republican period *C.I.L.* i. 1126=xiv. 2488). *In agro P. Paacili terminus totus est conlocat(us)*, repeated twice on two sides of a peperino cippus. To the S. is the Vigna

<sup>1</sup> There is, indeed, over the gate of the oliveyard N.W. of the Casale Liccia the inscription *Quintilianus de Valentibus Abbas pro fundi merito MDCCX p[ro]sult*.

Lecce, where Ottaviano Lecce found in 1834 a statuette of a nude Bacchus, a torso of a statue, two small columns, a foot of a marble table, and a series of twelve steps of peperino (*Atti del Camerlengato*, iv. 2105, quoted by Tomassetti, 99 n.).

W. of the Villa Capri there are some pavingstones in the path. In the Villa Capri (formerly Camporesi, and in the early nineteenth century Schrimittii or Ferrari) is the sepulchral inscription of L. Sextilius Satyr, lictor curiatus, his second wife, and his two young sons. (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2522.) A similar inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2521), set up by the same man to himself and his first wife, was found in Rome in 1839, but had probably been transported thither in mediaeval or modern times.

Other inscriptions, on the other hand, seen in this vineyard by Fea, belonged originally to Rome: they were not brought thence directly, but had previously been in the collection of Cardinal Passionei at Camaldoli below Tusculum (*infra*, 374): see *C.I.L.* xiv. 180\* c.

To the E. of the Villa Capri this road falls into a path, probably (though there are no certain traces) of ancient origin,<sup>1</sup> which descends through the deep valley to the S.E. and S. of Marino, keeping on its S. side. On this side are extensive peperino quarries, close to Marino station, and perhaps of ancient origin, though still in use (Pl. XXV. Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> On the opposite side, and cut by the railway, are the remains of two villas of no great importance—one is just W. of the station, the other a little further on above the line. The path up from the station to the town contains pavingstones, probably not *in situ*. To the E. of the chapel marked in the map there is a cutting which is possibly of ancient origin. Beyond the junction near Villa Capri it passes round the N.W. spur of Monte Crescenzo, on which are the remains of three buildings: at point 342 is debris, to the S.E. of it is a reservoir, while at point 374 are traces of another villa.

<sup>1</sup> I imagine it is to this road that Nibby refers in the following passage in his notes of 1823 (*Schede*, i. 59) 'alla sorgente (dell' acqua Ferentina) conduceva la strada o diverticolo scoperto di recente presso Monte Crescenzi che diramandosi dall' Appia metteva nella Trionfale salendo per la via odierna (giudicherei piuttosto che sepolcro un' avanzo di conserva quell' opus emplecton che si trova sulla via trionfale a sinistra per chi va da Frascati a Marino fra la chiesa di S. Rocco e la Trinità'). This last church is actually within the village of Marino, and contains a picture representing the Trinity by Guido Reni. In his previous notes of July, 1826 (*Schede*, v. 3, 4) he had believed the mass of concrete of which he speaks to be a tomb, and spoke of the road as leaving the Via Appia near Bovillae, and passing through Marino and under Rocca di Papa to Palazuolo; but in the *Analisi* (i. 62. 114) he follows Gell's view, and brings the road up by Monte Cucco (*infra*, 290).

<sup>2</sup> See Parker, Photos 2356, 2357.

Below Monte Crescenzo, to the E. of the Casa Trinca, are many pavingstones in the fieldwalls, and a little further on we come to a piece of pavement *in situ*, about 3 metres in width. The path is then (in the Quarto Spinabella) joined by two other ancient roads, one from Tor Ser Paolo, and one from the Torraccio. (Shortly afterwards a boundary wall marking perhaps the line of another ancient road branching from it—this would be the road mentioned by Gell, *Topography of Rome*, 17: see Ashby in *Journal of Philology*, xxvii. 45, 47)<sup>1</sup> ascends almost due E. through a depression, which gives it an easy slope up (cf. *supra*, 277) to the edge of the extinct crater which contains the lake of Albano. Along this rim there must have been an ancient road also, but no traces of it can now be seen.) Then it leaves the modern path on the W. and can be traced across the fields, passing between the ruins at point 259 (the solid concrete core of a tomb) and some peperino blocks in the modern path, belonging to the foundation of a building now destroyed. Shortly before reaching the Via Appia it rejoins the modern path, leaving the remains of an ancient villa on the E.

Some way to the E. of this, at point 318, on the line of the boundary between the communes of Marino and Castel Gandolfo, are the scanty remains of a villa (indicated by Canina, *Ann. Inst.* 1854, on the extreme left of his plan of this district, though, if he is to be trusted, he saw very much more than is now visible) and, to the S.W. fronting on to the Via Appia, are the remains of another very large villa, in which a large cryptoporticus 2.35 metres in width can be recognized: this edifice is believed by Canina to have been the Villa of Clodius (*Ann. Inst.* 1854, p. 97: cf. *Journal of Philology*, xxvii. 48).

The discovery there in 1819 of the tombstone of M. Pompeius Crescentius with an inscription in Greek (*Karbel I.G.* xiv. 1958) revealed the origin of the name Monte Crescenzo, which can be traced back to the bull of Agapetus II. of 955, confirming the possessions of the church of S. Silvestro in Capite, in which a church of S. Angelo, *in monte qui vocatur Cresenzuli* is mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> In the vineyard of Sante Limiti (which is on Monte Crescenzo, cf. Pirza, *Mon. Lincei*, xv. 335) in 1877 were found a number (at least thirty) of late tombs 'a capanna': one of the tiles bore the stamp C I L. xv. 966 a (first century A.D.). They were aligned with a road, of which the pavement was found, which was believed to be that leading to the ancient Alba Longa. (*Vot. Sazza*, 1877, 268) Stevenson copied the stamps C I L. 548 a, 14 (123 A.D.), 1465 a, 6 (first century A.D.) on the tiles from a late tomb found on Monte Crescenzo, possibly in this very vineyard.

Near Monte Crescenzo was found a sepulchral inscription erected to two sons by their parents, the father, Apollonius, being a *tabellarius Caesaris n(ostr)*i and the mother, Octavia, a *negotiatrix* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2465).

The other branch from point 221 runs S.E., and there are pavingstones in the fieldwalls. At point 252 it is crossed by a path ascending from the Torraccio, the western portion of which is probably ancient, as there are a few pavingstones lying loose in it, one or two of which are very large. In the path I found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 171 (about 138 A.D.) and in the fieldwalls is debris of a building.

To the N.E. of point 252, however, it presents no traces of antiquity. The path going S.E. passes on the E. the remains of a mediaeval building built of small blocks of tufa (there is, however, much ancient debris about) and in the Quarto Spinabella falls into the road already mentioned from the valley below Marino to the Via Appia, leaving on the E. just before the junction, some ruins in peperino. To this point comes another path from the Torraccio, which is probably also of ancient origin, though neither E. nor W. of point 227 are there definite traces of antiquity in it.

To the W. of point 227 is a small reservoir, and further on again are the foundations of a villa, in *opus quadratum* and *opus reticulatum*, soon after which we reach the Torraccio.

From point 227 another path runs W.S.W. which coincides with an ancient road, some of the pavement being actually *in situ* in the bank at the side: it crosses the Via Appia a little N.W. of the ruins of Bovillae, and can be traced as far W. as Falcognana, on the ancient road to Satricum (Conca). A path diverges from it to the Torraccio to the N.W., in which there is pavement still *in situ*, while numerous pavingstones are to be seen in the fieldwalls. By it are two uninscribed cippi of peperino, each about 0.45 metre square. It runs more or less parallel to the path going to the Torraccio from point 227.

Just after this divergence there are remains of buildings, marked in the map on each side of our main path. Among those to the S.E. of it I saw a fragment of a block of peperino with the following inscription badly cut on it

EVNDI  
PERIM  
A T

The block was 0·48 metre thick, and the part preserved was 0·46 metre wide and 0·35 high : the letters were 0·37 high.

XVI.—THE TERRITORY OF TUSCULUM BELOW FRASCATI AND  
FRASCATI ITSELF.

In dealing with this, it will be well to describe first the course of the *Via Cavona* from Casale Ciampino to the *Via Labicana*, inasmuch as we have taken this important ancient road (see *Papers*, i. 176, 236, 240, 242 : iv. 117, 125 *sqq.*, 133) to mark the boundary of the first section of the description of the *Via Latina*. The portion of it to the S. of the Casale Ciampino has already been dealt with (*supra*, 260).

The road, as has been said, divides the *Vigna Senni* from the *Vigna Gentilini*, passes over the top of the tunnel of the Frascati line (where is the Botte S. Andrea, a modern reservoir over an excellent spring of fresh water) and then descends steeply to the valley of a tributary of the *Marrana Mariana*. At the beginning of the descent, on the E., is the brick debris of a building overlooking the valley, and at the N.E. end of the tunnel, in the cutting, is a wall.

Further N., on the hill to the E. of the road, a well shaft (marked W in the map) was found in 1907, which I saw. The slab at the top had originally served as a cornice block : it had a neatly cut round hole in it, and this was covered by a flat slab.

On the W. edge of the hill above the railway, as Stevenson notes (*Lat. Lat.* 10572, 40), is a rock-cut drain, and below in the cutting lies some debris, among which I found an unpublished brickstamp of the *gens Naevia* (first century A.D.)

 C·NÆ·BAL (C. Nae(vi) Bal...)

The object at the right hand of the stamp seems to be an amphora. It is probably a variety of *C.I.L.* xv. 1324 (..... *Naevi Bal* (....)).

Stevenson noted the discovery (and destruction), when the railway was made in 1890–1, of walls of *opus incertum* and of pilaster capitals of peperino, with a bust issuing from acanthus leaves : another capital with female head between two volutes was also found : at one extremity of it was a staff with a serpent twined round it, at the other a male bust. Other fragments included a child's sarcophagus in sperone, 1·15 metre in total length. In the upper stratum, of pozzolana, was a regular network

of *cuniculi*, down to 4 or 5 metres below the surface : in the lower stratum was one passage 7 metres down (still visible), but the *cuniculi* at the lower level did not apparently extend further. The official report speaks of it as a Roman farmhouse: a small 'Etrusco-Campanian' vase with black varnish was found. (*Not. Scavi*, 1891, 229.)

Some 400 yards further N.E., on the hill marked 164 m. above sea-level, the railway cut through the concrete foundations of a series of ancient walls already razed to the ground, for a length of some forty yards, probably the foundations of a Roman villa, though no objects of value or architectural fragments were found. (*Not. Scavi, loc. cit.*) There is still debris on the ground above, and some peperino blocks running N.N.W., and a few pavingstones a little to the N. in a vineyard : Stevenson (*loc. cit.*) notes peperino blocks and bricks, and some hundred rough pavingstones, not worn—possibly the pavement of a yard.

The Via Cavona now reaches the Fonte Vermicino and crosses the Via Tuscolana, as to the antiquity of which, from Rome up to this point, there is, as I have said (*Papers*, iv. 51), considerable question. Beyond this point, however, I think it very probable that it represents an ancient road : it seems to be a necessary line of communication, prolonging the road from Torre Nuova, which is almost certainly ancient (*Papers*, iv. 146). Stevenson records, it is true, that when the railway was made, it was found to be of rough pieces of selce, and to give no indications of antiquity. The last of the six lines marked as intersecting at this point is the road following the aqueducts (*Papers*, iv. 118). The Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus pass underground just at this point ; but I shall deal further with them in a separate work on the aqueducts, which I hope will shortly be completed, and which will be published by the Clarendon Press.

In the Vigna Guerrini, which is one of the Vigne S. Matteo, just E. of the Fonte Vermicino, Pasquale Antini, who was so often Stevenson's informant, copied the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2613, which Dessau had failed to see in 1880. See Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 141<sup>v</sup>). Only the last three lines are preserved, which run thus: *et Hispania ulteriore provincia Baetica Municipium Concordia Iulia Nertobrigenses publice*. It was first recorded by Fabretti as in the estate of one Cavaliere Silva, the owner of the old osteria of Vermicino, which was, I presume, the house at point 134 Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 83 adds the spurious inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 210\* and another which really belongs to the district of Milan—*ib.* v. 5604, xiv. 224\*).

The sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2540 was also found in Cavaliere Silva's property, though Dessau leaves out this particular, so that the *ruinae veteris oppidi* (whatever they may be) are rightly localized in *Papers*, iv. 147. The mention of the chapel of S. Francis Xavier fixes the provenance of *ib.* 2737 (Mattei actually speaks of Vermicino) to the same place, and they are wrongly separated in the *Corpus*. The last named is an inscription in elegiac couplets in memory of Rhanos, a girl who died in childbirth before the age of sixteen. Antini also copied here the following unpublished inscription, and took a rubbing of it, which Cozza gave to Stevenson in 1888.

C · AT }  
VIX }  
ATTIA · O }

Finally, Guidi copied at Frascati in 1881 the following inscription on a lead pipe said to have been found in the Quarto S. Matteo near Vermicino *Claudius Felicissimus fecit* (reversed) *C.I.L.* xv. 7837. c. 2 (cf. *Papers*, i. 200, n. 1). Wells, *Alban Hills* (i. Frascati, 17, 98), states that the Casale S. Matteo is built on extensive ruins, to which this pipe may have belonged. Her description (p. 100) fixes near here (probably the actual Casale is that at point 153, to the W.) the 'podere de' Borzari,' the site of the discovery of some sculptures, consisting of a nude youthful male torso, a head of a Cupid and a head of a Satyr (this last probably belonging to a group, in which another figure grasped it by the hair, there being a hand attached to it) and a fragmentary statuette of an Amazon resembling Clarac 810 A, 2031 C, which Braun described as in the possession of Antonio Santovetti of Frascati (*Bull. Inst.* 1857, 67).

In the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1036, we find various documents relating to the discovery of two sarcophagi not far off. A letter from one Celestino Benedetti, of January 28th, 1829, announces that his father, Michele Benedetti, of Frascati, in continuing the breaking up of some ground in the district called Colle Giudice, adjacent to the vineyard of the Viti family, which had previously belonged to the Avv. Borzari (Wells, *op. cit.*, had found at a depth of about 4 palms (0·89 metre) a marble sarcophagus with its cover broken: it was more or less oval in shape and measured about 9 by 3 palms (1·99 by 0·67 metre) and 2 (0·45 metre) palms in depth with a bas relief of animals and figures. It had been conveyed to Frascati to protect it, and permission was asked to continue excavation in the hope of finding more.

A further declaration before the Governor fixed the actual date of discovery as 24th January. The sarcophagus was described as having strigil markings, with a vase in the centre. At the angles were two lions, each devouring a lamb, and two human half-figures: the back was rough. It was then stated to have had no cover. The sarcophagus was well preserved, but the work mediocre. It was decided that Benedetti might go on digging; and on January 14th, 1830, he gave notice of having found another sarcophagus with its cover, which was broken into several pieces. It was  $9\frac{1}{2}$  palms long, 4 deep, and 4 wide (2·11 by 0·89 by 0·89 metre). At the corners were lions devouring calves, and figures with spears, and in the centre another figure. This again was not thought of sufficient importance for the Papal museums. Wells also informs us that the Faun of Praxiteles of the Lateran museum (no. 150) was found here: of this Benndorf and Schoene (p. 90) know nothing.

In the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 985, are other papers relating to excavations in this district. We learn that on February 4th, 1829, Antonio Coronaldi of Frascati was given permission to make a small excavation in the Tenuta of Vermicino, in the territory of Frascati, having obtained permission both from Count Cosimo Conti, the owner, and Camillo Polocrosi (?), guardian of the Campana heirs, the tenants. There is, however, no record of what was found, though the Archaeological Commission was advised that work was to begin. Other excavations were carried on in the Campana property by Suscipi in 1833 and Pieri in 1834 and 1835 (*ib.* 2102, 1835): the former had heard of a treasure, and obtained leave to search for it, but we do not hear of the results; while the latter began work with the same idea, but very soon closed the excavation, having found nothing.

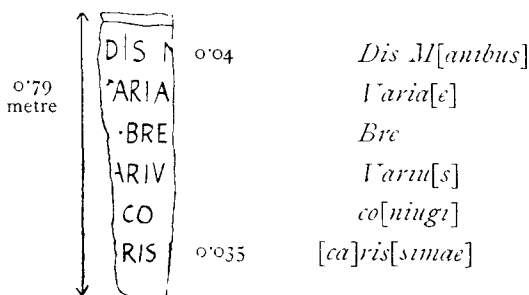
From *ib.* fasc. 3857 we learn that in February, 1854, Marchese Giovanni Pietro Campana himself obtained permission to excavate in cornlands belonging to him at Quarto di Maria, and Colle Pisano, and vineyards at Imagine Nova, Colle Giudice, and Pescareccia.

On April 20th he reported that he had found nothing but two marble heads, some small cornices (also some large square pieces) of rosso antico and a few fragments of decoration. These were found at Grotte Piattella: cf. *Papers*, iv. 144 for another account of the same excavations: there, too, the district to the N.W. of the Via Cavona as far as that point is dealt with (cf. Grossi-Gondi, 176); while beyond that we fall into the territory of



the Via Labicana (*Papers*, i. 240: cf. the addendum in *Papers*, iii. 207). I may add that a reservoir has recently been found just N. of the house marked Micara.

On the S.E. of the road was a mediaeval tower of the thirteenth (?) century, known as Casamari (described by Tomassetti, *Via Labicana e Prenestina*, 36 note) which has recently been demolished, a modern house having been built there. I saw in 1909 a block of marble with a fragment of an inscription which seemed to have been used as a threshold in the tower. Some blocks of peperino 0·60 metre high had been used in its construction: I also saw there part of a gray granite column, the lower part of a female statue, and much ancient debris, both here and to the W.



To the S.S.E. I have observed some ruins, but a new vineyard has recently been made: further on in the same direction on the edge of the Macchia, two ruins may be noticed—one a concrete wall with buttresses, the other a small underground reservoir. Here, not far from the Macchia delle Sterpare, was found an inscription which seems to render it clear that here, as in the Vigna Gentilini, and near Roma Vecchia (*Papers*, iv. 125, 142) there was a *vicus* or village community, the name of which we do not know. The inscription, published by Grossi-Gondi (p. 179) is cut upon a marble slab 0·65 by 0·47 metre, and runs thus: *M(ulus) Murrius D(ecim) Libertus, Alexander magister, veici iterum, aram dedit Herc(uli) opsequenti, Tibens, m(erito), Publius Murrius P(ubli) Libertus Phileros magister restituit.*

On the back are the letters CN. MAG, the meaning of which is not clear to me. The orthography of the inscription would lead us to assign it to the end of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire: we have the same spelling *veici* in the inscription found near Roma Vecchia.

Tomassetti (*loc. cit.*) tells us that an inscription 'now belonging to Tusculum' of Q. Caecilius Hilarus was found here.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond this point the Via Cavona itself presents no special features of interest nor traces of antiquity, and the neighbourhood of Pantano Secco (the ancient Lacus Regillus) may best be dealt with in connexion with the ancient roads leading to it from Frascati.

We may therefore follow the path which ascends S.S.E. from the neighbourhood of Casamari along the Colle Pizzuto, and so into the modern highroad.

On the W. side of this path, just W. of the southernmost of the ruins mentioned above, are the remains of another narrow reservoir. From this point the path begins to present traces of antiquity, though Grossi-Gondi is no doubt right (p. 109, n. 1, cf. his map) in supposing that it was prolonged as far as the Via Cavona: indeed he mentions (p. 179) that, near the spot where the inscription of the Murrii was found, there were traces of an ancient paved road. Stevenson, however, saw no remains of it when the railway was made, and only notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 41<sup>v</sup>) that in the cutting just to the E. of the crossing there were found large pozzolana quarries, possibly of Roman date.

On the Colle Pizzuto (we do not know exactly where) was found the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2740. That it justifies us in placing here a villa of the Rutilii, as Grossi-Gondi conjectures (p. 174), is most improbable, and his idea that *C.I.L.* xiv. 2683 was also perhaps found here is contradicted by Nibby, *Schede*, i. 65 (*infra*, 341).

After crossing the railway the path continues to ascend and there are pavingstones in the fieldwalls. On the E. side is a small reservoir (W. of the house marked Di Nicola); and in the wall of the vineyard in which it is, I saw in December, 1897, a bas-relief deeply cut in a block of Pentelic marble, representing a female draped figure some 1.50 metre long and

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 111<sup>v</sup>) the discovery of a brick-stamp with hollow letters at 145 metres above sea-level, near the reservoir S. of Casamari, probably from the W. of the path. It seems to be unpublished, and is as follows:



0.07 metre wide (Wells mentions what may be the head of this relief on p. 97).

On the W. edge of the path is a small structure of selce concrete, about 4 metres square, with a chamber inside it, possibly a tomb, indicated in Stevenson's map. He also marks, W. of the Casalaccio, where are some architectural tufa fragments, the remains of the platform of a villa.

The communal boundary line between the Communes of Rome and Frascati has for some time followed our road, and that portion of it going W. to the Via Tuscolana may mark the line of another ancient road: there are pavingstones (not *in situ*) along its first portion, but these may also have belonged to the road along Colle Pizzuto; and along the rest there are no traces of antiquity.

After crossing the Frascati railway we see the actual pavement of the road in the bank on the edge of the path, running S.E. by S. Some of its pavement, was, according to Wells, excavated in 1874.

The bank soon rises in level, so that the pavement is at least 20 feet under the soil; and there is ancient debris visible, but only at a low level, on the N.E. side. We then see some remains of concrete foundations on this same side, and a piece of the pavement in the modern path, running S. by E., with the *margines* preserved, from which its width can be ascertained to be 2.38 metres (8 Roman feet). After this point it kept S.W. of the modern track instead of coinciding with it (as is wrongly indicated in my map), so that the deep cutting through which one now passes is not of ancient origin after all: there is indeed, about 50 yards before the highroad is reached, a drain of selce concrete running S.E. by E., about two Roman feet wide, in the bank on the N.E.; and the pavement that is now visible, a metre or two above the level of the path, is mediaeval or modern. We then enter the highroad opposite the Villa Pescatore.

We must now return to the Vigne di S. Matteo, where the Via Cavona intersects the highroad, and follow the latter up to the Villa Pescatore and then to Frascati.

On the S.W. side of the road, opposite the house at point 153, is a platform of a villa on the edge of the hill: there is only a little preserved *in situ*, but there is much debris, including the slabs and bases belonging to a peristyle with peperino columns 0.38 metre in diameter. This is not indicated in the map; but further S. on the E. side of the railway, the remains of yet another villa were found in the new vineyards—we were

told of walls and a cistern, and of a terracotta figure about 2 feet high, but only saw debris. Stevenson notes the discovery of two capitals in making the railway below this villa not far from the high-road. On the N.E. side of the highroad two rock-cut *cuniculi* were found, and a little further on, close to the path which crosses the railway E. of point 158, some ancient walls, and between them a level space ten metres wide paved with rough blocks of selce not worn—the pavement either of a lane or of a yard.

From the point of intersection of the Via Cavona up to point 183 the Via Tuscolana marks the boundary of the Communes of Rome and Frascati, which then turns E. and runs to the road along the Colle Pizzuto (*supra*, 297).

Just to the N. of the Frascati railway and W. of Ponte Tusculo, at point 188, are the remains of another villa, where we saw three Corinthian pilaster capitals in peperino, the columns to which they belonged being 0·42 metre in diameter. To the S. of the line, where the Staff Map marks two separate buildings, entitling them Grotte, there is really only one group. Not very far from here Giorgi must have seen in October, 1734, the sepulchral inscription of A. Fabius Proculus, prefect of the first cohort of Dacians, and *tribunus militum legionis II. Adiutricis* (C.I.L. xiv. 2618), which he notes as lying on the ground near some substructions in the country not far from the Frascati road, beyond the ascent of Vermicino, on the right going to Frascati. Further to the S.W. is debris, probably belonging to another villa, which was reached by the short branch path running N.E. mentioned in *Papers* iv. 133.

At point 186 a path diverges S.S.E. from the highroad, which is almost certainly of ancient origin, though there are no traces of antiquity upon it, and soon reaches Torre di Micara. Its course beyond that point is described *ibid.* 134 and *supra*, 244.

Beyond point 183, up to the Villa Borsari, an old boundary wall, marked in the map, runs parallel to and just N.E. of the modern highroad: there are, however, no pavingstones in it, though one might have expected to find them, had it marked the line of the ancient road. Between it and the modern highroad, at the bend S.E. of point 186, are traces of a building in the vineyard.

At the Villa Borsari itself there are no remains of antiquity: but to the E. of it there is a ruined farmhouse resting on foundations belonging to a building, the main part of which was circular, with another apse facing

N. constructed of *opus reticulatum*, and to the E. of that debris of another building.

Just S. of the Villa Borsari another path, the prolongation of that from Casale Ciampino to Torre di Micara (*Papers*, iv. 133), falls into the Via Tuscolana, which now describes a considerable curve to avoid a valley: so that I have conjectured (see the map) that the ancient line passed close to the Villa Borsari and to the buildings I have just mentioned. Thence it ran almost due E. following the line of an older boundary wall across the zigzags, in which pavingstones are visible, while just below the Villa Pescatore, on the S. side of the modern road and some seven feet above its level, a little paving is visible *in situ* in the bank: the blocks, which are smaller than usual, are 0.21 metre thick, and are set in a bed of mortar about 0.23 thick, which rests on the solid rock. There are also pavingstones in the fieldwall N. of the road; but, from the indications I have given, Grossi-Gondi pp. 105 *sqq.* (see his map) seems to be wrong in making the ancient road pass N. of the modern at this point. He, it should be noted, does not admit the antiquity of the section of the highroad from Fontanile Vermicino to Villa Borsari, and brings the ancient Via Tuscolana across from Casale Ciampino past Torre di Micara to Villa Borsari and Villa Pescatore, and so into the modern highroad, following Nibby's idea, no doubt (*Papers*, iv. 133).

Fabretti *De Aquis*, Diss. I, tab. I, and map opp. p. 90, makes the Via Tuscolana diverge from the Via Latina before Morena and pass N.E. of Centroni (I think without good reason). Mattei, commenting on this p. 20, remarked that its pavement was to be seen near the vineyard of the Jesuits (*infra*, 301, and below the walls of Frascati near the Accoramboni palace. At the Villa Pescatore, now Cicinelli, there are no traces of antiquity, though there is a good deal of debris near<sup>1</sup>; but the Villa Sora, constructed by the Monni family and bought from them by Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora, in 1600, is built on the remains of an ancient villa, some of the vaults and walls of which exist immediately to the S.E. of the house. The pavement of a road was also found, as to the direction of which I could obtain no certain information. The main hall of the Villa Sora itself now converted into the chapel of a school of the Salesian fathers, contains some very fair paintings by the Zuccari; and the

<sup>1</sup> C.I.L. xiv. 2654 has been copied here, but is said to have been found at Ciampino: so has also *ibid.* vi. 10004, found outside Porta Maggiore in the sixteenth century.

Director's room contains a good copy of Guercino's Aurora in the Casino dell' Aurora in Rome, and the portraits of two Popes of the Ludovisi family. Above this villa there are pavingstones in the bank on the S.W. side of the road, 3 or 4 feet above the modern level, some of which may be *in situ* (Grossi-Gondi indeed marks the ancient road as keeping just on this side of the modern, and it may have been part of it that was found within the Villa Sora), while in the wall on the N.E. are pavingstones also; and at the entrance to the Orti Sora is a theatrical mask in white marble (from a sarcophagus), and there is another at the Casale used as a fountain jet (Tomassetti, 177).

The brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 371, a. 19 (period of Severus) 1094 e. 36 (75–100 A.D.) are recorded by Volpi (*Vetus Latium*, viii. 155) as found in the vineyard of the Jesuit College of Frascati on the modern Via Tuscolana, beyond the tenth milestone. This vineyard was known as Prete (for Pietre) Liscie, *i.e.* the pavement of the ancient road was visible in it; and it was bought under Paul III. (Grossi-Gondi, *Villa dei Quintilii*, p. 4, n. 2).

Marini (*Iscr. dol.* n. 176) records the former from Lupi's notes as found at the Rufinella, but he may be in error. I have not yet been able to apply the test of examining Lupi's own copy in the mass of miscellaneous archaeological notes collected by Marini; and possibly it is not preserved among them, or it would be noted in the *Corpus*.<sup>1</sup>

At the church of S. Maria di Capo Croce the road is joined by the path from Villa Pallavicini (*supra*, 246) and soon reaches Frascati. Here, instead of passing simply along the S.W. side of the modern town, as I have indicated, it seems to have turned to the E. (as Grossi-Gondi has more correctly shown, cf. Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, tav. xx.) to avoid a valley which was in the main filled up in 1884, when the new railway station was built. Remains of its pavement were found above the church, between it and the Palazzo Micara, in the embankment of the station itself (*Not. Scavi*, 1884, 348) and to the N. of the Via dei Merli. (*ib.* 1885, 478). It then kept outside the mediaeval walls of Frascati until it reached the level of the Porta San Pietro, which was only opened by Innocent X. (1644–55). As Grossi-Gondi remarks, a fair idea of its course can be obtained from the *Vero e novo disegno di Frascati con tutte le ville concicini* made by Matteo Greuter in 1620 (a later edition was published by Giovanni

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* xiv. 2759 (a sepulchral inscription) was found in 1852 'between Ciampino and Frascati.'

Giacomo Rossi) and repeated in three plates in Kircher's *Vetus Latium* (pp. 77-9).

Frascati was identified with Tusculum by certain of the topographers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as Holste and Mattei; but as this theory has now been definitely proved to be erroneous, we need not concern ourselves further with it. I shall only add that one of the grounds on which they based their theory is an element in the controversy as to the antiquity of the Via Tuscolana, which I omitted to take into account in *Papers*, iv. 51. I allude to the statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (x. 20) that Tusculum was not less than 100 stadia ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  Roman miles) from Rome. This statement has led some writers to seek for a road more direct than the Via Latina, by which the distance would have been about 14 miles (112 stadia) up to the amphitheatre. Canina (*Tuscolo*, 66), considering the modern Via Tuscolana as ancient, calculated the distance to the Villa Rufinella as about 100 stadia. Lugari, *Monumenti al iv miglio della Via Appia*, tav. viii, was of the same opinion, and Tomassetti (who had at first considered the Via Tuscolana as mediaeval) has later, in a pamphlet on the *Festa del Tuscolo* (Rome, 1899, 14) returned to Canina's view. Nibby and Cozza, on the other hand, as we have seen, considered the Via Tuscolana to be the *deverticulum* which left the Via Latina at the tenth mile (*supra*, 300). To my mind Dionysius' indication does not pretend to be accurate, and proves nothing one way or the other. The 112 stadia along the Via Latina are naturally measured from the Porta Capena, and it is another mile to the outskirts of Rome at least; so that he might very fairly put the distance at quite 100 stadia. I think Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 48) is quite right in calling the *strata nova Tusculana* of the Bull of Honorius III. the Via Tuscolana, and the *strata antiqua Tusculana* the Via Latina, but it is going too far to say that it proves that the former is of mediaeval origin. Grossi-Gondi (pp. 105 *sqq.*) gives an excellent summary of the question. Other writers have attributed the ruins upon which the mediaeval town was built to the villa of Lucullus, but the arguments they have brought seem insufficient and, as we have seen (*supra*, 249), there is some reason for supposing that the Villa Conti (now Torlonia) really occupies the site of the villa of Lucullus. On the other hand Grossi-Gondi (124 *sqq.*) appears to have grounds for his supposition that these ruins belong to the villa of Passienus Crispus, and I notice that Lanciani (*Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, 283) expresses himself as convinced

by his arguments. The passage from Pliny, which has already been quoted (*supra*, 252) concerning Crispus' affection for a peculiarly fine tree on the hill of Corne in the territory of Tusculum, seems to show at any rate that he had a villa at Tusculum; and the discovery in Frascati itself in 1876, under the foundations of the house of the Sturbinetti family (now the property of the Lugari family) of a lead pipe bearing the name of an Agrippina (*C.I.L.* xv. 7853) and the fact that the younger Agrippina, the mother of Nero, was his second wife, and indeed compassed his death for the sake of his property (Suetonius, frag., p. 290, Roth) goes far to justify the identification. The inscription on the pipe is unluckily fragmentary—  
 .....u. Agrippinae is all that is preserved, and it is of course possible that, as Lanciani thought, this was another Agrippina altogether—either Asinia or Vipsania Agrippina (*Prosopographia*, i. p. 169, no. 1041; iii. p. 443, no. 462) or (Vib)u(llia) Agrippina: as Dressel conjectures (*ibid.* iii. p. 431, no. 425).

But there is further evidence in favour of the identification; and Grossi-Gondi rightly insists that in view of a passage of Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 3) *igitur Nero vitare secretos eius congressos, abscedentem in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum laudare, quod otium capesseret*, and of the discovery in 1891 (in the contrada Croce Bianca, hardly a hundred metres from the house of the Sturbinetti family) of another lead pipe bearing the inscription *Neronis Claudii Caesaris* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7817) we cannot refuse to accept it.

Additional evidence may be found in the sepulchral inscription of a freedwoman of one of the Claudian emperors, found, it is said, in Frascati itself in the foundations of the Palazzo Senni—close, that is, to the ancient road, as Grossi-Gondi (p. 133, n. 2) points out. (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2690 *Dis Manibus Claudiae Primigeniae lib(ertae) Aug(usti) benemerenti Mamilia Albana filiae vixit annis XV. mensibus iiii.*) And we find that the site of Frascati remained imperial property under the Flavian emperors: another lead pipe (*id.* xv. 7818) was found under the Casa Sturbinetti in 1876, bearing the inscription *Imp(eratoris) Domitiani Caes(aris) Aug(usti) sub cura Alypi lib(erti) proc(uratoris) fecit Abascantus scr(vus) Atime(tianus)*. It is not certain whether one or two copies of this pipe were found under the Casa Sturbinetti: it seems to me probable that two were found and that one of them is to be identified with that of which Henzen speaks as found near Porta Granara 'which was close by, in the ruins of an ancient



villa. Mattei tells us indeed (*op. cit.* 59) that two years before he wrote (1711) the statues of Domitian and Domitia were found, each in its own niche, in the Villa Cremona, while the land belonging to Signor Muzio Massimi was being turned into a vineyard. These statues, he says, were bought by Ficoroni and placed in the gallery of the Duchess Rospigliosi. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone to look for them in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, and I do not find that any writer mentions the provenance of the two statues Matz-Duhn 1343, 1501, which I think must be identified with them; though in neither case is the attribution certain according to modern canons of iconography. The first is a statue of Titus in the act of addressing his soldiers (*adlocutio*) (Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. 2, p. 33, no. 9), probably that mentioned by Winckelmann, *Gesch. der Kunst*, xi. 3. § 21 = *Werke* (Donanoschingen, 1825), vi. 244, n. 3). The second is a draped female statue, the head of which has the hair dressed like the so-called Domitia from Herculaneum (see Bernoulli, *op. cit.* p. 63: he does not actually mention our statue) but perhaps does not belong to the body.

We find, too, a sepulchral inscription set up in honour of his wife Gavia Helpis by a freedman of one of the Flavian emperors, *T(itus) Flavius Aug(usti) libertus Epaphra procurator villarum Tusculanarum* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2608). For, besides the villa on which the town of Frascati was built, there were others which were also imperial property—those of Tiberius (Vigna Spinetta) and Galba (Casale Campitelli) and Nerva (?) (Cocciano) (*infra*, 313 *sqq.*).

Grossi-Gondi further brings together (pp. 133 *sqq.*) various inscriptions which he connects with the imperial house, which have been found in the territory of Tusculum: the great majority of these, however, simply belong to persons of the same *gens* as the various emperors, which, as he recognizes in the case of the Flavii, proves little or nothing, unless it is definitely stated that the person was a freedman of the imperial house; and as he further recognizes, they are, as one might expect, widely scattered, and therefore do not give us much topographical assistance. It has indeed been too often the practice in dealing with the topography of this district to assign a villa to one of the great families of Rome simply because a sepulchral inscription of some quite unimportant person, whether a free man or a slave, has been found in its neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> He rightly notes, on the other hand, that two or

<sup>1</sup> I may add, apropos of his footnote p. 134, n. 7, that I do not see why the Pineto dei Sacchetti, where *C.I.L.* xiv. 852 was found (it is the sepulchral inscription of a freedman of the *gens Cocceia*) should not be that line of pines situated on the hill above the now ruined Villa Sacchetti

three other villas, that of Matidia, perhaps another, on the ruins of which is the so-called Barco di Borghese, and that of the Quintilii, became later on parts of the imperial domain (*infra*, 327, 370, 375). The subsequent history of this domain is decidedly obscure: that it is not actually named as imperial property after the time of Domitian is no doubt simply due to the fact that chance has preserved to us no other inscriptions. It does not occur among the donations made to the various churches of Rome and its neighbourhood by Constantine, which *may* indicate that it had already passed out of the hands of the imperial house—but to what owners we have no means of knowing.

Nor have we any knowledge of the history of Frascati until we find it appearing for the first time in the ninth century;<sup>1</sup> for, as Grossi-Gondi has pointed out (*Bull. Com.* 1906, 30), the legend of the donation of Frascati or of Tusculum itself to S. Benedict in the sixth century A.D. has no real foundation in fact, and all we can consider as certain is that the abbey of Subiaco possessed certain landed property in the territory of Tusculum which had previously belonged to the monastery of S. Erasmus on the Caelian (the *fundus Africani* and the *fundus Oppiniani*—*Papers*, iv. 128), which had come to it in 937.

We must now turn to the description of the villa upon which the mediaeval town of Frascati was built. The extent of the latter is clear from Greuter's bird's-eye view, already cited: its S.E. wall corresponds with the street which runs to the N.W. of the present cathedral of S. Pietro, which thus remained outside, the original cathedral being S. Maria di Vivaro, now S. Rocco, a good deal lower down.<sup>2</sup> But the villa seems to have extended somewhat further S.E.—according to Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 182) as far as the Villa Lancellotti, according to Grossi-Gondi (p. 122) as far as the back of the cathedral.

I saw a probably ancient vaulted chamber in a house on the S.E. side of this street, a little N.E. of the cathedral; and in 1905, a little to the

to the W. of Monte Mario. And as to the question of the origin of the name Cocciano (*infra*, 316) I think he is right in refusing to derive it from Cocceus, the gentile name of Nerva: Tomassetti's conjecture (*Via Latina*, 194) that it is derived from Chaucianum, i.e. that this is the Villa of Gabinius, who had defeated the Chauci, is even less probable.

<sup>1</sup> For the mediaeval history of Frascati I must refer to Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 170 *seq.*; Lugari, *L'origine di Frascati*, Rome, 1891 (also in *Diss. Pont. Arc. Arch.*, Ser. II, vol. vi (1891)).

<sup>2</sup> For the discovery of its remains in or about 1732 cf. Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. 10 and the comments of De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1872, 159 (French edition).

S.W. of the latter, a drain or aqueduct was found about 2 feet below the ground level: it was in selce concrete with a round top, about 0.50 metre wide and 0.90 high. Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 340 *sqq.*) and Lanciani (*Bull. Com. cit.*) describe the other remains formerly visible in the town, the N.W. wall of which followed the limits of the upper terrace—the substruction walls on the N.E. side, and various other remains, some of which are not visible, while the most important of those which are still existing are the two chambers behind the apse of S. Rocco, each 5 metres wide (these are not identical with the reservoirs mentioned by Grossi-Gondi, p. 124, n. 3: for the springs which fed them cf. *ibid.* n. 2 and see also Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 68).

In 1858 some unimportant fragments of sculpture were found in a street below the walls (cf. the same reports), while in 1848, in the Piazza del Gesù, a fine Ionic pilaster capital and fragments of friezes were found. (*Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 3609, cited by Tomassetti, *Via Latina* 188, cf. *ibid.* 3710 for the discovery near the church of S. Rocco of an ancient building with brickstamps of Aurelius Rufus (*C.I.L.* xv. 882—end of second century A.D.), etc.). Tomassetti speaks of discoveries of pieces of pavements, columns, etc., in the cellars of the Casa Petri and of painted rooms and marble fragments in the Via Varardesca: one of these last—a fragment of a group of a wolf and a draped figure—was seen by Wells (p. 71) in the public garden. In all these buildings the concrete is faced with chips of selce in the foundations, and with *opus reticulatum* of selce with brick quoins above ground.

The lower terrace of the villa is not indicated in my map but is marked by Grossi-Gondi as extending from the mediaeval city wall almost as far as the railway on the N.W., right under the monastery of the Riformati: Nibby speaks of a large reservoir under the monastery and Lanciani notes a wall of *opus reticulatum* with windows and arches 58 metres long under the left hand side of the church: this is no longer visible.

Greuter's view seems to show remains even further down, close to the house just below the railway, N.E. of Capo Croce. The passage quoted by Lanciani (p. 184) from *Cod. Tusc.* 14, i. 11, ff. 146 *sqq.*, must refer to this lower platform. It speaks of remains of the villa visible below the Porta Romana, extending as far as the garden and palace of the Cherubini family, afterwards bought by Colonel Guaina, a citizen of Rome, who found

there some fine statues, which he transported to his palace in Rome. The place, Mattei (*Tuscolo*, 68) tells us, bore the name of Bagnara, and terracotta pipes, both round and rectangular, seem to have been found there; and in 1695, in the ruins of a house which stood there, a marble head, resembling that of a sheep, was found, also capitals of columns coated with stucco, and other marbles, with fine pavements; and it was reported that a treasure had been found there, with valuable marbles, lapislazuli, etc. This is possibly identical with the so-called nymphæum of Lucullus, below the Villetta Pentini,<sup>1</sup> which was discovered in 1854. Lanciani cites Visconti's account in the Archives of the Pontifical Ministry of Fine Arts, from which it appears that at a depth of 4 metres a very fine pavement of white mosaic was found, and also a column drum of rare breccia traccagnina. Wells (p. 74) mentions statuettes found here and two busts.

At Frascati in the Piazza Baldassare Peruzzi drew (*Uffizi*, 416) a plain Ionic column base—the size at the bottom was p. 4 oncie 11, *i.e.* about 1.08 metre.

Antonio da Sangallo the younger (*Uffizi*, 1184) has a drawing of a base at Frascati. Dosio (*ib.* 2011 v) has a drawing of an Ionic base from a building 'detto di Lucullo.'

There are in the public garden some unimportant antiques of uncertain provenance, noted by Tomassetti (*op. cit.* 188, note). A fine fluted column drum of porta santa marble found in repairing a drain under the Via dei Merli was also placed here (*Not. Scavi*, 1884, 348).

Tomassetti also gives (*Bull. Com.* 1887, 239) a dedication to Silvanus, bearing the date Jan. 5th, 179, and (*Not. Scavi*, 1895, 350) a number of fragmentary inscriptions, most of them preserved at the Episcopal seminary, and mentions a sarcophagus in the courtyard of the bishop's palace (*Via Latina*, p. 255, n. 1).

Some unimportant sepulchral inscriptions in the Municipal collection at Frascati, and others in the pavement of the Cathedral are published by him in *Bull. Com.* 1895, 162, and *Not. Scavi*, 1895, 351. Wells (p. 258) notes various fragments of sculpture in the town; and a fragmentary

<sup>1</sup> Near the garden of the Villetta Pentini was found in 1895 a fragment of an inscription with an *elogium* of M. Vmicius, consul in 19 B.C. As it is on a small scale—the letters of the first two lines are 0.05 metre high, the rest 0.02 m.—it was probably placed under a medallion or small bust. Its discovery is described in *Bull. Com.* 1898, 150, *Not. Scavi*, 1895, 350; and it is published with a full commentary by A. von Premerstein in *Osterr. Jahreshefte*, vii. (1904), 215 *sp.*

In the Villetta Pentini have been copied the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2582 a dedication to the *Numen decorum* 2681, 2752, 2764 (a sepulchral inscription of no interest).

inscription built into a house at Frascati is given in *C.I.L.* xiv. 2619; while Stevenson (*Vat. Lat. cit.* 121<sup>v</sup>) gives another which appears to be unpublished, which he saw in 1874 in a wall of the Vigna Simonetti, in the lane leading to the station, cut upon a fragment of a marble epistyle.

0·25 m.  
 ————  
 0·11 VLPIO {  
 ————

In 1883-4 Lanciani saw various antiquities in the possession of Alessandro Fausti, a dealer in antiquities, including *C.I.L.* xv. 1443, 2260, found at Fontana Candida, also a fragment of a fine marble tazza, a portrait head of a boy, perhaps of the imperial family, the capital of a pilaster 0·68 metre high and 0·70 wide, etc. (*Not. Scavi*, 1883, 85; 1884, 83). In 1886 he saw lead pipes in Fausti's possession with the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xv. 7831, 2. *Atriae Moscharus clarissimae f(eminae)*—one example of which has since (in 1892) been found in the tenuta di Pantano—cf. *Papers*, i. 198—7868 b 2. *T. Statili(us) Felicio fec(it)*—of which one example was found at Gabii in 1792, and another in the tenuta di Pantano in 1892. Helbig copied in Fausti's possession the unimportant dedication *C.I.L.* xiv. 2587 a.

Dressel also publishes some lead pipes 'found in the territory of Frascati' as to which we know no other details—*C.I.L.* xi. 7839 (?) *N. Iuni Fausti*, 7850 (?), *C. Valeri Paulini*, 7867, 2, *Septimius Secundinus fecit* (cf. *infra*, 393), 7870 *C. Vettinius Felix fec(it)* (as to which cf. Stevenson, *Vat. Lat.* 10572, 3<sup>v</sup>), 7876 (?).

A mosaic formerly in the Villa Cavalieri at Frascati, where it was seen by Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.* (Suppl. ii. pl. 23, cf. Furietti, *De Musivis*, 58) was republished by Guattani (*Memorie Enciclopediche*, iii. 45, *seq.*), in whose time it was in the possession of the mosaic maker Volpini: Guattani interpreted it as representing the question put by Zeus and Hera to Teiresias, as to whether the male or the female had more pleasure in love. In 1880 it was in the possession of one Scalabrini, a dealer in antiquities in Rome, but has since disappeared. Engelmann *Rom. Mitt.* xix. (1904) 286) interpreted it as a representation of the quarrel between Erechtheus and Eumolpus.

At the Casino Marconi, opposite to the E entrance to the Villa Conti,

according to a statement of Fea (*Nuova descrizione dei monumenti antichi* (Rome, 1819), 87), there was in his time a complete replica, placed more expressively upon a rock, of the famous headless statue of a daughter of Niobe in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican (no. 176).

Of this replica, however, no traces are to be found. A description of the Marconi collection will be found in Guattani's *Memorie Enciclopediche*, iv 1 sqq. He mentions a Mars (now in the Lateran, no. 127) which was said to have come from the collection of Gavin Hamilton, standing on the cinerary urn with the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 10958 (which was found near S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia in 1793), a Bacchante, an ideal bust said to have come from Acqua Traversa, an Aesculapius (Lateran 182), a head of Pallas, a statue of an empress, a bust of a Flavian emperor, a bust of Juno, a statue of Euterpe (Lateran 187) a bust of a Faun, a statue of Diana, and a bust of Annius Verus. The provenance of these is by no means certain, and they may not have come from Frascati. Wells (*Alban Hills*, 38, cf. 115) mentions other statues, which probably came from the Roman collection of Marchese Campana (to whom the Marconi collection then belonged), inasmuch as she copied there the inscription *I.G.* xiv. 1109, which was found in Rome in 1660, and was seen in the nineteenth century by Teza at Florence in the possession of a dealer: and she mentions that Campana lived there (Kaibel was not aware that Wells had copied it here).

De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* 1060, gives a fragmentary inscription from Mattei, *Tusculo*, 93, . . . . . *con . . . . . vix ann. xv. mensi. . . . p.] c. Vitisari. . . .*, which was found near the 'tomb of Nero' by Giuseppe Catani, a sculptor, in very fine lettering. *p.c.* stand for *post consulatum*, so that the date is 537 or the beginning of 538 A.D., during the siege of the city by the Goths: and it indicates, De Rossi thinks, that Belisarius held Tusculum at the time, as he held Tibur. But neither De Rossi nor Dessau has noticed that Mattei gives immediately under this inscription, the following, *Sex. Naevius Sex. l. Philemo Naevia Sex. l. Tuscula in f. p. xv. in ag. p. xix.*, which he ascribes to Gruter, *Inscriptiones*. p. 986. This is given in *C.I.L.* xiv. 3363, with the reading *Arbuscula*, from Fabricius, *In Horatium argumenta et castigationes* (Leipzig, 1571), p. 89, but is there rightly ascribed to Praeneste. Mattei gives it without any comment, but as he calls the first inscription 'another fragment like' that on which are cut *C.I.L.* xiv. 2765, 2766 (= De Rossi, *cit.* 1061) (one on one side, one on the other, it

may be that he would wish us to believe that it was cut on the reverse of the stone on which was *C.I.L.* xiv. 2363; but in that case we may not without reason be a little suspicious of its authenticity, or at any rate of its belonging to Frascati.

On the reverse of the leaf in Stevenson's notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 143) but in De Rossi's (?) handwriting, on which are given the Christian inscriptions, 1060, 1061, and four others from the cemetery of S. Zoticus (*Papers*, i. 242), I find some other inscriptions which do not seem to have been published:

(a) Part of a relief; three men lying on a triclinium, with bread and fish before them:—



(b) Sarcophagus with strigil moulding; on one side a shepherd leaning on a staff, on the other a veiled woman with her head raised; in the centre two lambs holding a clipeus with the inscription:—

IANVA  
RI IN PA  
CE DOM

(c) Inscription—no details:—

VONBLA  
SATURNINA  
HIC DORMIT  
PATRONE VE  
NEMERENTI

(d) Fragment.—

}ATIS IN  
}OCTOB

A tomb was found in 1886 near Frascati with the skeleton still preserved and a bronze collar round the neck, with the inscription: *tene me et reboca me Aproniano Palatino ad mappa aurea in Abentino quia fugi* (*Bull. Com.* 1887, 265, 289. *C.I.L.* xv. 7182). The name *mappa aurea* is also mentioned in the Notitia, but whether it is that of a building or of a street is uncertain (*Jordan-Hulsen, Topographie*, i. 3. 170).

There are a number of discoveries of which it is recorded simply that they were made at or near Frascati, further details not being given. I have thought it better simply to group them here.

Volpi (*Vetus Latium*, according to Muratori, 1645, 8) gives a sepulchral inscription which begins thus Βάσσος ἐγὼν ὃδ' ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔκτανε Δύσ[φ]ορος ἀνὴρ (Kaibel, *ib.* xiv. 1505) as found near Frascati.

A bronze bell found near Frascati is now in the Museo Kircheriano: it bears the inscription Εἰσαπέων Πρωτογένη νίκα, Isapio being the name of a charioteer apparently (cf. Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 2409, 2. *C.I.L.* xv. 7233, Riccy, *Alba Longa*, 110).

The sepulchral inscriptions found or copied at Frascati or in its buildings without any accurate record of their provenance are *C.I.L.* xiv. 2672, 2674–2676, 2692 (a tomb of various people on a site granted by Q. Pompeius Falco, the friend of Pliny, cf. *Papers*, i. 237), 2596, 2709 (a metrical epitaph set up by M. Gellius Maximus to his freedman Phoebus), 2717 (a cippus erected in memory of a boy, C. Iulius Saecularis, with his portrait above), 2725, 2726.

In the Vigna Buzzi was found, according to Fea's notes, the dolium stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2257.

Eschinardi (*Esposizione cit.* 369, 387) speaks of a detailed topographical map of the territory of Frascati and other neighbouring places as far as Nemi, etc., printed by himself not many years before. This map is unknown to me. Still more interesting would be the map of the Campagna di Roma printed in the year 1513 in the pontificate of Leo X., of which Mattei (p. 39) speaks, and which Lanciani (*Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 54) has never seen. Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, i. 247 (Rome, 1910) does not mention it, and states, so far as I know, correctly, that the earliest existing map of the Campagna is that of 1547.

Aldovrandi (pp. 150, 151, 158) notes the existence in the Palazzo Farnese of a fine trophy decorated with a Medusa in the centre, of a trophy of porphyry, and of a triangular candelabrum with winged Victories in relief, a winged Roma triumphans on the side and harpies at the feet, all found at Frascati.

The following sculptures in the British Museum were found at or near Frascati (no further details being known): all come from the Townley collection: a terminal figure of a youth in the character of Hermes, found in 1772. MS. (*Catalogue of Greek Sculpture*, no. 1605), the head of a Muse



(found by Gavin Hamilton, no. 1691), the front of a sarcophagus, with Cupids in the circus (no. 2319), a console (no. 2608).

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston acquired in 1899 a statuette of an apoxyomenos, found at Frascati and described by P. Hartwig in *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1897, 30 (See *Jahrb. d. Inst.* xvi. (1901) Anz. 165); and the head of Diomedes at Ny-Carlsberg (no. 147) was found at Frascati, but we have no further details.

Having completed the description of Frascati itself, it will now be necessary to deal with the district to the N. of it, between it and the Via Cavona. We may first of all descend by the path which leaves Frascati on the N.N.W. side, passing close by the monastery of the Riformati,<sup>1</sup> and crosses the railway almost immediately. It has no traces of antiquity anywhere along its course. On the E. side of it just below the railway is a drain and on the W. side a very large reservoir, with a smaller one, partly filled in, adjoining it, in the so-called Orti Sora, a plan of which is given by Uggeri, *Giornata Tuscolana*, pl. vii = Angelini and Fea, *Via Latina*, pl. vi, while Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. 9. gives a plan of the larger one only. Uggeri also gives a view of the interior (*Vedute*, no. 9).

The larger reservoir of the two is square: it measures about 36.20 metres each way inside (Lanciani's figure, 41.28 metres, seems excessive even as a measurement over all—*Bull. Com.* 1884, 180). There are six arcades each way, 4.90 metres in width; the 25 pillars supporting the quadripartite vaulting of the roof are each 1.20 metre square, the corresponding pilasters each project 0.40 metre from the internal walls, and the exterior wall is 0.90 metre thick. Canina is right in showing buttresses only on the S. side and not all round, for on the other sides they cannot be seen, the building being below ground level. Monsignor Vespignani, to whom the villa had previously belonged, erected on it the following inscription (Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 92) *Curioso antiquitatis studio receptaculum aquarum ad Tusculanas olim terras introspicitur anno dñae hñs 1656*. The allusion is to a plague which is said to have decimated the inhabitants of Marino (Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 129). Of the other reservoir which adjoins it only a part can be seen: Lanciani gives the length as 41.60 metres (unless this length rests on independent observations, it too is excessive) and the width as 13.80

<sup>1</sup> Giorgi saw a copy of the backstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 904 f. 26 (Trajan) in their possession—the provenance is of course uncertain. In the Villa Simonetti close by, Wells saw two busts found in the Orti Sora (p. 89).

metres: the four aisles are divided not by pillars, but by walls, pierced by apertures 1·80 metre apart, and about the same in width.

Uggeri indicates the apertures as occurring opposite one another only in alternate rows, as in the Sette Sale at Rome, and shows at least seven aisles; but this number may be excessive, for only four are shown as actually visible.

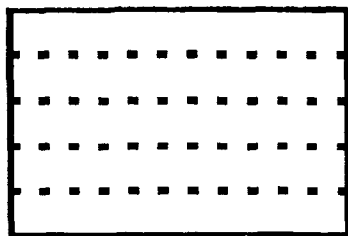
A little lower down is the Casale Campitelli (so called because it belonged to S. Maria in Campitelli in Rome), which is built upon vaulted substructions, with remains of marble and mosaic pavements, and of *opus reticulatum* walling, resting upon them: these belong, Lanciani thinks, to the main palace of a villa, which he attributes to the emperor Galba on the ground of the discovery of a lead pipe, given by Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 89, as found in 1705 in a vineyard close by and bearing the inscription *felix ar. imp. ser. Galba V.C.*<sup>1</sup>

As it stands, of course, this inscription is obviously impossible, but Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. 213\*), Lanciani, and Grossi-Gondi all consider that it is a corruption of a genuine one. Whether, as Dessau thinks, the legend has been altered to suit the fact that Suetonius mentions (*Galba*, 4, 18) a villa in the territory of Tusculum belonging to this emperor, or whether a genuine inscription of Galba has been wrongly copied, is a different question. It is equally impossible to say how far the villa extended—that it included the localities called La Sterpara and Pantano Secco, as Tomassetti thinks (*Via Latina*, 177 n.), is quite unlikely. Lanciani and Grossi-Gondi, whether rightly I rather doubt, both treat the remains of a villa on the so-called Colle Fiorano, to the N.W. of the Casale Campitelli and of the railway, as a part of the upper one. I think, however, that Mattei's account of the discovery of the lead pipe refers rather to the neighbourhood of this villa than of the upper one: for he says that the large reservoirs served for water which 'went by a lead pipe to the nymphaea which lay below the Villa Campitelli at the entrance to the Macchia della Sterpara . . . as we know from a piece of a lead pipe found in 1705 in the vineyard of a native of Frascati, where are the aforesaid baths in four chambers, each 80 palms (17·84 metres) long and 25 (5·57 metres) high.' I do not know, however, what are the baths ('terme') (really, no doubt, a

<sup>1</sup> Mattei mentions the existence at the Casale of some well executed bas-reliefs and of *C.I.L.* xiv. 2765-6 (cf. *supra*, 309). It seems most likely that the brick-stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1370-1 (159-164 A.D.) belongs to these ruins, cf. Wells, p. 88.

reservoir) to which he refers: the description does not correspond with those of which we have spoken, which are not in a vineyard at all. The altar with the inscription *Ara Solis* now in the Vatican (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2583) was found in the upper part of the same vineyard as the pipe.

The extensive ruins on the Colle Fiorano (cf. Wells, p. 92) were supported by massive substructions of *opus reticulatum* with quoins of selce. A cryptoporticus, which was discovered in 1879, has the ceiling of very fine white stucco, coffered, but has now been filled in again. Lanciani notes that he saw columns of sperone, and brick columns coated with painted stucco, and in excavating for the railway just above it in 1883 two fragments of a fine terracotta frieze were found, one with archaic masks, the other with foliage and volutes (*Not. Scavi*, 1883, 173). Further on is a platform, belonging no doubt to the same villa, which extends to the firing point of the rifle range (Tiro a Segno): there are substructions belonging to it N.W. of the Casa di Nicola, and at the W. angle over the steep slope down to the Valle Lupara. On the top of the platform there is but little debris. That this was a distinct villa is rendered probable by the fact that it received its water supply from a large reservoir to the E. of the upper platform and of the railway, in an oliveyard which occupies the triangle between the two paths. I give a plan of it here, as it seems to be unknown. I did not mark it in my map, as I owe my knowledge of it to



Stevenson's maps. There are five halls with barrel vaults, intercommunicating by arched openings 2.20 metres in span; it is almost entirely sunk below the ground, which explains the comparative thinness of the outer walls. The total internal measurement is 35.10 by 23.40 metres. I should be inclined to place here the site of the discovery of two statues of which

Mattei speaks thus 'I am sure that this villa (that of Galba) extended for a long way where the Macchia now is: for a few years ago our Commune (to whom it belonged) made excavations there, and found a statue without a bust, draped in the heroic manner . . . and another also headless, with a toga . . . these two statues are now to be seen at Frascati on the stairs of the Palace of the Conservators.' Canina, *Tuscolo*, 101 n., saw them there, but remarks that they were much damaged.

Mattei also records as found near the Villa of Galba the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2691, which belongs to the Republican period. He saw it in the Villa Pescatore (*supra*, 300).

Following the right hand of the two paths across the railway we find no traces of antiquity along it. Stevenson noticed, on the edge of the Macchia della Sterpara (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 33<sup>v</sup>), a place where the ground had been damp and therefore had been drained in ancient times.

We continue to follow the path across the railway line, and at point 171, at the second 'a' of 'Macchia' reach a large villa with two platforms, which extended right across the path: the upper platform had shallow arcades in front of it, with a span no less than 6·70 metres wide in one case: the back wall is faced with very large blocks of *opus incertum* of selce, one piece measuring as much as 0·53 by 0·41 metre (see Pl. XXXV. Fig. 2, from a photograph kindly lent me by Mr. J. H. Ten Eyck Burr). The lower platform was supported by a natural cliff of selce, commanding a fine view over a deep valley, the sides of which are clothed with scrub, as the wood is periodically cut for charcoal burning.

There is nothing further to notice between this point and the Via Cavona, except scanty debris on the N. extremity of the Colle Fumone, and we may now return to Frascati, and follow the path which leaves it on the N. and runs due N. past the Campo Santo, past the Colle Spinetta, and then divides into two branches, both of which seem to be ancient, and run through the Quarto Cisternole down to Pantano Secco and the Via Cavona.<sup>1</sup> On the W. of it is the Villa Sansoni, some antique sculptures in which are described by Wells (p. 256). A little to the E. of it is a house called the Palazzetto (at point 301 in the map) belonging to Signor Mastrofini: in two niches in the external walls are two heads, both on modern busts: on the N.W. side is a female head, Praxitelean in style, and on the S.E. a rather feeble portrait head of a Roman lady; while Tomassetti (p. 178) mentions four other heads within the villa, two of them of Diana.

In 1883-4 in the course of the railway works some brickstamps were found (*C.I.L.* xv. 315, 12 (Hadrian) 817, 5 (first century A.D.), 824, 6 (early first century A.D.), 1121 a. 7 (first century), 1138, 2, 1489 a. 1 (first century), 2238, 3 (first century)—*Not. Scavi*, 1884, 83). There is practically no doubt that 807, 3 (Hadrian) and 1053, 7 (135 A.D.) were found on the same site (cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1883, 173, where a jasper of 12 mm. in

<sup>1</sup> The first portion of the road is shown somewhat differently by Grossi-Gondi.

diameter, with the letters  $\Lambda\Omega$ , is mentioned. These are stated to have been found among some walls of *opus reticulatum* and brick, at the point nearest to the villa of the Quintilii (then identified with the Barco di Borghese). The description *ibid.* 1883, 85 of the discovery of walls of *opus reticulatum* close to the cemetery, with a much injured Ionic column, and eight very rough amphorae, 0.50 metre high, should probably be referred to the same site. Stevenson notes that he saw some debris to the N.W. of the cemetery, and that the path passing by it cut through two ancient walls (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 43, 48), with a drain between them, at its N.W. angle.

The pavement of the road was found in making the railway in 1884 a little to the N. of the Camposanto (*Not. Scavi*, 1884, 348). It is also noted that a number of drains hewn in the tufa were found in these cuttings, one of which is still visible a little further S.W. than I have marked it.

Here I have indicated (erroneously) a branch road descending from Mondragone and joining our road on the E.: the mistake is due to a misunderstanding on my part of information given me verbally by Grossi-Gondi (*infra*, 330).

Rosa marks a villa here in his unpublished map of the Campagna on a scale of 1:20,000 (now preserved at the Soprintendenza degli Scavi in Rome: there are, however, no ruins now visible on the site).

On the W. another path diverges, which may be of ancient origin, though this is uncertain: the ruins at point 226 along it are mediaeval.

To the E. in the Quarto Cocciano<sup>1</sup> on the Colle Spinetta are the remains of a villa: there is debris in the oliveyard above the modern path, though no walls are visible. The upper platform extends as far as the house at point 281; near it are arched substructions (not a cryptoporticus, as Grossi-Gondi says, for there are no windows) faced with rough pieces of selce and some brickwork: here are columns of white marble and tufa. On the lower terrace S.W. of the house is a large open round tank, in the middle of which a spring now rises. The front of the lower terrace is supported on the N.E. by a concrete wall faced with *opus reticulatum* of selce, and on the N.W. by shallow chambers, originally some 36 in number (one, which I measured, is 4.23 metres deep and 4.40 metres wide and closed in front).

To the south of this in a vineyard, Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 1) found in 1891 two brickstamps, one circular with the letters . . . ANTI . . . the other rectangular, with the letters . . . IERONIS. The latter is possibly

<sup>1</sup> That the name Cocciano has any connexion with Cocceius is unlikely (*infra*, 304 n.).

a fragment of *C.I.L.* xv. 2236. Giorgi (*ib.* 1479) gives a copy of a piece of a brickstamp which he saw built into the house at the Vigna Spinetta (then belonging to one Giulio Balzani of Frascati) which may be a fragment of *ib.* 127 (126 A.D.). He also copied here the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2718.

Here, in the Vigna Campoli, there was found in 1892 a lead pipe bearing the inscription (*T*)(*beri*) *Caesaris et Iuliae Augustae* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7814). This seems to be sufficient evidence to make us consider this the villa of Tiberius, and Grossi-Gondi's efforts to prove (p. 170) that Josephus' statement (*Antiq. Jud.* 18. 170), that his villa was 'about 100 stadia from Rome' suits this site better than Dionysius' measure of 'at least 100 stadia' are, it seems to me, misdirected: neither author is aiming at accuracy, and both are simply giving a round number. The date of the pipe would, as Grossi-Gondi rightly remarks, fall between 9 B.C., when Tiberius married Julia, and 1 B.C., when she was banished to Pandataria. In this connexion it is worth noting that in 1736 (?) a bronze disk (0.09 metre in diameter) was found at Frascati bearing the following inscription on the obverse *Thoantis Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) dispensatoris ab tobis (toris?)* = couches (*C.I.L.* xv. 7142 = xiv. 4120. 3). That on the reverse *de statione. . . Caesaris Aug(usti) tabellaris diplomari discede* is less clear.

Another pipe was found in the Vigna Spinetta (which was on the same level) in 1879, bearing the inscription *Imp(eratoris) Vespasiani Aug(usti)* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7272: Dressel is, however, wrong in not recognizing the provenance): so that it is clear that this is one of the imperial villas mentioned above.

At the same time two burials under tiles were found; some of the tiles bore the stamps *ib.* 1242. a. 4 (first cent. A.D.) 1365. 8 (134 A.D.), and a stamp of 123 A.D. was also found. With one of the bodies was a coin of Trajan. (Cf. *Cron. Armellini*, 1879, 47.<sup>1</sup>) Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 86 sqq., speaks of various discoveries in this neighbourhood: 'in a place called Cocciano, while a certain hillock was being reduced to cultivation, near the road leading to the Torretta (*i.e.* a tomb which I have not marked, at about the "to" of Quar, to S. Marco—Grossi-Gondi, 156: cf. *infra*, 326) some furnaces were found, with pipes made of tiles well cemented and nailed together, by which the heat was divided between the upper and lower

<sup>1</sup> In this article Lugari mentions a tradition that a pavement of small pieces of marble had been found, and had passed to the Borghese family.

rooms. (I should place the site of this discovery somewhere in the Vigne S. Eusebio.)

Close by in the vineyard of the aforesaid Camaldolese fathers, in a place called Spinetta . . . are many ruins, and an enclosure in the shape of a piscina (no doubt the round tank mentioned): here have been excavated various bas-reliefs, one of them with three faces and a hole down the length in the centre (this must be the base of a candelabrum).

In a vineyard a little below, on the N., I had the following altar excavated (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2755—an unimportant sepulchral inscription), which I said at the beginning was found where are those great walls of stones called "quadrucchi" from their shape. In this place is a paved road ten palms wide . . . In the same place was also found the following inscription (*ibid.* 2716. Curiously enough this and the preceding inscription have been seen only once before or since—when Mommsen in or about the year 1845 copied them in the shop of Basseggi, a Roman dealer in antiquities). In another vineyard not far off, where are many remains of ancient buildings, there was found in 1682 the pavement of an ancient temple, all worked in mosaic: in the centre was an altar, and in the corners four rams' heads of bronze, not very large, which I bought from the owner of the vineyard; but because I was then young, I did not take note by whom it had been erected, nor to what deity the temple was dedicated; nor did I preserve the inscriptions that were there, which included a tile 3 palms (0·67) square, with the stamp '*C.I.L.* xv. 1009 (a little later than 108 A.D.). He then goes on to the tenuta of S. Croce to the N.E. (*infra*, 325).

The paved road, 10 palms (2·23 metres) wide, is probably the path to Cisternole. There are, however, various other ancient roads to be noted—one on the S.S.W. ascending steeply from the W.N.W., visible in the bank just below the villa and above the railway, perhaps another going (as Stevenson marked it) along the line of the path parallel to the S.E. side of the villa, and a third possibly following the line of the path below and parallel to this platform, which goes into the Vicolo di Prata Porci; though neither of these last two has paving *in situ*, there being only pavingstones in the fieldwalls.

The case is similar with a path going N. (not W. as marked in the map) just above the 'C' in Colle Spinetta, on the W. of which are ruins, partly of *opus reticulatum*, including an underground reservoir with two chambers. It is, again, conceivable that many of the pavingstones come

from the ancient road which ran northwards to the Quarto Cisternole and possibly did not follow precisely the line of the present path, on which indeed traces are rather scanty as far as the fork, though just beyond it I have seen pavement *in situ* on both branches.

At about 225 metres above sea-level the path divides, and a little lower down, in the fork between the two, close to the eastern branch, at point 212, is a large reservoir known as Le Cisternole, which has seven aisles in each direction.

A view of the interior is given on Pl. XXVI. Fig 1 : since this was taken, the building has been to some extent walled up. The discovery here, in March 1891, of an urn bearing the inscription of a freedman of the *gens Vitellia*, Q. Vitellius Alexis (Seghetti, *Tuscolo e Frascati*, 82, n.) gives us no right to suppose either that this family possessed a villa here, or that *C.I.L.* xiv. 2758 was found here also: Grandi indeed states that it was found with *ibid.* 2748 below Fontana Candida (*infra*, 385).

In the district of Le Cisternole, in the property of Antonio Benedetti, was found according to Grandi, the Greek sepulchral inscription Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 1860. It is the tombstone of a comic actor, and the inscription, which is in hexameters, is commented upon in *Bull. Arch.* 1873, 49, by Kaibel. The same is the case with *C.I.L.* xiv. 2686, 2687, 2710, 2724, 2728, 2736, 2751, 2759 a, unimportant sepulchral inscriptions; but Dessau expresses some doubts as to the trustworthiness of Grandi. A little below the cistern there is some pavement *in situ*; and a little after the fork Stevenson (*Lat. Lat.* 10572, 48) saw a large white marble frieze lying on the ground. There are, too, pavingstones in the fieldwalls. The cutting of the new main railway line to Naples did not, according to Stevenson's notes (*ib.* 41 *sqq.*), produce much that was decisive. Beginning from the railwayman's house (Casel)lo we first come to a tomb of concrete, originally faced with rectangular blocks of peperino, measuring externally 9.20 by 10.40 metres: the lower part of the interior is cut in the rock, the upper built of huge masses of peperino: there are two shallow niches with flat arches. This must be the tomb mentioned by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 9) and by Wells (p. 275): the latter mentions the discovery, in the early 'sixties, of two stone coffins. No traces of an ancient road were found on the path across the Quarti Perazzeta, which I have doubtfully marked as ancient; nor does it seem that any traces of antiquity were actually found *in situ* on the line of either of the two paths from the Quarto Cister-



nole, though there were large pavingstones in the fieldwall on the right of the western part, going down. Instead of that, in making the cutting between these two paths, close to the house at point 192 (the house, he notes, should be S. and not N. of the line) walls of *opus reticulatum* with floors, drains, etc. were found, and also the pavement of an ancient road, the stones of which were not at all worn.

From the railway we may first follow the western branch which passes along the extremity of a narrow ridge: at point 186 there is a reservoir, the only chamber of which that is accessible is (as far as one can follow it) 52 paces long, and only 1·84 metre wide; there is another chamber on the W., filled up, accessible by an opening 0·60 metre wide.

To the W. of it, on the further side of the path from the Quarti Perazzeta, is another reservoir with two small chambers, which supplied a large villa with two platforms (marked in the map too far apart, as though they were separate). Of these remains Nibby speaks in *Analisi*, iii. 8 *sqq.*, and he gives an account and a plan, as well as a general plan of Pantano Secco (*Schede*, i. 77, 104, 106, 107), but they are not of sufficient interest to merit reproduction.

The name of the district was Cornufelle, which some, *e.g.* Volpi, *Vetus Latium* viii. 172, have connected with Corne (*supra*, 252) and have desired to place here the Villa of Passienus Crispus, of which, however, we now know the site (*supra*, 302); others, *e.g.* Nibby, have connected the name with the *gens Cornificia*.

Of the upper platform the N. and W. walls in *opus incertum* are still visible: on the W. is the entrance to a small, vaulted chamber, possibly a corridor; and further on is a small reservoir in the platform itself; while on the upper level, near the larger reservoir already noticed, is a small passage or niche. The lower platform is supported by curved niches faced with *opus incertum* of selce with weep-holes, the N. side being continued to the E. by a simple wall in *opus reticulatum*. Nibby notices that in demolishing those on the W. side it was observed that there was behind them an inclined plane, cemented, descending from S. to N., and above it rubbish to level the soil, from which he infers that the villa originally ended further S., and that when it was enlarged the niches were placed where there was less earth already and the simple wall where there was more.

Just below the N. substruction wall there was found in 1822 a

fragment of a Greek inscription with a dedication to Dionysus, the sun and the moon, which Nibby saw in the possession of one Moroni, who was his guide on this occasion.

. . . . .  
 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ ΒΟΠΙΩ . . . . .  
 ΗΛΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΛΗΝΗ . . . . .  
 ΚΑΙ ΒΟΙ . . . . .

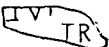
Nibby considers that it may date from the 2nd century of the Empire. Wells (p. 276) speaks of the discovery of five bodies in terracotta sarcophagi, of water pipes of lead and terracotta, of coins, etc. To the E. of the villa, the pavement of the ancient road is still visible in the modern path.

We now have a good view of the extinct crater basin of Pantano Secco: that it represents the ancient Lake Regillus I have attempted to prove in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, vol. vii. (1898) 103 *sqq.* and have given a brief summary of the article in *Classical Review*, xii. (1898) 470. The main arguments to my mind are (1) that this is the only site of those proposed, except Prata Porci, which can safely be said to be *in agro Tusculano*, and (2) that the latter was certainly not a lake in Roman times (*Papers*, i. 244), so that we seem by exclusion to be left with Pantano Secco as the only possible representative. It is interesting to notice that the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus passed, as shown in the map, through the basin, at some height above its floor (cf. *Classical Review*, xiv. (1900) 327). Nibby (*Schede cit.*, cf. *Analisi*, iii. 9) is inclined to attribute the emissarium roughly to the 8th century A.D. Just N of the aqueducts are traces of other remains: Nibby notes here (*Schede*, 104) 'uncertain ruin, possibly a tomb, near which is a sarcophagus broken and turned upside down.'

There are no further traces of the antiquity of the path beyond this point as far as the Via Cavona. There is an ancient reservoir under Casale Marchese, and on the E. side of the Fosso del Cavaliere, and S. of Casale Marchese, low down in the valley, is a rectangular platform supported by walling of rough stones on the N.W. and S.W.

It is conceivable that it is the platform of the altar erected to celebrate the victory of the Lake Regillus—for Dionysius (vi. 14) tells us of the sacrifices which occurred on the day after (*Rendiconti cit.*, 124), but this is

very doubtful. Similar walling of rough stones has been found near Gabii (*Papers*, i. 196) and recent excavations have proved its connexion with a Roman farmhouse.

Along the ancient road on the E. side of Pantano Secco (which Grossi-Gondi marks in his map, not considering apparently that on the W. as ancient)<sup>1</sup> Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 48<sup>r</sup>) noticed pavingstones: S.E. of point 174 the field wall was full of debris, among it a fragment of a large marble block with a few letters of an inscription in fine letters, originally about 0·1 metre high: . E. of point 174 was an area enclosed by large squared blocks of peperino, and then a finely preserved piece of the ancient road, a little to the left of the modern path.

At Pantano Secco, in the property of Anastasio Reali (which Grossi-Gondi in his map places at point 135) in 1889 was found a sepulchral cippus of L. Septimius Agrippinus, published by Lugari in *Cronichetta Armellini*, 1889, 100, Tomassetti in *Bull. Com.* 1895, 161, and Grossi-Gondi (*op. cit.* 180). The text runs thus: *D.M L. Sep. Agrippinus L. Sep. Antoni Agathonici Nepos v(iri) p(erfectissimi) a rat(ione) h(ereditatium) L. Sep. Agathonici v(iri) e(gregii) filius memoriam vivus mihi meisque feci libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum cum loco qui est post dorso memoriae finibus suis una cum casa et aedificio superposito at custodem loci cibariorum gratia pertinebunt.* The last word has been added later, and the grammar is clearly incorrect. With it were found ruins of the third century A.D., perhaps of the *casa et aedificium* itself. The inscription is now in the municipal collection at Frascati.

A little to the W. is a small reservoir below the ground level. Stevenson notes traces of the prolongation of the road as far as the Via Cavona past the so-called Grotte Dama. and across it to the Via Labicana, cf. *Papers*, i. 240, and map iii. and the addendum in iii. 207. Grossi-Gondi (p. 157) rightly notices that it is marked by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, ed. 1788, Diss. i. tab. i.) as *Viatrium a Tusculo in Labicanam*, though the latter does not indicate its course to the S. of the tunnel by which the Fosso della Morte leaves Prata Porci (*Papers*, i. 243).

We may return once more to Frascati by the Fontanile Trasanella, and then take the Vicolo di Prata Porci. To the E. of the Fontanile are

<sup>1</sup> He prolongs the so-called Stradone di S. Marco (*infra*, 325) hypothetically so as to join this eastern branch just N. of the railway near point 178 (cf. p. 156); but there, I think, he is wrong, and his error arises from the fact that he does not recognize as even probably ancient the road from Prata Porci to Osteria del Finocchio.

the remains of a villa: further E. are other ruins, for which see *Papers*, i. 243. Nibby (*Schede*, i. 78, 113) noticed the existence (cf. *Analisi*, iii. 10) in the basin of Prata Porci, especially near its N. extremity, of ancient fragments, marbles, and so on, and of the pavement of the road, which I have marked as doubtfully ancient in the map (cf. *Papers*, i. 244 and n. 1, *supra*, 318 and *infra*, 325). He also noticed traces of an aqueduct of cement, and observed that the hills from this point to Pantano Secco were covered with a stratified calcareous deposit, like that of the Aqua Claudia—that the Aqua Claudia actually passed here (*Papers*, *cit.* 245) he did not apparently know. Above the basin on the W. he noticed a small reservoir of selce concrete some 6.60 metres square, probably that N. of point 172 in our map, with a spring near it. Some way to the S. again are the so-called Grotte dello Stingo or Stinco ('Shinbone') so called, no doubt, from the discovery here of some post-classical tomb. The plan of the building—which is the substruction of a villa, with a reservoir in the centre, below the present ground level—is curious, and was noticed by Nibby.

Excavations were made here in 1831 by Kestner, Chargé d'Affaires of Hanover (the site belonging to Marchese Campana): see *Atti del Camerlengato*, iv. 1499, which, however, gives no particulars of any discoveries.

To the S. of it, on the N. edge of the railway, on a hill 206 metres above sea-level is a reservoir, now partly ruined, divided into two chambers by square pillars, also noticed by Nibby. This reservoir is marked 'Grotte' in the map. Stevenson (*Lat. Lat.* 10572, 42) tells us that the pavement of the ancient road was found just to the S. in making the new railway line. A little to the E. is a very large villa platform (upon which is built the Casa Boldetti) cut through by the modern railway line, with a supporting wall of *opus incertum*, the building itself being in *opus reticulatum*: in the hill Stevenson noted ancient pozzolana quarries. From the description of Wells (*Alban Hills*, 282 *sqq.*) it would seem that this is the villa which she calls the Villa of Sardanapalus, in which were found in 1761 the statue of the bearded Dionysus, with the name Sardanapallos in Greek characters (now in the Sala della Biga in the Vatican, no. 608), the Caryatides in the Villa Albani (nos. 16, 24, 91, 97, Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 767–770), and a very fine draped female figure, with one arm wanting, mentioned by Winckelmann in a letter quoted by Fea, *Storia dell' Arte*, iii. 253, and *Miscellanea*, i. 184 (cf. Winckelmann, *Werke* (Donauoschingen,

1825), ii. 97, v. 199, viii. 307. The villa was thought at the time to be the villa of the gens Porcia, from some inscriptions found there, as Winckelmann says; but there are none in the *Corpus* to which his description could refer. It then acquired (I do not know how) the traditional name of the Villa of Lucius Verus. Here it was that Wells copied the fragments of a large inscription, possibly of T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (*Prosopographia*, i. p. 415, no. 915), which are given in *C.I.L.* xiv. 2612. She adds a description of the ruins, and says that five altars of peperino were found here (p. 285), but her account of them is not very clear, and is probably that of her informant.

The lead pipe bearing the inscription *Aeliae Aste* twice repeated, which was found in the railway works in 1891 (*C.I.L.* xv. 7829), probably belonged to the reservoir marked 'Grotte,' as it was found at the 22nd kilometre (which is close by) 'on the near side' (to Rome) of the Grotte dello Stingo: here were also found (*Not. Scavi*, 1891, 289) remains of a large, and apparently late, cemetery (inasmuch as burials under tiles prevailed). One inscription was discovered, erected to a priestess of the Bona Dea, with some surprising errors in orthography [*F*]laviae [*A*]thenai [*di*] Flavius [*R*]espaectu[s] (sic) [*m*]atri suae b[ene] merenti feci[t et] Marius Alexand[er et] Marius Felix ne[*potes sacer*]doti Bonae De[ae] qu[ae] vicshit (sic) a[un]is . . . . . vii d[ie]bus, ixx (h)or(is) . . . . [*ma*]rmararius (sic) isc . . . . . it curae . . . . . la. Two Arretine vases and a lamp, all with stamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 5151 a. 5, 5517 b. 6, 6376, 25 (d.) 1 were found, and imperial coins, including a fine one of Alexander Severus, coined in Syria in 230 A.D. (Cohen iv. p. 64, n. 485. Stevenson too notes (*ib.* 144) that Boldetti had found tombs with stamped tiles, no doubt before the railway was made. 'Near Prata Porci' was found the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2712.

Further to the E. are the ruins marked Grotte di Colle Pisano in the map, which belong to a villa: at point 195 is a vaulted chamber with two aisles (probably a reservoir) and adjoining it a substruction wall in good *opus quadratum* of peperino blocks, the courses varying from 0.41 to 0.53 metre in height, running S.S.E., with buttresses at the S.S.E. end: the wall is about 40 metres long, and served to support one of the platforms of the villa. To the E. is another reservoir, rectangular, and apparently open. To the S. of this villa the railway cuts through a drain and to the S. again at point 227 is the platform of a villa, with a subterranean chamber in it.

Further W.S.W. at point 229 are the remains of a large tomb—a lofty solid mass of selce concrete, over 5 metres square, the so-called ‘Torre della Bella Pisana.’ Wells (p. 289) mentions the discovery above it of fine pavements and fragments of statues. There are, however, no decided traces of antiquity upon the path which passes by it, and I do not see sufficient grounds for assuming it to be ancient: some pavingstones in the fieldwall at its S. end might also come from the Via di Colonna (*infra*, 326); and a little to the S.E. of the tomb, on the S.W. side of the path, are remains of an ancient building in selce concrete facing S.W., with a drain running N., which probably extended across it. At the junction of this path with another S. of point 261, Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 22) noted the discovery of an underground water channel in 1892, and also the existence of worn, broken pavingstones. To the W. again, in the Quarto Vagnolo, Stevenson marks ruins: there are the remains of a mediaeval building, possibly on an ancient site, incorporated in a modern house. Here I saw a much weathered cippus in white marble 1.05 metre high by 0.70 wide: of the inscription on it I could only read D M S in the first line, in letters 0.07 metre high.

Returning to the railway line at the Grotte, we follow the Vicolo di Prata Porci straight to the S.S.E. There are no traces of antiquity along it now, but Grossi-Gondi (p. 156) cites Giorgi’s statement that on June 23rd, 1734, he saw the ancient pavement running parallel to this road (Stradone di S. Marco).

As given by Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 173,) it does not really justify any statement of the kind—Giorgi simply says there that it was found below Frascati in a tenuta of Prince Borghese called S. Croce below Vigna Spinetta (*supra*, 318).

Nibby (*Schede*, i. 78), however, mentions that in his excursion from Frascati to Prata Porci and Pantano Secco, after noticing the ancient road under the enclosure wall of the Villa Borghese (*infra*, 330) he and his companion took the road to the left before reaching the Montano (di Borghese, *i.e.* the Barco) and that this in some places seemed to him ancient. This must refer to the road to Colonna, and cannot be the same as the road mentioned *ib.* 104 (cf. *Analisi*, iii. 9) which, he says, left the Via Labicana at Torre Nuova (really rather further on—*supra*, 322) joined the modern road to Monte Porzio beyond the Cappellette (*infra*, 375) and ascended to Tusculum on the side of Camaldoli.

I am not indeed quite sure about the existence of a road coming up from the direction of Pantano Secco or Prata Porci to the E. of the Cappellette: Grossi-Gondi does not mark it, nor does Rosa in his large map of the Campagna. The latter has a different theory again, marking an ancient road coming from the bifurcation a little S. of the Cisternole, passing E. of the villa on Colle Spinetta, W. of the Barco di Borghese, and then curving round so as to pass between Mondragone and Le Cappellette (*infra*, 369).

In the Quarto S. Croce, in the Vigna Graziosi, a lead pipe bearing the inscription *Tuberius) Cl(adius) For (. . . .) fec it* was found about 1860 according to one account, or in 1879 according to another (unless two copies of it were discovered: cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 7859). In a vineyard in the same Quarto were found the unimportant sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2694, 2731.

At the end of the straight line the Vicolo di Prata Porci falls into the road which leads to Colonna on the S. side of the latter. Grossi-Gondi (p. 155, n. 5) indicates a tomb, the so-called Torretta, which I have omitted to mark in my map: it is just under the 'to' of 'Q<sup>vi</sup>,' and Stevenson also noticed it. I have since examined it, but consider it to be a fragment of a larger building, the greater part of which is hidden under the slope of the hill. What is visible is a part of the substructions in *opus reticulatum*, with a vaulted roof: above it is a ruined modern house and a little further up another. That the road continued past it to the S. is a justifiable assumption, though there are no actual traces as far as the modern road to Monte Porzio. For its further course up to the amphitheatre of Tusculum cf. *infra*, 367 *sqq.*

There are no decided traces of antiquity in the road to Colonna E. of this point, and I had (*Papers*, i. 253, n. 2) expressed some doubt as to the actual line of the modern road representing the ancient one, though I still consider that such a line of communication must have existed. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 356, is only speaking, however, of the road above Monte Porzio, not of that below it: for his map and his description show clearly that in his time there was no road passing below Monte Porzio to La Colonna (*infra*, 383) and that he went by the upper road, of the antiquity of which from this point to Frascati there is no doubt; and it will be better before examining the district further E., to return by it and dispose of the villas immediately above Frascati, and of Tusculum itself.

To the N. of the road is the huge villa called Il Barco di Borghese (Barco is simply a corruption of Parco—cf. *Papers*, iii. 122). It is an enormous artificial terrace (there was probably on the E. half a natural elevation which served as its nucleus, but the whole of it is now surrounded by substruction walls), upon which there is now a garden, there being no remains of the villa itself preserved.

The W. portion of the platform is supported by a series of substructions of a very remarkable kind : a careful plan of them has been made for me by Mr. F. G. Newton, and will be found reproduced on Pl. XXVII.

At the N.E. angle there is a projecting mass of concrete foundation which seems to mark the extremity of the villa : the outermost wall marked on the plan, going westward from this point, is not preserved above ground level : the ancient facing of the inner wall, both on the N. and E. sides, exists for a foot or two only, and above it is modern concrete. It is made of irregular pieces of selce (cf. *supra*, 315, and Pl. XXXV. fig. 2), but towards the middle of the N. side *opus reticulatum*, of the same material begins. Where the building projects further to the N. there is a cryptoporticus on the outside (cf. Grossi-Gondi, *op. cit.* Pl. VI.), while within the platform are the substructions of which we have spoken, which are now accessible from the chamber B and are entirely without light or ventilation. The first range of chambers which we reach runs S. : they are large and lofty, and are faced with rough pieces of selce, the vaulted roofs being made of concrete set on planks : the apertures leading from one to the other have sometimes pointed, sometimes rounded, tops. There are two low internal cross-walls in the last but one, the first of which is faced with *opus reticulatum*. The isolated chamber to the S., marked A, is accessible only from the garden above.

To the W. of these is another group, which at first has more subdivisions, though the further chambers are even larger than those of the first group ; but another group of small chambers lies to the S. The great thickness of the dividing walls is remarkable, and probably there was a considerable weight above to be supported. The concrete was here faced with brickwork of not very good quality ; but many of the bricks have been hammered away in mediaeval or modern times for building material : some of the walls were faced with *opus signinum*, so that a few (though a comparatively small minority) of these chambers must have served as reservoirs. To the S. of these small chambers a long corridor runs



S. for over half the length of the substructions: at C is a wall in *opus reticulatum*, which does not exist to the full height of the corridor, and here is a branch passage running W., which leads into a corridor parallel to the main one, the entrance into this last being by a pointed aperture formed in the concrete. From this shorter corridor (which may be regarded in one sense as equal in length to the main one, though it is much broken up and subdivided) the outer air may be regained on the W. side of the villa by a break in the back wall of one of the long chambers running E. and W. The main corridor may be followed S. for a considerable way: we find a single chamber on the E. of it, and a group of small ones on the W. (The inaccessible rectangular spaces between the groups of chambers must have been filled with earth.) Just beyond the entrance of the former there is a vaulted passage inside it, the walls of which reduce its width so considerably that it is now blocked with earth for a distance, as far as can be estimated, of about four metres. If one could pass through this obstacle, one would reach (in some cases only by later breaks in the wall) a number of long chambers going E. and W., and to the S. of these another group of small chambers (in that marked F there is a double vault, with a hollow interval of 1.50 metre between the two), beyond which again, though inaccessible from them, are more long, narrow chambers. To the W. of these last the plan shows an open space, now partly occupied by modern buildings and partly left open; but it seems to me that there are sufficient indications to lead us to suppose that there was a corridor here, and more chambers to the W. of it: it is improbable that there was a courtyard here in ancient times, owing to considerations of level. The narrow space to the N. of this yard shows similarly clear traces of a series of parallel chambers with vaulted roofs. Returning to the long internal corridor, just before the point where it is blocked, we notice that a group of small chambers lies to the W. of it: traversing these, we find ourselves in the line of what is in reality a parallel corridor to it, though much subdivided, and actually blocked in two places. Following it northward, we pass through a series of small rooms, from which others branch off: these last present curious thickenings of walls and irregularities in plan. Some of them have served as cisterns. In two of them, marked D, is brickwork, with bricks no less than 0.40 to 0.50 metre long, and 0.07 metre thick, a thickness, I think, unknown elsewhere in this part of Italy, though it is met with, e.g. at Urbs Salvia (Urbisaglia) in the Marches.

We have not noticed the exterior of the W. side of the platform, which is mostly faced with *opus reticulatum* of selce, with quoins of the same material. At about the centre of this at E we find almost the only specimen of brickwork that may be seen on the outside: the bricks average 0.027 metre thick, the mortar courses 0.013 thick. Just to the S. of this we may notice two arches, half-filled at a later period with masses of concrete, faced with small pieces of selce with brick quoins, no doubt in order to give further support. Further S. Nibby marks in his plan a half column of *opus reticulatum*, half-buried, which I did not notice. On the S. side little is preserved, though a fine specimen of *opus reticulatum* may be seen close to the modern road. The wall at a divergent orientation, shown only in outline, belongs to a modern house, and is probably of modern origin also; but there is a small fragment of ancient walling at a considerable distance further on, not very far from the S.E. angle.

Nibby (*Schede*, i. 105) gives a rough and not accurate sketch plan of the villa; Grossi-Gondi (*op. cit.* Pl. VI., cf. p. 158) gives two views. Stevenson had believed (*Cimitero di Zotico*, 98) that it belonged to the Quintilii, but the lead pipes on which he based his assumption were really found at Mondragone (*infra*, 370). Grossi-Gondi, who has examined the ruins carefully, found in the cornices forming the imposts of the vaults five examples of *C.I.L.* xv. 310, eleven of *ib.* 1273, and three of *ib.* 1289 (all of the time of Vespasian). Giorgi noted as found here in 1734 *ib.* 904 f. 25 (Trajan) 933 a. 4 (middle of first century) 1365. 7 (134 A.D.): with this would agree the character of the facing—both the *opus reticulatum* with stone quoins and the brickwork. See *Bull. Com.* 1898, 333; Wells, *op. cit.* 238.

We may therefore with some confidence assign the building to the end of the first century A.D. Nibby (*Schede*, i. 77) mentions an excavation here not long before 1822 in the oliveyard to the W. and speaks of the existence of fragments of marble there.

To the E. of the Barco is a reservoir which may have supplied either it or the building at the Torretta. It lies on the N. side of the high-road just before it takes a bend to the S.S.E. towards Le Cappellette. It had three chambers, of which two are now preserved, with nine arches in each of the dividing walls. Grossi-Gondi alludes to it (p. 156, n. 1) as in the Vigna Carocci, but marks it in the wrong place, to the E. of La Torretta. Just to the S. of the real site of this reservoir, in the elbow of the road, E. of the

Villa Vecchia, he marks the remains of another villa, of which scanty traces exist.

Between the Barco and Frascati, near the entrance to the Villa Mondragone, as Grossi-Gondi tells us (p. 144), pavingstones were found on the line of the modern road in 1899-1900; and Nibby tells us that he saw the pavement of the ancient road under the enclosure wall of the Villa Borghese on the left on the steep ascent to Frascati (the former Via Saponara, now Via di Monte Porzio), as Grossi-Gondi and I have marked it (*Analisi*, ii. 356; iii. 342; *Schede*, i. 61, 78: cf. Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, 80).

#### XVII.—THE ASCENT FROM FRASCATI TO TUSCULUM AND TUSCULUM ITSELF.

The road which we have followed from Il Barco leads us to the level of the cathedral of Frascati. From this level, according to Grossi-Gondi's researches, three other roads branch off (*supra*, 301), one leading to the amphitheatre of Tusculum and passing E. of the Villa Falconieri, another going to the same point, but passing W. of the Cappuccini, and a third, with which we have already dealt (*supra*, 252), leading S. to the Via Latina at La Pedica near the thirteenth mile. The first of these I have conjecturally marked as starting from near the Camposanto of Frascati (*supra*, 316) owing to a misunderstanding, as Grossi-Gondi points out (p. 156 n. 3), of information which he gave me.

Grossi-Gondi, on the other hand, makes it follow a different course: it starts from Frascati, then passes W. of the Villa Borghese, and runs up the N.E. side of the valley which bears the name of Valle di Cicerone<sup>1</sup> (*infra*, 339) and leads up to the amphitheatre: along the bottom of it runs the boundary between the communes of Frascati and Monte Porzio. He describes various remains of pavement which have come to light in recent years, from which its width can be determined at about 2 metres. Above the modern path which runs from Frascati to Camaldoli, indeed, it can be traced for about a quarter of a mile.

To the S.W. of this road rises the Villa Falconieri, previously known as Rufina, from its builder Alessandro Rufini, Bishop of Melfi: it was also called Villa della Maddalena from a chapel<sup>2</sup> destroyed in building the

<sup>1</sup> For a find of antiquities here in 1850-2 see Seghetti, *Tuscolo e Frascati*, 101, n. 1.

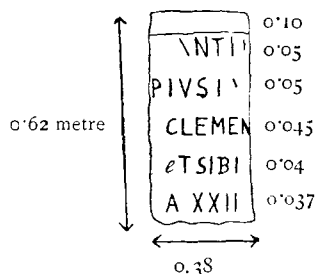
<sup>2</sup> In this chapel was copied the inscription *C. I. L.* xiv. 2609.

villa, which was the first of the modern villas of Frascati (1546-50; (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 45). It has recently become the property of the German Emperor. It rests upon an ancient villa, of which some remains are still visible—especially the massive substructions on the N.W. and N.E., in *opus reticulatum* (carefully described by Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 27<sup>v</sup> *sqq.*), while several walls of this material, and plain mosaic pavements with yellowish tesserae, one with a narrow black band round the edge, have been recently found in the garden in front of the villa. On an upper terrace to the S. is a beautiful pool, the so-called Ninfa, of which Lanciani gives an attractive photograph in his *Wanderings* (after p. 286 : the reservoir at the W. corner is not ancient, for an *opus reticulatum* wall projects close to it, showing that the ancient villa should have been marked in my map as extending further S.W., as far as the modern entrance gate.

An anonymous letter of the 8th of August 1753 preserved in the *Chronicon Sublacense* of the Library of the Episcopal Seminary at Frascati, mentions the discovery of, apparently, a herring-bone pavement on the upper level, where the fountain now is (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 204).

That Rufini found antiquities in building his villa is probable, inasmuch as Aldovrandi (p. 181) saw in his house in Rome a female head found at Frascati. Here Fabretti and Lesley late in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century saw the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2604. It was erected to *M. Cusinius M. F. Vel(ina tribu) aed(ilis) pl(ebis) agrario prae(fectus) pr(aetor)* by his father, his mother Fictoria, and his sister. Dessau marks that the absence of cognomina proves the inscription to be earlier than Nero; and Klebs (*Prosopographia*, i. p. 488, no. 1329) assigns it to the years 27-23 B.C., cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 29. If the inscription was found here (which of course we do not know) then there is some ground for supposing that the villa belonged to this person. In the first half of the eighteenth century *C.I.L.* xiv. 2633 was copied here: it was a dedication to Julius Severinus *patronus cultorum Dianesium* by three other persons, two of them slaves, which seems to be of late date. The inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2656, cut upon a cippus of sperone was also seen here in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was copied by Stevenson, who saw another similar cippus without inscription: he noted that it was not fractured on the left, as represented by Giorgi. The lettering is not very distinct, but the reading given is correct, except that xvii in the last line should probably be xviii. In a niche below the Ninfa is the headless torso

of a male statue wearing a toga, and a Doric cornice with a bucranium between two triglyphs. In the hall of the Villa, too, are several Corinthian capitals of white marble, and in the lower garden is a statue of a man bearing fruit in his bosom. In the fountain was recently found a slab of white marble 0.09 metre thick with the following inscription, which was somewhat difficult to decipher: it is obviously sepulchral and of little importance.



The various remains of villas, etc. further E. will be described in connexion with the continuation of the road from Prata Porci (*supra*, 326) and in the reverse direction, *i.e.* starting from the amphitheatre (*infra*, 367). We now return to Frascati and take the road which leaves it on the S.S.E., and which is, I think, undoubtedly ancient, though Nibby says (*Schede*, i. 64) that it is quite modern.

On the W. side of this road, before we actually leave the modern Frascati, we find a tomb which tradition attributes to Lucullus (cf. p. 302). A plan of it is given by Angelini and Fea, *Via Latina*, Pl. VII; and another less accurate and differing, in that the exterior is made square and not round, by Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. xxvi. (with a view *ibid.* xxvii) = *Edifizi*, VI. tav. lxxxiii. It consists of a circular mass of concrete with a chamber in the form of a Latin cross in the centre, faced with *opus reticulatum* with brick quoins.

Mattei (*Tuscolo*, 61, 62), who gives a rough wood cut of it, says that it was despoiled of its decorations about 1598, during the construction of the new cathedral, though the best of the objects found were removed to Rome. Close by it in his own time some burials covered by tiles were found.

Opposite to it is the Villa Lancellotti, formerly S. Croce, S. Angelo, and Piccolomini, which has no archaeological records (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 56). The inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2708 (of no interest) preserved there was very likely found in Rome and transported thither.

The path, between high walls, retains some traces of ancient pavement: it passes to the N.E. of the splendid Villa Aldobrandini, which was begun in 1602 by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, nephew of Clement VIII. (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 55), and which in the 18th century was called the Villa Pamphili.<sup>1</sup> This does not itself occupy an ancient site; but, immediately to the S.W. of it, between it and the gate towards the Villa Montalto, are foundations of selce concrete which form angles with the avenue, and must be corners of cisterns or of rooms in the substructions of an ancient villa which was orientated differently from the present one.

Near the gate just mentioned there was found in 1845 a sepulchral cippus, with two urn-shaped cavities for ashes, bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2610 (Grossi-Gondi, p. 191, n. 1). It is an inscription in honour of Rubellia Bassa, daughter of C. Rubellius Blandus and of Julia, the granddaughter of Tiberius (*Prosopographia*, iii. p. 136, no. 86), set up by her grandson Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus, consul in 131 A.D. It is possible that we have here an indication of the ownership of the ancient villa. For another property owned by the same man at Prata Porci cf. *Papers*, i. 244.

There were also found on the same occasion, Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 1003 (a marble base with a metrical dedication of a statue holding a cup to Hercules), a Latin inscription of Certā (which does not seem to have found its way into the *Corpus*), a trapezophorus (cf. Grossi-Gondi, 73, n. 1), an altar with trees and birds (still in the modern nymphaeum), a fragment of a draped statue, and a piece of a coffered ceiling (*Atti del Camerlengato*, iv. 3453, cited by Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 180 n): *ib.* 3475 contains papers relating to the continuation of the excavations, but there is no information as to their results.<sup>2</sup>

Pavingstones are to be seen in the substruction wall of the garden near the villa, which may have come from the road up to the amphitheatre, while others, Stevenson thinks (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 134), which are to be seen to the S. along the avenues which lead along the W. side of the hill, may have been brought from elsewhere, or may belong to another *deverticulum*, which would have fallen into the branch from the Via Latina to Tusculum (*supra*, 257).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eschinardi, *Descrizione di Roma* (ed. Venuti, 1750), p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Tomassetti cites *ib.* 2846 as his authority for the statement that *with the inscriptions* were found five marble heads *in* 1834, but incorrectly (*infra*, 344. n. 3).

Whether many of the antiquities now or formerly preserved at the Villa were found at Frascati or not is as doubtful as in the case of other villas at Tusculum. They include the famous Demosthenes of the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo, 62), a bust of Vespasian (possibly not genuine—Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. 2, p. 23, no. 10), a statue formerly supposed to represent Domitian, but really a Hermes of the neo-Attic school of the first century B.C. now at Munich (Glyptothek, no. 300), having been bought in Rome in 1811 from one Pescetelli, an inferior male sepulchral statue, in white marble, still in the modern nymphaeum, as Tomassetti calls it (*i.e.* the large hemicycle just to the S.E. of the Villa itself), and three or four sarcophagi, which were in Rome in the sixteenth century, and removed to the Villa before 1656. (Robert, *Sark. Rel.* ii. 34; iii. 79, 155, 224.) A bust of Volusianus is mentioned by Bottari, *Mus. Cap.* ii. p. 67, cf. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* ii. 3, 161 fin. An inventory of the collection of sculptures, as it was in 1709, is published in *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, iii. 181 *sqq.*

The Villa is supplied with water from springs below Monte Fiore (*infra*, 413, which is brought by an aqueduct constructed for the purpose by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. Illustrations of the fountains and gardens of this and other villas at Frascati at the end of the seventeenth century will be found in Falda's *Fontane delle Ville di Frascati*; see also H. Inigo Triggs, *The Art of Garden Design in Italy*, pp. 117 *sqq.* Pls. CII. *sqq.* I shall not deal with the fascinating subject of the Renaissance villas of Frascati; though this should be done with reference also to the history of the collections of antiquities which they contained. The unimportant sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2684, 2685, 2730, 2734 were found in the grounds of the Villa, probably all of them in 1875 (cf. Wells, *op. cit.* 193 *sqq.*) along the diverticulum mentioned, *supra*, 258, and several others built into the so-called Casino delle Fornaci, *i.e.* the house between the Villa and point 429 (where are many fragments of marble sculptures and decorative terracottas) were probably discovered there also (*ib.* 2643, 2644, 2751, 2720, 2729, 2735, 2739 and the Greek inscription given by De Rossi, *Bull. Crist.* 1881, 131). As to *ibid.* 2743 the case is doubtful. Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 181, note) notes the discovery, a little before he wrote, of a marble statue and a fine pavement, and speaks of other antiquities visible in the Villa.

A little way above the Villa Aldobrandini, on the N.E. side of the

road, is the monastery of the Cappuccini,<sup>1</sup> which occupies the site of an ancient villa, described in the extract from *Cod. Tusc. cit.* given by Lanciani in *Bull. Comm.* 1884, 202, and *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 47: it had a reservoir close to the ancient road, and behind this a substruction wall, in which in 1656 the anonymous author of the description cited saw seven niches, decorated with shells and calcareous incrustations (the so-called 'tartari') and mosaics. This substruction wall supports the terrace of the Villa Rufinella, which thus occupies probably the site of the main building of the villa, which I have omitted to mark in my map. This villa was only separated from the Rufina (Falconieri) in 1578; but the subsequent changes of proprietors are given quite differently by Lanciani (*Storia, loc. cit.*) and Grossi-Gondi (p. 149, n. 3). In 1804 it belonged to Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, in 1820 it passed to the Duchess of Chablais, then to the royal house of Sardinia, and finally to Prince Lancellotti. The ancient villa which is associated with the name Rufinella is one which lies within its grounds, but some 500 metres to the S.S.E. of it, 538 m. above sea-level, upon the boundary line between the communes of Frascati and Monte Porzio, and mainly in the territory of the latter. This is the site of the discoveries of 1741-6 (during the period 1740-73, when it was the property of the Jesuits) described in full by Lanciani, *Bull. cit.* 174 *sqq.*, and Grossi-Gondi, 148 *sqq.*, both of whom give full references to previous authors.

At present there is very little visible above ground: the two platforms of the villa, which seems to have faced S.W., are clearly distinguishable (though, the walls having been razed to the ground as they were discovered, they are now occupied only by flat meadows), and scanty remains of the substruction walls of the lower in *opus reticulatum* of selce with quoins of the same material may be seen on the S.W. and N.W. sides; while on the upper terrace, between the road leading up to the amphitheatre and the boundary wall of the Aldobrandini property, are three reservoirs, two with one chamber each, and a third with at least three.

Unfortunately the plans and notes made by Boscovich with a view to a thorough publication of the results have disappeared, and the accounts at our disposal are somewhat meagre. The devastation of the site is

<sup>1</sup> On the threshold of the entrance door to the monastery Lanciani copied a fragment of an inscription (*C. I. L.* xiv. 2764 a).



accounted for by the fact that the walls were demolished to provide material for the new wing of the villa, which was being erected by Vanvitelli. The villa had four courts, according to one authority (*Giornale dei Letterati* 1746, 115 *sqq.*, reproduced by Fea, *Miscellanea*, ii. 130 *sqq.*, and Canina *Tuscolo*, p. 87, n. 5), two according to Zuzzeri (*Di un' antica villa scoperta nel dorso del Tuscolo*) and Lanciani accepts the latter number as more in conformity with the usual type of a large country house. The baths were clearly recognizable, and were on the N. side, where the principal rooms seem to have been situated, for the sake of coolness in summer.<sup>1</sup> There was a peristyle on three sides of the whole villa, with a cryptoporticus; and there were several cisterns (including those we have just mentioned), near which numerous water-pipes were discovered, though only two inscriptions have come down to us, *T. Cispius Decor* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7857) and *L. . . . Rat. Sc. . .* (*ib.* 7872), both given by Zuzzeri. To these I feel no doubt that we should add *ib.* 7839 *N. Iuni Fausti* and 7874 *L. Aennius Fortunatus*, both given by Muratori from copies sent him by Ramagini, who as we know (*supra*, 224) was copying inscriptions at and near Tusculum in 1741, and who saw them '*Tusculi in aquaeductu*.' The copy of the latter is no doubt corrupt, and there is some doubt as to what the *gentilicium* should be. I think we may very likely also add the terracotta friezes in the Museo Kircheriano, one of which is published by Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* 161, while both are given by Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. iii. iv. with the mourning Penelope and the recognition of Ulysses.

The brickstamps found here are given by Zuzzeri (*op. cit.* 26 *sqq.*): they are as follows, *C.I.L.* xv. 371. a. 19 (Severus),<sup>2</sup> 566. b. 2 (about 123 A.D.), 571. 1 (Hadrian), 595. a. 8, b. 32 (Hadrian), 861. 15 (142 A.D.), 966. d. 7 (first century A.D.), 2042. b (123 A.D.), 2233 (first century A.D.), 2277 (first century A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

The fine head of Socrates now in the Villa Albani (no. 1040, Helbig, *Fuhrer*, ii.<sup>2</sup> 834; Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikon.* i. 187, no. 8) was discovered in the Villa of Cicero 'situated on the summit of the ancient city of Tusculum' in 1735, according to Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Cod. Ottob. Vat.* 3108, 167 = Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1882, 224, lxiii. = Schreiber, *Fundberichte des P. L. Ghezzi*, lxxiv. in *Sachs. Berichte*, 1892, 141). It first passed into the hands

<sup>1</sup> Winckelmann in Fea *Storia dell'Arte*, iii. 83, 211. (=mem. 10 Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. p. 203) gives a long description of the hypocausts.

<sup>2</sup> This is doubtful (cf. *supra*, 301).

<sup>3</sup> For this stamp which bears the legend *M. Tu* see *supra*, 234.

of Cardinal Alessandro Falconieri, whose heirs sold it to Mgr. Niccolini, who in turn gave it to Cardinal Alessandro Albani.

I have already pointed out (*Papers*, iv. 115) that Ghezzi gives a different account of the locality of the discovery of the other objects which he associates with this head; but I now think that the fact that he says expressly 'I was present at the discovery of it' must have more weight than I had given to it.

The fine mosaic in the Vatican (Sala in forma di Croce Greca: Helbig, *Führer*, i.<sup>2</sup> 328) was found in 1741 in this villa, cf. Visconti *Museo Pio Clem.* VI. tav. xlvii., Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. xlv., Grossi-Gondi, Pl. VII. for illustrations of it. Other small fragments of mosaic found in the same year, but not certainly belonging to the same pavement, were in the Museo Kircheriano, and are now in the Museo delle Terme (Canina, tav. xiv. Helbig, ii.<sup>2</sup> 1153, 1157): cf. Ficoroni, *Mem.* 74 in Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. p. 153. Ficoroni, in *Roma Antica*, 1741, 275, mentions the discovery here in the previous year of two bas-reliefs with two Bacchantes, one holding a cantharus and one a thyrsus, which after they had been restored and a cornice 7 palms high added were conveyed to France by the Duke of S. Agnan, ambassador of the French King to the Holy See. Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. p. 153, *mem.* 69, leaves out the word 'bas-reliefs.'

A *horologium solare* was also found and is described and illustrated by Zuzzeri, *op. cit.* 63 *sqq.*: it too was placed in the Museo Kircheriano (De Ruggiero, *Guida del Museo Kircheriano* (1879) p. 60, 224–226). Dessau is almost certainly right in attributing to these excavations *C.I.L.* xiv. 2635—*Plutiae A(uli) f(iliae) Olympiadi sodali iuvenum l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*—and 2640 (*sodales lusus iuvenalis*). He notes, rightly, that it is only at Tusculum (*ib.* 2631) that we find women as *sodales iuvenum*, and notes further that copies of both inscriptions were sent to Maffei by Contucci just about the period of the excavations (at least before 1749) and that the second is still in the Museo Kircheriano.

There seem to be faint records of earlier excavations, for a large marble cippus bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2607 is described as having been discovered in 1727 or 1728 'on the summit of Tusculum,' or more precisely 'near the road which leads over the top of the mountain from the Vigna Pamphili (i.e. the Villa Aldobrandini, *supra*, 333) to Mondragone': very probably at this villa itself, but in any case somewhere between it and the amphitheatre.

The cippus was set up in honour of *M. Gavius T. f. Velina tribu) Appalius Maximus, clarissimus vir, quaestor Augusti, legatus provinciae Narbonensis, sodalis Hadrianalis* by a freedman and procurator of his; and, if it was actually found in the remains of the villa, it may give us the name of one of its owners in the latter part of the second century—a date which would agree with that of the brickstamps; but the use on the S.W. side of the lower terrace of selce concrete faced with *opus reticulatum* with selce quoins makes it probable that the villa had existed a good deal earlier, though there is no ground for attributing it either to Cicero or to Tiberius (*supra*, 232).

Lanciani (*Bull. com. cit.*) is in error in attributing to this site the excavations in 1831 and 1834, which belong to the building which Canina calls the Villa of Tiberius (*infra*, 344).

Of subsequent excavations in this part of the Villa Rufinella we have no record, except that we are told that some brickstamps were found in digging to plant chestnuts in the Villa Lancelotti (Rufinella) namely, *C.I.L.* xv. 454 c (123 A.D.) and several others, mostly rectangular with one line of text, belonging, probably, to the first century A.D. (Tomassetti, *Bull. Com.* 1890, III.).

E. of point 538, above the winding avenue, is a substruction wall of selce concrete facing S.W., which I am inclined to attribute to the Renaissance period; and further to the E. again are some rough ruins, which may be mediaeval. I have not marked either in the map.

As we continue to ascend E.S.E., the pavement of the ancient road begins to be preserved a little to the right of the modern path, not long before we reach the W. side of the amphitheatre of Tusculum. Here our path is joined by three other ancient roads, one ascending on the E. side of the Villa Falconieri (*supra*, 330), another, the prolongation of the road from Prata Porci (*supra*, 326), ascending past the Villa Mondragone (*infra*, 368), and a third ascending from the Via Latina at La Pedica (*supra*, 260). See the block plan of Tusculum Pl. XXVIII which has been prepared from Canina's plan *Edifici*, VI. tav. 85 = *Tuscolo* tav. vi., by Mr. F. G. Newton, with various corrections made on the spot, and with the omission of much of the detail, simply in order to serve as a guide to the text. The best plan of Tusculum, as far as it goes, is that in Rossini, *Contorni di Roma* 1826, tav. 73. Angelini and Fea, *Via Latina*, tav. viii, also give a good plan dating from 1828. Both of these were of course made before the

completion of the excavations, but have the advantage that they contain none of the arbitrary restorations which figure so largely in Canina's work.

A plan of Tusculum, on the scale of 1 : 1000, with elaborate reconstructions, was exhibited by M. Garnier at the exhibition of drawings of the students of the French Academy at the Villa Medici in 1903, but has not been published.

The amphitheatre (no. 1 on our plan) was absurdly called by the earlier antiquaries the Accademia or Scuola di Cicerone, and still bears that name on the Staff Map. Plans, sections, and views of it are given by Uggeri, *op. cit.* tav. viii. and *Vedute*, no. 14, Angelini and Fea, *op. cit.* tav. ix., Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. xxii. and xxiii. = *Edifizi*, VI, tav. xc.

The diameters of the arena are about 47 and 29 metres, the total diameters about 80 and 53 metres. The first excavations were, as Uggeri says (text, p. 30), made by himself in 1820, while Canina, *op. cit.* p. 132 n. 1, tells us that he was responsible for the plan, which was also reproduced by Angelini and Fea. The plan in Canina's own work is a good deal more complete. The building has, I should say, never been entirely cleared,<sup>1</sup> and a good deal has been filled in since the excavations. A view of the interior as it stands, looking towards the S.E., is given in our Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2.

The site chosen is the head of the valley which descends between the Villa Rufinella and the Villa Mondragone, so that on the E.N.E. it is supported by the slope of the hill, while on the lower side substructions are necessary, and the only entrances on the level into the arena are at the N.W. and S.E. ends,<sup>2</sup> while the seats were only accessible from above or from the arena (stairs are preserved on each side of the archway on the S.E. but are not well shown in any of the plans) and not, as is more usual, from passages concentric with the arena running under the seats. In the eastern half of the circumference such a passage does exist, but it is completely closed, and serves merely as a support; while in the other half it is replaced by semicircular chambers which serve in the same way as supports, and were almost entirely closed. They are now filled up and inaccessible. The use of such spaces may be seen on a much larger scale in the

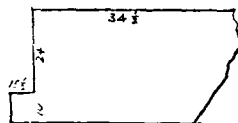
<sup>1</sup> Wells (p. 193) speaks of excavations by Prince Aklobrandini in 1867.

<sup>2</sup> The external wall is clearly visible on the S.E. showing that it was not built against the hill here, but only on the N.E. and S.W. sides. This is not clear in Canina's plan.

theatre of Augusta Raurica, where they are entirely closed (see *Mitteilungen der hist. ant. Ges. zu Basel*, N.F. II. *Das Römische Theater zu Augusta Raurica* by Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann, Bâle, 1882) and in the amphitheatre at Trier (both are given by Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, p. 218, fig. 222). In regard to the date of the building, Grossi-Gondi (p. 173) gives us an important piece of information: the parts that are visible are in the main, as our photograph will show, of *opus quadratum* in the lower part, while the arched substructions and the walls supporting the seats are of *opus reticulatum* of tufa and selce with bands of not very good brickwork; <sup>1</sup> but in one of the arches of the vaulting of one of the covered passages he has seen three examples of the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 622, which dates from the middle of the second century A.D.; and *ib.* 1370. 2 (belonging to about the same date) was found here by Ficker. Rossini indeed shows (*Contorni di Roma*, tav. 73) an ancient road running beneath it, across its minor axis, which would be, I presume, a connecting line between the two roads which, after its construction, had to pass round the outside of it—that ascending from the Rufinella and that descending to Mondragone. Some fragmentary inscriptions on the seats are given in *C.I.L.* xiv. 2606: one of them, with the letters NIANO, is still lying in a chamber at the S.E. end. In 1885, in clearing away some earth that had fallen, a headless male statue in travertine draped with a toga was found between the amphitheatre and the road leading up to the city: it had no artistic merit. (*Not. Scavi*, 1885, 477.) In the entrance passage at the N.W. end we may see clearly from the change of construction 'the earlier work being faced partly with *opus quadratum* of tufa and partly with rough thin pieces of selce, while the later facing is of *opus reticulatum*,' that the first ten metres of it have been built later than the rest: this portion falls outside the line of the external walls and must have been added to provide a passage round the outside of the amphitheatre. Canina sees here the remains of a monumental entrance, which to me is doubtful. A plan and elevation of an amphitheatre (without legend) by Antonio da Sangallo the younger (*Uffizi*, 1089, are attributed to this amphitheatre by Ferri (*Catalogo dei Disegni di Architettura*, p. 79) partly owing to the general similarity of paper

<sup>1</sup> The bricks are lightish red, rather uneven, and from 17 to 27 cm. long; test measurements gave an average thickness of 0.031 m. on the N.W. and 0.036 on the S.E., the mortar courses in both cases averaging 0.016.

and drawing with *ib.* 1064. Upon this we find a drawing of 'one of the seats of the Coliseum of Tusculum,' of which I give a sketch, kindly sent me with other information by Prof. Hulsen: the legend states that it is measured in 'dita' of about 0.02 metre. We may notice here the small projection at the end of the step, which recurs



in the schematic drawing of the seats on *ib.* 1089, and is another ground for Ferri's identification. The 'archo quadro,' on the other hand on *ib.* 1064, has nothing to do with Tusculum, but is the so-called Janus Quadrifrons near San Giorgio in Velabro in Rome. Volpi, *Vetus Latium*, viii. tab. ii. fig. vii, shows some of the steps of the amphitheatre.

The fact that the arena of the amphitheatre was accessible on the level from the S.E. has considerable importance for us: for it clearly indicates that the neck of land connecting the ridge which we have so far been following with that which was occupied by the town was a very narrow one, and that there was originally a depression here, rendering the position more easily defensible. I think we may take it as almost certain that the site of the amphitheatre marks the W. extremity of the primitive city.

In 1735 some sepulchral inscriptions of no importance were found 'on the hill of Tusculum towards Santa Maria della Molara,' or 'on the W. (*sic*) slope of the ancient Tusculum,' or 'below the so-called Scuola di Cicerone [the amphitheatre] on the right' (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2678, 2697, 2727, 2749).

With the sepulchral inscriptions copied at the Villa Rufinella I shall not deal; but I may make a few additions from Nibby's MS. notes. He gives (*Schede*, i. 64) a copy of *C.I.L.* xiv. 2683, which he states to have so far been of sperone, and which he saw (with 2579) on the road between the amphitheatre and the theatre on October 13th, 1823 (?): it is as follows:

Q . BAEBIO Q . F  
FVFIO . . . . COE  
NVI . . . . VIR  
RVTILIVS

.....

In 1871 the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2756 was found 'between Frascati and Monte Porzio in a place called La Molara.' I should imagine that this referred, not to the villages themselves, but to their

communal boundaries: for I do not know of any place called La Molara on the N. side of the ridge of Tusculum. It will be seen from the map that this boundary passes along the ridge of Tusculum from point 550 as far as the amphitheatre: so that the locality would be much the same as that of the discoveries of 1735.

Just beyond the amphitheatre are the remains of a very large building (2 in our plan), of which we only see the substructions of the S.W. side, and the great platform which it occupied. We again have a plan drawn by Canina in the work of Uggeri (*op. cit.* tav. ix., *L'edute*, no. 15; the plan is repeated by Angelini and Fea, *op. cit.* tav. x.); this only shows the portion of the substruction which is actually in existence, while Rossini *loc. cit.* has an independent plan. Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. xviii.–xx. (= *Edifici*, VI. xci., xcii–xciii being a restoration of the villa which is contained in this work alone), gives an elaborate reconstruction of the whole as a great villa: it is based he says (p. 128), on the knowledge gained in excavations of 1830 made under his own direction.<sup>1</sup> He also gives a plan of the substructions which goes somewhat further than that of Uggeri, and is in some respects more accurate and more detailed, having been made after the excavations: in others it suffers, as usual from arbitrary reconstruction.

The construction of the building is in *opus reticulatum* with stone quoins and voussoirs and bands of brickwork: the exterior of the N.W. side is shown by Grossi-Gondi (tav. ix.) and in our Pl. XXIX, fig. 1; while the massive substructions on the S.W., also of *opus reticulatum*, have arches of tiles—in one case the broken flange of a tile<sup>2</sup> is clearly seen.

Below the N.W. portion of the substructions is an underground passage reached by a staircase descending from the northeasternmost of the rooms preserved on this side, which I have explored. Its walls are faced with *opus reticulatum*, and it has a barrel roof of concrete which has been set on planks: it is 1.80 metre high and 0.60 wide.

After it has run 20 metres S.W. by S., a branch goes off S.E. by S. for ten metres, half way along it is an opening 0.70 wide in the wall, and then turns back N.E. by N. for about 100 metres. The first passage, after another 40 metres, reaches the opening of a passage or drain in *opus quadratum* 2.00 metres high and 0.65 metre wide, with a flat roof of blocks of *opus quadratum*: it is obstructed by earth and cannot be followed far. Its

<sup>1</sup> This is reproduced by Grossi-Gondi, *op. cit.* tav. ii.

<sup>2</sup> The facing 'bricks' average about 0.18 m. long, and are really cut triangles from larger bricks or tiles: they average 0.036 m. thick, the mortar being 0.019 m. thick.

object is not very certain, but it is most probably connected with the drainage of the building. On the upper level of the platform there is now nothing definitely visible but a large concrete core, just where Canina marks a huge peristyle, about 4 metres high,<sup>1</sup> and some 11 metres wide by 10 metres long, with another, some 11 by 6 metres, at an interval of 2 metres to the S.W. The cores have clearly been surrounded by large squared blocks of tufa, one of which, 1·07 wide by 0·95 metre high (the length is uncertain) may still be seen on the S.W. of the main core; and the interval was no doubt filled in with blocks which have been removed for building material. We thus have before us, it seems to me, the podium of a temple facing S.W., somewhat small, perhaps, in proportion to the size of the platform on which it stands. With this would agree the discovery here (at an unknown date in the latter half of the 19th century) of *C.I.L.* xiv. 2621<sup>2</sup>—a base of sperone with a dedication by the *aediles quinquenales* made from the sums realized from fines (*aere multatio*), and also the existence on the site of a large pulvinar of white marble, belonging no doubt to an altar.

The site of the building before us seems to me eminently suited for that of one of the chief temples of Tusculum. That it is outside the line of the city walls, as traced by Canina, proves nothing (*infra*, 350); indeed I think the ancient city would more naturally have terminated W. of this building rather than E. of it, in so far as one can argue from the conformation of the ground. That it is the temple of Castor and Pollux seems improbable (*infra*, 355), and in that case we may assign it, if we will, to Jupiter (Liv. xxvii. 4; cf. Macrob. i. 12). From Livy we learn that in 210 B.C. the summit of the Temple of Jupiter at Tusculum was struck by lightning, and that almost the entire roof was removed; while Macrobius testifies to the importance of Jupiter at Tusculum: 'there are some who record that this month (May) came into our calendar from that of Tusculum, in which Maius is still called a god, who is Jupiter, so-called, that is, from his greatness and majesty.'

<sup>1</sup> There is a horizontal line in the concrete only a little way above the bottom of the core as now visible, which may mark a difference of date, though if we suppose all above this line to be an addition, we shall get a very low podium. The mortar is gray brown in both cases, and lumps of selce are used; but that below the line seems to be finer and darker. The line is actually marked by a thin layer of hard cement 0·005 m. thick.

<sup>2</sup> The fragment of an inscription on a marble epistyle (*ib.* 2645) which may still be seen close by (*infra*, 347) contains too little to be of any use to us.



The building figured in the sixteenth century as the Villa of Cicero, but was assigned, after the discoveries near the Rufinella (*supra*, 335), to Gabinius. Various excavations were carried on there in the first sixty years of the last century.<sup>1</sup>

First come the excavations of 1826, conducted by Biondi, in which a seated statue was found near the villa, along the road (which Canina calls the Via dei Sepolcri) on the N.W. side of it:<sup>2</sup> it was headless, but was so like the statues from Veii and Piperno, now in the Vatican (Chiaramonti, 400, 494), that a head of Tiberius was given to it; and the view that this was the Villa of Tiberius mentioned by Josephus gained further colour from the discovery. The arguments are, however, quite insufficient, as we have already seen (*supra*, 317), and Grossi-Gondi is quite right (pp. 151, 168) in refusing to accept them. The statue was, according to Canina, transported to Aglicé (p. 139, tav. xxx.). Biondi states that here was found also a fine statuette of a seated boy, who is trying to hold a young pig, which is attempting to escape, and two herms, one of them double. Biondi's excavations did not touch the villa itself, inasmuch as it lay in the tenuta della Molara, not within the property connected with the Villa Rufinella; and excavations seem to have been begun in the former property in 1829, though rather further E. In *Bull. Inst.* 1829, 124, we find mention of a fine bust of a youth recently found in the Tenuta della Molara, and in *id.* 246 we hear of excavations close to the theatre in which two busts, one male, one female, were found. These are not the busts of Sappho and Corbulo found under Canina's direction in that portion of the lower city which lay in the Tenuta delle Molare on one side of the Forum, which he mentions on pp. 79, 147, and figures in tav. xxxvi., for these last were found in 1834.<sup>3</sup> They are now in the Villa Borghese. The so-called Corbulo is not mentioned as such by Bernoulli; and I cannot help thinking that, though it might have added

<sup>1</sup> Uggeri, p. 39, suggests that, as there were some altars and statues in the Borghese collection said to have come from the Tusculan villa of Cicero, excavations may have been made there in the time of Paul V. Of course not everything from the Villa Borghese was removed to the Louvre.

<sup>2</sup> The locality of discovery is given by Canina (*Tuscolo*, 139) from Biondi's notes in the Biblioteca Alessandrina or della Sapienza (the library of the University of Rome) *Cod.* 106 E, f. 4<sup>v</sup>. These notes include the beginning of a systematic description which unluckily never got beyond the first chapter. Canina, however, made free use of them. In his reports to the Camerlengato (*Atti*, Tit. iv fasc. 246) Biondi gives no details as to the exact locality of his discoveries.

<sup>3</sup> From *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv, fasc. 2846, we learn that in 1838 Canina found 'in the upper part of the Tenuta della Molara, below the city and citadel of Tusculum,' eight heads, four cippi, a sarcophagus with strigil markings, etc. *supra*, 333 n. 21.

to the bulk of his work, it would have added immensely to its utility, had he given a list of the statues and busts with which he deals under their false denominations as well as under their true ones. As it is, if later criticism has led to a change in the naming of a piece of sculpture, it is often almost impossible to find out what has become of it, if one only knows the erroneous name given to it at the time of its discovery.

The regular excavations, described in *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1219, seem to have been carried on in this villa itself. Prince Camillo Borghese, who was trying to found a new museum to take the place of the collection which had previously adorned the Villa Borghese in Rome (of which the greater part had been in 1792 transported to the Louvre, where it still is), had asked for leave to search for works of art in various properties which belonged to his family.

In January, 1830 (*Atti cit.* 2192 barely mentions work in 1834), the Prince obtained permission to excavate in the Tenuta della Molara, which is described as precisely above and on one side of the Rufinella: the work, under the direction of Giuseppe Spagna, a silversmith and metal founder of Rome, was begun near the amphitheatre in March, 1830, and before the 25th a piece of plain mosaic had been found, but broken up furtively. On April 1st it was reported that a bust and a head of marble, both of good style, were found, and leave was asked that with the fragments of mosaic they might be removed to Villa Borghese. In May permission was sought to transport to Spagna's studio in Via del Babuino a piece of black and white mosaic with geometric figures and various fragments of marble. These documents do not mention Canina as in charge of the excavations, though it seems to me impossible not to refer to them his words in *Tuscolo*, p. 128: 'the excavations directed by me about ten years ago (the book was published in 1841) by order of Prince Borghese Aldobrandini, the site on which these remains exist being included in the Tenuta della Molara, which belongs to the Aldobrandini family.' Some years later, in 1859, other excavations were carried on here by Campana.<sup>1</sup> Of these we have no particulars except that various brickstamps found here are known from the copies given by De Rossi to Descemet. Some belong to the first, others to the second century A.D. *C.I.L.* xv. 562. 18 (134 A.D.), 593. 11 (several copies—Hadrian), 809 a. 4

<sup>1</sup> Was it in these excavations that the statues of the four seasons in the Villa Aldobrandini (Wells, 185) were found and the frescoes which were in his collection?

(first century A.D.),<sup>1</sup> 912. 2<sup>2</sup> (four copies—first century A.D.), 1315 a. 2 (first century), 1527. 2 (first century), 1821 (134 A.D.), 2029 (134 A.D.), 2281 (Hadrian?).

In 1866 still further work seems to have been done in the building: for it was in this year that the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 7 a. 1 *Reipublicae Tusculanorum*, 1122. 3 (first century A.D.) were found here: both are now in the Museum at Parma. One would imagine that this is the site of the discovery by Ficker of *ib.* 1202. 2, 1265 b. 2 (both first century), 1292. 3 (123 A.D.), recorded as *in parietinis magnis meridiem versus*.

To the N.W. of the main substructions (at *a* in our plan) is a great mass of concrete, about eight metres square, with niches, which Grossi-Gondi (*tav.* ix.), I think rightly, considers to be a tomb, while Canina brings it well within the area of the building. I think this should rather begin at *a'*, where there is a low mass of concrete. Rossini shows a circular tomb a little to the N.W. Opposite to it on the S.W. and N.W. (at 3, 3' on our plan) are remains of buildings, well figured in Rossini's plan and also shown by Canina—tombs (some columbaria), no longer clearly visible.<sup>3</sup>

In 1807 Lucien Bonaparte is said to have excavated a group of tombs on the ridge above the Rufinella, where Tusculum faces the Alban Mount, on the right (S.) of the ancient road, *i.e.* not far from the amphitheatre either on the E or W. The building is described as though it had been a house, but was in reality of a sepulchral character. It was approached by some peperino steps: one of the rooms with a mosaic pavement (with a bust of a youth in the centre holding a *lituus*) contained four arched niches, under which bodies were buried, enclosed in slabs of marble, while at each angle was a wine jar full of burnt bones. The unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2760 was found there, and a brickstamp (*ib.* xv. 1039, 2) of 123 A.D. was also discovered in one of the rooms.

The whole is described at great length, but not very clearly, by Guattini in *Memorie Encicl.* iii. 130; but from a comparison with Rossini's plan it seems clear that the room he is describing is that nearest to the

<sup>1</sup> *ib.* 809, a. 5 is recorded as having been copied by Henzen 'in the ruins called the Villa of Cicero.' I am inclined to suspect that the site is the same; and agree with Grossi-Gondi in referring to it also *ib.* 2226 (1st cent. A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> One of these is now in the Villa Aldobrandini: it is just possible that *ib.* 1029, a. 12 (now in the same place) was also found in these excavations.

<sup>3</sup> The sepulchral inscription found in 1861 in the remains of the great building of which we have spoken (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2979) must belong to the tombs of this part of the road.

amphitheatre in the northern group 3'. Guattani is in this case placing the tomb on the wrong side of the road.

To the N.W. of the building numbered 2 on the left edge of the road, ascending to the N.E. (the pavement of which is well preserved) I have noticed three fragmentary inscriptions: (1)  $\{C$  TOAE, on a fragment of a white marble epistyle, 0.26 metre high, the letters being 0.105 metre high (which I saw some years back, and have not been able to find again). (2) *C.I.L.* xiv. 2645, on the narrow edge (0.23 metre wide, the letters being 0.10 high and well cut) of a block of marble 0.78 by 0.54 metre, with bolt holes on the upper surface. The second full point should, I think, be omitted. (3) COCTVS OL C in rough letters 0.09 metre high, on the narrow edge of a block 1.27 by 0.6 metre. They come very possibly from these tombs, and (1) and (3) do not seem to be published elsewhere. At the N. angle of the large building the main road turns S.E., but a branch goes off due E., which Canina calls the 'Via Particolare delle Ville.' Following this we reach, at the point marked 4 in our plan, the site of the house, with a small atrium and a reservoir (of which he gives a plan on tav. xxiv.: cf. p. 132) which was excavated in 1827 (*Edifici*, VI. tav. xciv.). Of the house no remains are now visible, but the reservoir is still to be seen. The plan is also given by Angelini and Fea (tav. xi.), and their rendering is probably more correct, inasmuch as there seems to be some amount of arbitrary restoration in Canina's work.

Below it are other ruins, 4', now no longer visible, which Canina thought to be the main building of the villa; in them were found in 1825 a putto with a dog or hare, a double Bacchic herm, a head of Jupiter, a marble medallion with a representation of Apollo, a bust of an Indian Bacchus, a bust of a female member of the *gens Rutilia* (this statement is not consistent with that of p. 143, *infra*, 352), a head and a bust of Diana, and a fragment of a finely carved group of Bacchus with two Fauns (Canina, pp. 133, 149, and tav. xxxvii., xxxviii.).

In regard to this last we have a curious application from Biondi in the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1291. In a letter of March 6th, 1830, he suggested that, as in 1826<sup>1</sup> two torsi and fragments of a third statue, of Greek marble and well carved, forming a group of a Bacchus dancing between two fauns, had been found at Tusculum, while in the previous excavations of Lucien Bonaparte two moderately good statues

<sup>1</sup> The exact date was April 25th. (Canina p. 144: on p. 8 he wrongly gives the date as 1830.)

representing ladies of the *gens Mamilia* had been found (which were included in the purchase of the Pallas Giustiniani and other statues in the Museo Chiaramonti, and were then in the Vatican storerooms), and, as these last would complete the royal collection at Aglié near Turin, he would wish an exchange. The Commission, however, reported against it, adding that the Mamiliae were really Rutiliae, and the exchange was refused. The group was then sold to the King of Prussia, and is now at Berlin (*Beschreibung*, no. 96). Canina gives two plates of it (*Tuscolo*, xxxii., xxxiv.), one representing it before its restoration, the other an attempt at a restoration by Bisetti, whereas this work was actually done by Wolff. All the rest of the sculptures were removed to Aglié. Some ornaments in terracotta are given on tav. xlix.<sup>1</sup>

On the S. side of this road are two other buildings, 5, 6, at divergent orientations, called by Canina 'Casa del Console C. Prastina Pacato.' (See also Rossini, *op. cit.*, for the plan.) Here, then, was found in 1825, the base bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2588, probably a dedication to Fortune made by the *consul ordinarius* of 147 A.D. Biondi (MS. f. 4) adds to the discoveries in this house (or in the ruins below it on the N. of the road, for his account is vague) the fragment of a calendar *C.I.L.* xiv. 2575, and the lead pipe with the inscription *Reipublicae Tusculanorum* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7813: cf. *infra*, 357). Specimens of the paintings from this house are given by Canina (tav. xliii. = *Edifici*, VI. 96). They were transported to the castle of Aglié. The remains now visible are scanty. At 6 there is a long wall going N.E. with substructions in *opus reticulatum* of tufa.

Beyond these ruins the ancient road bifurcated: the right hand branch led to a small open space, paved with slabs of sperone, with seats of the same material, which stood in front of another villa (7 on our plan, of which scanty traces are visible, where it ended. To this villa, excavated in October, 1838 (Rossini indicates only a few walls on the site), was given the name of the house of the Caecilii, from the discovery in it of a painting, which was supposed to represent a scene in the life of this family. Biondi notes that, according to tradition, Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, when she came to Rome, acquired the name of Caia Caecilia, and was celebrated both as a spinner of wool and as an interpreter of prodigies cf. the passages cited by him in *Diss. Pont. Acc.*

<sup>1</sup> I may notice in passing that *Atti* *cit.* fasc. 1098 deals entirely with the exportation of modern copies in plaster and marble from the *Rufinella* to Palazzo Chigi and thence abroad.

*Arch. X. 386 sqq.*) A priestess or diviner is, according to him, represented by the old woman seated in a pensive attitude on the right of the picture: on the left sits a younger woman crowned with laurel, and in the centre is a girl spinning, about whose destiny in marriage an oracular response is being demanded. He refers the painting to the incident related by Cicero (*De Div.* 104) and Valerius Maximus (iv. 4).

Caecilia, wife of a Caecilius Metellus, whose identity cannot be precisely fixed (not necessarily Balearicus, as Biondi thinks), though he was a contemporary of L. Valerius Flaccus, consul in 100 B.C., went with her sister's daughter to consult an oracle in regard to the marriage of the latter. The former sat, but the latter stood, and becoming tired, asked her to let her rest on her seat: whereupon the aunt said 'I willingly give up my place to you'; and so it fell out in reality: for the aunt soon died, and the niece married the aunt's husband.

Biondi gives a plate only of this incident, but describes other paintings also. Canina gives the plan (tav. xxiv. fig. 1 = *Edifizi*, VI. tav. xciv) and representations in colours (tav. xli., xlii.—not repeated in *Edifizi*) of this painting and another, and (tav. xlv. <sup>1</sup>—xlvi.) of one of the marble pavements and of some of the decorations in stucco. In one room a number of small pieces of marble for use in a pavement (which Biondi thinks had never actually been used) were found; while in others there were marble and mosaic pavements. The excavations were continued at the end of 1839 after the death of Biondi, under the direction of Canina, as he tells us in his text (pp. 81, 133) and a marble vase adorned with groups of griffins and stags was found (p. 151, tav. xxxix., xl.), and also a head of a Roman lady very skilfully painted on plaster (p. 149, tav. xxxviii., fig. 4). Two of the brickstamps give the dates 123 and 124 A.D. (*C.I.L.* xv. 270 a. 7, 2025. 1) while 2280 seems to belong to the middle of the first century A.D. A wall of *opus reticulatum* with brick bands is still standing at the N.E. angle (7').

The left hand branch of the path retains its pavement for a short way only, and after a time turns N. passing a little E. (but not so near as Canina represents it) of a circular tomb (8 on our plan) called La Torre <sup>1</sup> (*Tuscolo*, p. 136 and tav. xxvi.: cf. *Edifizi* <sup>2</sup> VI. tav. lxxxiv.) constructed in *opus*

<sup>1</sup> In this work a restored sectional elevation is given, and a plan, which is not really that of La Torre, but that of the so-called tomb of Lucullus, repeated from the preceding plate.

<sup>2</sup> xlvii, xlviii are repeated in *Edifizi* vi, tav. xcix.

*reticulatum*: it is circular, with a chamber in the form of a Greek cross.

With the further course of the road to the N. we shall deal later: it has a branch going E. to join the path up from Camaldoli (*infra*, 371) passing the remains of a building (9 on our plan).

We now return to the temple (?) no. 2 on our plan, and follow the paved road leading due E. from it. The modern path does not coincide with this exactly, but runs a trifle further S., following the boundary wall between the two properties already mentioned. We very soon reach the point at which Canina marks the site of one of the gates of the ancient city (10). What remains here is simply a mass of concrete vaulting which has fallen, and it can of course have nothing to do with the original fortifications of the city, of which as a matter of fact no traces remain, nor does Canina maintain that they do. The scanty traces of concrete along its supposed course, *e.g.* at 11, naturally belong to the imperial period; though it is probable that Canina is fairly right (p. 77 and tav. vi. = *Edifizi*, VI. tav. lxxxv.) in determining the line of the confines of the ancient city by the fall of the ground. As a fact everywhere except on the W. their line can hardly be conceived to have differed from that given by him, as the ground falls away steeply on all sides. The western termination, on the other hand, might more appropriately be placed at the amphitheatre, where the neck of land is a narrow one (cf. also *supra*, 341). Whether the piece of walling near the fountain (no. 20) belongs to the early city wall we shall inquire later (*infra*, 360).

After a little over 200 metres, the road divides, turning to the N.E. and S.E., to avoid the Forum (13), an open space in front of the theatre surrounded by colonnades; just at the turn are the foundations which Canina considers to be those of the Curia (12) and of which nothing is now visible;<sup>1</sup> then the road runs E. along its N. and S. sides again, though the pavement is preserved only along the N. side. I cannot offer an opinion as to the correctness of the lines of the cross streets which Canina indicates in his plan, nor of the details of the Forum which he gives *Tuscolo*, p. 116 *sqq.* and tav. x = *Edifizi*, VI. tav. 86; the cornices, etc., which belonged to a portico with Corinthian columns, were conveyed to the casino of the Villa Rufinella, having been found in the excavations of Lucien Bonaparte

<sup>1</sup> This must be the temple facing S. with fluted columns of Luna marble with Corinthian capitals of which Brondi speaks (MS. f. 9).

early in the nineteenth century (cf. tav. xvii, figs. 7, 8), but Canina claims to have been the first to recover the plan. A capital in *sperone* in imitation of the Egyptian style is also given *ibid.* fig. 9; but the exact site of its discovery is unknown.

Biondi describes (MS. f. 9<sup>v</sup> *sqq.*) at the precise place where Canina places the Forum an entrance door on the S. of the road, leading to 'a public or at least a noble building': on each side of it was a base with the impression of a column upon it, one of the drums of which was found and re-erected. Beyond this was the threshold of a shop in *sperone*. Further on the left was the approach to an almost circular temple, which one descended by steps (not shown by Canina), which had been converted into a Christian church and roughly restored in the Middle Ages. Indeed along the road there were evident traces of a cemetery with many skeletons, some lying on the pavement of the road, others in rough coffins of walling or of stone. When these were removed, the road was found to continue, and soon had a branch to the right. This was not followed, and, continuing along the straight road, there was found to be a wall in *opus quadratum* of *sperone*, restored in *opus reticulatum*, on each side of it: there were traces of the impost of an arch which passed, not straight, but diagonally across the road (this is the lateral passage on the N. side of the theatre under part of the cavea). The road now began to ascend, and at the beginning were some houses with walls painted red. Ascending more rapidly the road then left on the right the cistern no. 16 which had been found by Lucien Bonaparte and cleared again by Biondi, who noted that its sides were not perfectly parallel.

The first part of the account hardly seems consistent in detail with Canina's description: it would be very desirable that the remains should be again uncovered, so that we might learn the exact truth.

But from the position of this area, which is precisely identical with that of the Forum at Ostia, and from the discoveries made in or near it by Lucien Bonaparte, it seems almost certain that this was the Forum, and Dessau's scepticism (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 258) is a little excessive. According to Canina's statements (though unfortunately accurate notes of the exact site of the discovery of the various objects were not taken) fragments of a statue of Augustus, which fitted on to a torso already discovered, were found near the Forum on Oct. 16th, 1825 (p. 140, tav. xxx: cf. Biondi MS.



f. 4) and removed to Aglié. Two toga statues were found in the same locality by Lucien Bonaparte: one bears on its base the name of Cn. Velíneius (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2754), while Biondi (*MS.* 77 *sqq.*) reports on Oct. 9th, 1825 the discovery of some fragments which completed the other. Canina figures both in *Tusculo* tav. xxxi<sup>1</sup>; they were conveyed to Aglié (though there seems to be some doubt as to whether they are still there—Dessau in *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 255, n. 4). Among the objects found hereabouts by Lucien Bonaparte were a statue of Antonia, now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (no. 77), two female statues now in the Museo Chiaramonti (355, 357) with inscriptions on their bases, showing that they represent two members of the gens Rutilia (*C.I.L.* 2741, 2742: cf. Canina, tav. xxxii: the former inscription is probably best restored, as Hulsen thinks, *Rutilia L. f., mater Terentii) Regin(i)*—cf. Amelung *Sculpt. des Vatik. Museums*, i. p. 545), and a headless bronze statue (the whereabouts of which is not known).<sup>2</sup> A bust supposed to represent another female member of the gens Rutilia was found in 1825, where the statues had been found, and conveyed to Aglié (Canina, p. 143, tav. xxxvii., but cf. *supra*, 347).

Several other sculptures found by Lucien Bonaparte are figured on tav. xxxviii and described on pp. 149, 150. They include a head of the youthful Augustus, another head of Corbulo, three unidentified heads, a head of the youthful Hercules or Theseus, and two marble disks with Bacchic reliefs. They were to be seen in the palace in Via Condotti which he occupied, but I do not know where they are now.

The objects found to the S. of the Forum, in the tenuta della Molara in 1829, 1830, and 1834 are mentioned *supra*, 344. Bases with inscriptions indicating the existence of other statues were found by Lucien Bonaparte, some of historical personages *C.I.L.* xiv. 2600, *Q. Caccilius Metellus cos.*, 2601, *M. Fulvius M. f. Ser. n. cos. Aetolia m. cepit*—the latter was consul in B.C. 188, but the former cannot be certainly identified, others of characters in Greek mythology (Orestes, Pylades, Telegonus,<sup>3</sup> Telemachus,

<sup>1</sup> He mentions that it had been placed 'at the Villa Rufinella' on the base bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2753, which did not belong to it.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose this is the fine Apollo in bronze slightly less than natural size mentioned by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 328 as still in his possession. The 1818 edition of Vasi's guide (*Itinerario di Roma*, p. 221) enumerates among the objects found at Tusculum and existing in the Palazzo Bonaparte in the Via Condotti a marble vase, the Apollo, four busts (one supposed to represent Germanicus, the other Perseus, which were much praised), and the two Rutiliae. From the construction of the sentence it is not clear whether the statue of Tiberius mentioned just before them should be included, but probably not.

<sup>3</sup> Above this name we see *Iaxo* (n): but Mommsen is undoubtedly right in supposing that the

and the poet Diphilus, *ib.* 2647–2651). Canina states that the former group stood in the Forum, the latter in the theatre; but Dessau thinks that as the bases are all of sperone, and date from about the time of Augustus, they must all have been found together. Certainly the last group is more appropriate to the theatre, but I think Dessau goes too far in regarding Canina's Forum as entirely fictitious.

One may well suppose that the inscriptions built into the small modern house on the supposed site of the Forum were found there or thereabouts. They are as follows: *C.I.L.* xiv. 2611 (the meaning of which is very obscure); 2623 (fragments of a large epistyle about 0·65 metre high, with an identical or similar inscription on each side of it, relating to the construction by [C. Cae]lius C. f. Rufus of steps round an area and an outlet channel (*emissarium*) of travertine for games<sup>1</sup>); 2632 (fragments of a slightly smaller epistyle). Parts of a similar epistyle (*ibid.* 2622) with the names of C. Caelius Rufus and C. Caninius C. f. Rebilus (the latter perhaps the consul—for one day only—of B.C. 45, or his son or grandson) is at the Villa Rufinella. A sepulchral inscription (*ib.* 2746) is also built in here.

A view of the area probably occupied by the Forum, looking westwards, is given in Pl. XXIX. Fig. 2. On the E. side of this is the theatre (14) (Pl. XXX. Fig. 1), the stage of which was entirely brought to light under the direction of Canina in 1839–40, the excavations of Lucien Bonaparte having led only to the uncovering of some of the seats in the lower part of the cavea, as may be seen from the plans of Angelini and Fea (tav. xii.), and Uggeri (tav. x.).

The cavea was built against the hillside, and was not supported by substructions:<sup>2</sup> the stage still has the chamber beneath it, reached by rectangular shafts, from which the curtain was drawn up, and the whole is well preserved as far as the plan goes, though not above ground level. Details will be found in Canina, *Tuscolo*, pp. 118 *sqq.* and tav. xi.–xiii. (= *Edifici*, VI. tav. lxxxvi., lxxxvii.): cf. p. 127 and tav. xvii. (= *Edifici*, tav. lxxxix), where he figures Ionic and Roman Doric capitals and bases of sperone as having been found in the theatre, whereas on p. 118 he says upper name was cancelled, and that of Telegonus, the founder of Tusculum, substituted; and two statues could not have occupied the same base.

<sup>1</sup> This lettering belongs to the time of Augustus in Henzen's opinion, and so the inscription cannot be associated with the amphitheatre—nor is it at all likely that it would have been transported thence to this place.

<sup>2</sup> Nibby speaks of a drain running round under the lowest seat existing (*Nibb. Z.* i. 64), which is not now visible.

that the back wall of the stage was decorated with Ionic and Corinthian columns. In any case these were of course coated with stucco. No inscriptions relating to its structure were found in it, except a fragment with the word *Magister* (so Canina; but the inscription has been read differently—*C.I.L.* xiv. 2641), but a cuirassed statue of Tiberius was discovered (*Tusculo*, pp. 8, 138, tav. xxix.), the head of which had already been found by Lucien Bonaparte, and the whole was carefully restored by Cauda. I do not find it mentioned by Bernoulli in his *Rom. Ikonographie*, and where it is now I do not know. Canina does not note it as having been conveyed to Aglić. To the S. of it are three or four steps on a curve 15, which have by some been believed to be an Odcon or smaller theatre; for this, however, the space is far too small, and Canina (pp. 114, 117) rightly pronounced them to be simply a fountain fed by the large square reservoir 16, the roof of which was supported by three rows of five pillars, which is to be seen behind the theatre. It was excavated by Lucien Bonaparte and its plan will be found in both the works cited, Canina repeating it on tav. ix. (cf. *Edifizi*, VI. tav. lxxxv., lxxxvi) for comparison with other cisterns—those of the so-called Villa of Galba (*supra*, 312) and that of the Villa Taverna (*infra*, 371). It must have been supplied mainly by rain water, but also perhaps from the water collected in passages under the arx (Canina, p. 79). To the N. of this large reservoir is another, triangular in shape (17), and to the N. of that again the remains of a small house with an atrium with four columns are shown by Canina (18), but not by Rossini.<sup>1</sup> There is no pavement visible in the ascent to the arx where Canina marks it; but on the way up, at the point marked in the map, there is a cave, in one corner of which is a small cistern cut in the rock, which I think is not ancient: above it are some small niches cut in the rock and above that a chamber. One wonders whether it can possibly have been a hermitage of the Middle Ages.

Upon the summit of the hill, where Canina is undoubtedly right in placing the arx,<sup>2</sup> there are no remains of even the classical period: every-

<sup>1</sup> I imagine that this is the house referred to in *Bull. Inst.* 1829, 213, 'On the road already excavated, with a gate of the ancient city, the ruins of a private house were found, containing many votive terracottas and a statuette of bronze. These ruins were considered to be those of a house, because of the atrium, portico, and impluvium found there, but what is really remarkable in this discovery is, that close to this house another paved road is said to have been found, about 12 palms (2.67 metres) below that already discovered, which is also ancient. . . . we await from Marchese Bonelli the important results of his work.'

<sup>2</sup> The arx is mentioned in the various accounts of the attacks on the town, e.g., when the arx

thing that I have seen there seems to belong to the mediaeval buildings and fortifications destroyed in 1191, and I could distinguish no traces either of temples or of ancient city walls. Canina himself (*Tuscolo*, p. 75) states that in the excavations of 1835 and 1836, which he carried on by order of Prince Borghese (within whose property the arx fell), he found only buildings in which older material had been used, *e.g.* sarcophagi which served for later burials; and the squared blocks of stone noticed by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 320) are not necessarily ancient. Nibby and Canina's south gate of the citadel (*Tuscolo*, p. 112 and tav. viii.) is merely a gap in the rock, where the foundations of a house or a tower had been formed, by cutting the rock away so thin that it has at last given way (*d*). There are considerable traces of similar cuttings in the rock on the S. and E. sides. The only piece of Roman construction I have been able to detect is a substruction wall of Roman concrete at the N.E. angle below the top (19) forming a right angle. For a view of the arx see Pl. XXXI. Fig. 1.

Among the blocks of stone which support the cross (which were placed there in October, 1864) an important inscription (now in the Villa Aldobrandini) was recognized in 1901, and published by Grossi-Gondi (*Il tempio di Castore e Polluce nell' Acropoli di Tuscolo*, Rome, 1901, and by Tomassetti (*Not. Scavi*, 1901, 280). It is cut upon a cippus of sperone 0.69 metre high and runs thus: *ae . . . . . [a]edis Ca[s(toris) et] Pol(lucis) ex d(eurionum) d(ecreto) M. Avillius J. l. Stabilio . . . Anicius P. l. . . . Furius P. l. . . . Plactorius D. [l.] . . . Volcaceus C. l. mag(istri) fac(iundum) coer(averunt).*

The inscription seems to belong to 60 or 70 B.C. The restoration of the first word is not certain: Grossi-Gondi proposes *aed(ulum)*, *aetoma*, or *aerar(ium)*, though he thinks that the second is less probable because there is a vertical stroke after *e*, which is too close to it to belong to a *t*. Tomassetti proposes *aeditui*, which seems to me impossible. Grossi-Gondi maintains that it is highly improbable that the cippus was brought up here for the erection of the cross: there I agree with him (and the contemporary testimony which he cites seems to show that the stones were collected on the spot), though I do not think we can be certain that it was not moved in the Middle Ages. Still, there is no doubt that this is a very likely site for the Temple of Castor and Pollux, whom we know to have been (*infra*, 362)

itself was for some time occupied by the Aequi in 459 B.C. (Liv. iii. 23) and when the whole city except the arx was surprised by the Latins in 377 B.C. (*ibid.* vi. 33).

the tutelary deities of Tusculum, cf. Albert, *Le Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises*, fasc. 31., p. 13: that its substructions are not recognizable may surprise us (for I cannot agree with Canina in seeing traces either of this temple or of that of Jupiter, both of which he wishes to place on the arx), but we must put that down to the transformations of the Middle Ages and the total destruction of 1191, and remember the fate of the Temple of Jupiter on Monte Cavo (*infra*, 398). For a view of Monte Cavo from Tusculum see Pl. XXXI. Fig. 2.

The allusion in Eschinardo's *Esposizione*, as revised by Venuti (p. 268), to a 'muraglia altissima, parte fatta con scalpelli in quel sasso, e parte aiutata di sostruzione' between the ridge and the highest summit, is merely a confused description of the wall by the fountain and the rocks under the highest summit with the mediaeval defences, and should not be taken to allude to the existence of any considerable stretch of wall not now visible. The passage does not occur in the original edition.

At the N.W. angle of the Forum the descent towards Camaldoli commences and here we reach at once an interesting group of monuments (plan 20), the discovery of which Canina (p. 123: cf. his plates xiv.-xvi. = *Edifici*, VI. tav. lxxxviii, lxxxix) and the far better representations of the state of the work, as far as it had gone in 1826, in Rossini, *op. cit.* tav. 72, 73 is wrong in attributing entirely to Biondi's excavations in 1825, whereas they were in reality partly laid bare by Lucien Bonaparte and are described by Nibby, *Viaggio Antiquario* (1819), ii. 47, *sqq.* Their respective shares in the work are clear from Biondi's report, which is to be found in the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 246<sup>1</sup>. The site of an entrance to the city may reasonably be placed here; but Canina (p. 126) expressly warns us that only the foundations of what may have been its piers were found, and that the drums of half-columns shown in his tav. xvi. were only placed there to indicate its position.

We first see, on the S. right hand side of the road a piece of embankment wall of *opus quadratum* of porous tufa: the lateral joints are

<sup>1</sup> A passage in Nibby's *Scavi* (i. 103) shows that Biondi's work began as early as 1817: 'in the excavations made by order of the Court of Turin to which it belongs, under the direction of Marchese Biondi, there have been so far discovered (8. September 1817) another piece of the road which runs along the walls: and after leaving on the right a small benchyde in reticulatum for the repose of travellers, it divides, and one part runs to the left and joins that which ascends from Camaldoli, the other to the right joins that which comes from the Villa Rufinella: here there seems to have been one of the gates.'

not vertical in all cases, and there is some anathyrosis ; but the horizontal joints are regular. The height of the courses averages 0·35 metre : there is no alternation of headers and stretchers. Some of the latter are very long. one block I measured runs to 1·94 metre.

In the lower part of this wall is a rectangular opening rabbeted for a door (at *b* : cf. Plate XXX. Fig. 2) which leads into a chamber 2·85 metres long and 3·10 wide at the ground level : the latter measurement decreases owing to the gradual inclination of the sides ; when these have approached sufficiently the ceiling is formed by two slabs meeting to form a pointed roof.<sup>1</sup> The courses in the wall opposite the door measure, on an average of ten blocks, 0·275 metre high. Some of the joints are not vertical, and in one case one block is cut out to allow of the angle of another entering it, the level of the course changing slightly. From this chamber a narrow passage, at first built of *opus quadratum* but afterwards cut in the rock, runs into the hill, passing, as indicated in Canina's plan (tav. vi.) under the theatre and the large reservoir to the E. of it, and dividing into various branches when it arrives under the cliffs on the W. side of the arx. These passages still serve for the collection of water, and, being of about a man's height, can be followed without much difficulty.

Within the chamber there were traces of arrangements for filtering, or more probably for dividing the water into three portions, one of which fed a small fountain some 4 metres further down the slope : the basin, a rectangular trough of red tufa, 1·10 by 1 metre, still bears on the front, in letters 0·05 metre high, the inscription [*Q. Coelius*] *Q. F. Latinensis* *M. Decumius* *aed(iles) de S(enatus) s(ententia)* : *C.I.L.* xiv. 2626. The words *Q. Coelius* have been obliterated, since the inscription was found, by a fracture of the stone. Dessau thinks that the first of the two aediles may be identical with the man of the same name mentioned by Cicero in *De imp. Cn. Pompei* 19 § 58 (*i.e.* a little before 66 B.C.) as tribune of the plebs and legatus of a proconsul in the year following ; and the lettering of the inscription (figured by Ritschl (*P.L.M.E.* pl. *Lc*) from Henzen's copy) would warrant this supposition : within it is a smaller square block of stone with a round basin cut in it.

According to Canina, the lead pipe with the inscription *C.I.L.* xv. 7813, *Reipub(licae) Tusculanorum* was found here, and served for the supply

<sup>1</sup> Two of the slabs near the door have fallen, and the roof has been mended (in modern times ?) with concrete.

to this fountain.<sup>1</sup> That it was discovered in 1825 there is no doubt, but in the list of objects sent to the Camerlengato by Biondi, it figures among those found outside the excavation,<sup>2</sup> which is defined to have taken place

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 7833 *Cabarasai P. f. Pacatillae*, xii was found in the excavations of Lucien Bonaparte.

<sup>2</sup> It may be well to give here a summary of the documents in *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 246. On May 21st, 1825, Luigi Biondi, on behalf of the King of Sardinia, applied for leave to export the objects which might be discovered on his property, as it had been given to other sovereigns. The Cardinal Chamberlain opposed the demand, noting that the other precedents did not hold, as other sovereigns had transported objects from their own palaces, and that the Barberini Faun had only been allowed to go out after two years of discussion by express order of Pius VIII. On the 13th of June the Cardinal Chamberlain wrote to Biondi to come and interview him, and apparently permission was given as a result.

On July 4th Biondi wrote that the King's intention was to excavate in the Villa Rufinella towards Camaldoli. Rossignani, who was sent to examine the site, reported on the 12th that it was just where Lucien Bonaparte had brought to light a portion of the Via Latina, the so-called Arco Acuto (the chamber described above), the aqueduct, and part of the city walls, and permission was granted on the 16th. Work began in August, and on October 24th it was found necessary to remind Biondi that he must periodically send reports of his discoveries. Biondi replied that at first nothing had been found, and that he had believed it his duty to inform the King first. (In his MS. indeed, we have a series of eleven weekly reports from September 11th (?) to November 20th, which were, I presume, those sent to the King; but they do not give any precise local indications.)

There follows, as a result no doubt of the remonstrances made, a sheet, in the hand of Biondi's secretary, with a list of the objects found, without date. A duplicate of it will be found in Biondi's MS. f. 101. It is practically a summary of the monthly reports. The list is as follows:—

A. Outside the excavation (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2575, 2588. 2636). Fragment of a sepulchral inscription of several freedmen (*ib.* 2693?). Lead pipes with the stamp Reip. Tusculanorum (*C.I.L.* xv. 7813; *ibid.* 7860 and 7876 seem to have been found at the same time).

Fragments of paintings found in the ruins (these are described in the weekly reports and may be recognized on tav. xliii of Canina's *Tuscolo*—*supra*, 348).

Fragments of terracottas (also described in detail in the reports).

Three small columns of gray marble, only one entire (described in the weekly reports as of cipollino, 1½ palm (0'33 metre) in diameter and 10½ = 2'34 metres) long).

Four weights (circular)

A rabbit in marble of inferior style (eating grapes).

Fragments of a candelabrum.

A small capital of a column.

A tazza of pavonazzetto in several pieces, with almost the half wanting (with a flower in the centre).

Head of Jupiter, and two other weathered heads (including (?) a female head of natural size mentioned in the report for October 22nd with the Jupiter).

A headless bust.

Small fragments of statues, of which some belong to statues found by the Prince of Canino.

B. In the excavations quoted in full in the text.

From the weekly reports we may add besides the objects mentioned by Canina—cf. *supra*, 351) a cameo from a ring, representing a head of Barchus crowned with white and black grapes, fragments of stucco, a head of Antoninus Pius and another unknown male head, an *ex voto* in marble (a disk with on one side a sea-scene with dolphins and on the other two heads) and a small bas-relief of Jupiter Ammon. The additional details which I have gathered from the weekly reports about items already in the list have been added in brackets.

On December 12th, 1825, Biondi announced his intention of closing the excavations, at least for the present, because the season was unfavourable, and the results less good than was expected:

'just where Lucien Bonaparte had brought to light a portion of the Via Latina (*sic*), the so-called Arco Acuto, the aqueduct, and part of the city walls' exactly here; whereas within its area were discovered, according to the list, 'the continuation of the external road found by him, a milestone

he said that lately a small sepulchral inscription of a freedman (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2671—cf. *infra*, 360 n.) had been found, and a fragment of a bas-relief, and also a fragment of a 'putto.' The road which had been found, he added, ran past the theatre and the large reservoir towards the citadel. Rossini, *op. cit.* tav. 70-72, gives an excellent idea of what had been found up to this time, both as to the state of the excavations along this piece of the road and as to the fragments discovered, though he unluckily mixes up what was already at the Villa Rufinella and what had been more recently found.

On March 31st, 1826, Biondi gave notice of the resumption of the excavations: and the Cardinal Chamberlain advised Carlo Fea, as Commissario delle Antichità, and the Governor of Frascati in the usual way. On April 30th, Biondi reported that on the previous Tuesday two torsì of statues belonging to the same group had been found, they were miserably ruined and defective, but of good style: the governor of Frascati wrote on May 3rd, that one seemed to be a Satyr, the other a Bacchus (the Berlin group). On August 21st Biondi reported the discovery of a seated statue larger than life-size, lacking the head, the left arm, the right hand, and one leg (the so-called Tiberius, *supra*, 344).

After this we have nothing, until Biondi wrote on April 12th, 1828 of his intention to resume work: in reply to which he was requested to send the permit of excavation for extension, as it had expired over a year before; and a note states that on May 9th it was renewed till the end of the year. On July 22nd, 1829 Biondi applied for a further extension, and on September 27th, 1829 we get a report that during the previous week the excavations had been resumed, and the following objects found: two fragments of a marble candelabrum with leaves and fruits; a small statuette in bronze; many votive terracottas, representing heads, arms, legs, feet, small oxen, small pigs, etc. Nothing more was heard of Biondi (who did not personally send this report) and on April 21st, 1839, it was decided to write again, as a note on the back of the document says, but apparently without result. The excavations were not resumed till the autumn of 1839, after his death. The next document belongs to October 21st, 1839 and is a letter from the Governor of Frascati mentioning the discovery of a finely carved torso, believed to be of Greek workmanship. On November 2nd, 1839, came a report by Canina, who was now in charge, on the excavations of the last week in October. A torso of an imperial statue was found, of fine sculpture, but lacking the head, the arms, and one leg (the Tiberius, *supra*, 354); and the stage of the theatre, with the stairs up from the orchestra, and the slit for the curtain, was uncovered.

On December 1st Canina reported that in the last half of November a white marble vase decorated with hippocriiffs and stags (*supra*, 349) had been found, and that the work in the theatre continued.

In November, 1840, Canina applied on behalf of the Queen for leave to resume operations at Tusculum and at Isola Farnese, which was granted. Of the results of the work of 1840 and 1841 there are no accounts; and the next paper is Canina's application of August 20th, 1842 for a renewal of permission, which was granted. On November 6th Canina reports that in the remains of an ancient villa various fragments of paintings with ornaments and figures had been found, which belonged to vaulting now entirely ruined, also various fragments of terracotta. A statue of a Bacchic figure was also discovered, in small fragments and incomplete. In the same place two small round vases were found with inscriptions relating to a military tribune of the *Gens Furia*, whose tomb was not far off (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2577. 2578—*infra*, 373).

Lately, too, there had been found a well preserved chimaera in marble with a good statue, rather larger than life-size, representing Minerva, but wanting the head (which had been in a separate piece) and one arm. The objects found were deposited at the Villa Rufinella.

This is the last document we have on the subject.



with the number xv, the entrance to a vault, a part of a wall, and the place where the city gate was situated; and the internal road, dividing into two branches, one going towards the theatre, the other towards Frascati.' On the other hand in Biondi's first three weekly reports it is described as ending at a small fountain: it is added that it was 70 palms (15·56 metres long) and about 2½ oncie 0·05 metre in diameter, so that Canina is probably right; and this furnishes another ground for refusing to attribute the whole group of constructions to an early date.

The 'milestone with the number xv,' a small column of sperone, was found quite close to the fountain (cf. *Tuscolo*, tav. vi.) and has been seen by no one since Canina's day; but I do not share Dessau's doubts (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4088) as to its having been a milestone at all. For the distance measured from the 9th mile of the Via Labicana is almost exactly 15 miles (even from the 10th mile of the Via Latina it is over 14) and Dessau in taking the rough estimates of Dionysius and Josephus about 100 stadia *au pied de la lettre*, is falling into the same error as Grossi-Gondi (*supra*, 317). There seems to me to be considerable doubt whether the embankment wall and the chamber with the pointed roof are in reality of very remote antiquity. The construction in other respects does not point to it, and the wall seems much more like an embankment wall than a massive fortification wall. The pointed architecture is of course curious, but I am inclined very much to doubt whether it points to an actual ignorance of the principle of the arch. Canina, following Biondi, conjectures (p. 126) that an arched aperture close to the milestone may have led to the baths (though there is little reason for his supposition; but this, according to Biondi's notes, was of *opus quadratum*, and the fallen pillars of the arch were largely restored by him f. 6). It is now buried some 50 yards further down; on the same side is a rough concrete vault.

On the opposite side of the road Nibby notes the existence of tombs<sup>1</sup> and of substructions to the road (for the latter cf. *Analisi*, iii. 329, in *opus reticulatum*; and further to the N. are massive substructions (plan 21) in concrete. Canina figures (tav. xvii. figs. 1, 2, cf. p. 127, a Doric cornice and base in sperone 'pietra tuscolana,' as he calls it, fragments of which were found along the road, and which, he conjectures, belonged to some building above the substruction wall. The pavement is well preserved, and

<sup>1</sup> To these tombs one may attribute *C.I.L.* xiv. 2671, found in 1825 'outside the city' by Biondi.

the road descends to Camaldoli, but we will not at present follow its course further (see *infra*, 371).

To the S. of the modern boundary, within the Tenuta della Molara, on the S. slope, there are considerable remains (22, 22', 23) of substructions. At 22 and 22' only foundations in concrete are traceable, but at 23 there are some large vaults, partly in *opus reticulatum*, running S.W. and N.E. belonging no doubt to a building facing S.W. Below there is a small rectangular reservoir, and a substruction some 20 metres in diameter, in which is a curved corridor about 5 metres wide, which once perhaps formed a full circle: it is faced with rough pieces of selce, and is mentioned by Nibby, *Schede*, i. 103. It is strange that these remains are not indicated at all by Canina in tav. vi. and only inadequately in tav. vii.

On a projecting and somewhat lower spur (24) are traces of buildings consisting of small rectangular chambers close together and marked by Canina as tombs (no doubt from the evidence of actual discoveries, for otherwise they might be dwellings); they, too, belong to the same period; while at *c* is a well or quarry shaft.

As Dessau remarks in his preface (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 255), it is very often extremely difficult to find out the exact spot at which were discovered even those inscriptions which we know to have been found on the hill of Tusculum in the first half of the nineteenth century, for many of them were at once transferred to the Villa Rufinella and copied there. Among the more important I may mention *C.I.L.* xiv. 2579, a dedication to Jupiter and Libertas, erected during the aedileship of P. Valerius Bassus *praefectus fabrum*<sup>1</sup> 2581 (a dedication to Mars Gradivus—but cf. *C.I.L. in loc.*), dedications to Venus, to Victoria Augusta (2584, 2585), to an unnamed deity by a *sevir Augustalis* and priest of Isis (2589) and to another deity unknown (possibly only the inscription of the side of a base was preserved) in 186 A.D., the name of Commodus being as usual erased (2590—also the base of a statue with a dedicatory inscription to Tiberius set up in 30–31 A.D., found by Biondi (2591), an epistyle with a dedication to the same emperor, erected two years later, by a *curator lusus iuvenalis*, 2592, a dedication to Nerva by the senate and people of Tusculum 2593, and fragmentary dedications to M. Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and Alexander Severus (2594, 2595, 2597) and some later emperor (2598)—the last found

<sup>1</sup> Nibby, *Schede*, i. 64, saw it along the upper road, i.e. between the amphitheatre and the theatre, on October 13th, 1823 (?), and notes that there are traces of the stone having been cemented over.

on the ancient road: further, the inscription of M. Cordius Rufus, praetor and proconsul (he was, as the coins show, *triumvir monetalis* about 48 B.C.), who, at Tusculum, no doubt his native place, as is indicated by the representation of the Dioscuri on his coins, held the position of *aedilis lustralis* and *monitor sacrorum* (2603).

In this connexion we may also note the discovery, before 1627, in *antiquis Tusculi ruinis* of an inscription erected by two aediles, recording an order given by them to remove (or destroy) false weights and measures (*mensuras et pondera iniqua tolli or frangi iusserunt—ib. 2625*), and of a block of sperone found 'recently,' according to Mattei, *ie.* early in the eighteenth century near the hill of Tusculum in the property of the Signori Meloni—not, I should imagine, the same as Monte Mellone below Monte Porzio (*Papers*, i. 253, bearing an inscription of a woman who was a *sodalis iuvenum*<sup>1</sup> (2631—cf. 2635 and p. 247, *supra*, an inscription found in 1742 (but not apparently in the excavations of the villa above the Rufinella) recording the enlargement of a part of the *Schola collegii dendrophorum* by Sex. Octavius Felicianus, Senator and aedile of Tusculum and *rex sacrorum*, who had been made *praefectus* of this *collegium* (2634).

Other inscriptions found by Biondi are—a dedication by resolution of the Senate made from the liberality of C. Fabius Passienus Saturninus, augur and *aedilis lustralis* (*ib. 2628*), a base of sperone, erected in 131 A.D. in honour of M. Pontius Felix, Senator, municipal aedile, *sodalis (lusus iuvenalis itemque aedilis et curator sodalium* (2636): 2637, a dedication to a *magister aedituum Castoris et Pollucis, Augustalium honore functo* was found earlier, no doubt by Lucien Bonaparte, as Nibby saw it in 1819 (it is now in the municipal collection at Frascati<sup>2</sup>: 2642 is a fragmentary inscription, apparently referring to a statue, found in 1825, no doubt by Biondi.

It is not my purpose to discuss in detail the large number of inscriptions certainly or probably found in the territory of Tusculum of which the exact provenance cannot be fixed. I may name a dedication to Castor and Pollux *C.I.L.* xiv. 2576 made by Q. Flavius Balbus, who was governor of Arabia *C.I.L.* iii. 95, and *consul suffectus* at an unknown date,

<sup>1</sup> The various lead tesserae relating to the Sodales Tusculani are collected by Rostowzew, *Tusulanorum Numismatum Sylloge*, nos. 858–92.

<sup>2</sup> The provenance of *ib. 2639*, a dedication to a *genetrix* (cf. 2629) by permission of the *aeditui* of Castor and Pollux, is not certain. Nibby gives a copy of it (*Sylloge*, i. 117) without indication of locality: but from its subject-matter it may fairly be attributed to Tusculum.

a list of 24 (?) men—exclusive of their *praetores* or *praefecti*, who contributed money for the repair of some building, in which the *Augustales aeditui Castoris et Pollucis* also joined, said to have been found at Ficulea (*Papers*, iii. 59 *sqq.*), but rightly, I think, attributed to Tusculum by Dessau (*ib.* 2620); an inscription recording the gift by one Caelia of a statue of her son Saufeius to the *municipium* to which she belonged, which coming from the Passionei collection (*infra*, 374) may or may not belong to Tusculum; (2624) the sepulchral inscription of *M. Fictorius Synhistor cur(ator) aedituom Castoris et Pollucis* erected by the sixteen *aeditui* after his death, first seen in Rome in the seventeenth century, but, like 2620, attributed to Tusculum (2627). (On the other hand 2630, said by Fra Giocondo to have come from Tusculum, is with more reason attributed to Ostia: it mentions an official of the *collegium fabrum tignariorum*, of which we have frequent mention at Ostia, whereas there is no other inscription connected with it from Tusculum.)

In April 1902 it was found that among the materials of which the altar in the chapel of S. Gregorio at Mondragone was built was a fragment of an inscription containing the *fasti* of a *collegium* as follows *mag(istri) Parhedrus glutin(ator) Demetrius topiar(ius) Appa topiar(ius) [M. Fur]io Camillo Sex(to) Nonio (Quintiliano) co(n)s(ulibus) mag(istri) . . . Polit . . .*

The consuls mentioned are those of A.D. 8. The name of the *collegium* is uncertain: as the first of the three *magistri* was a bookbinder and the other two were gardeners, it contained a mixture of trades; and Grossi-Gondi, who publishes the fragment, thinks that it may be part of the *fasti* of a *collegium fabrum* (*Bull. Com.* 1902, 99); but I see no reason for this.

Otherwise we have no mention of any *collegia* of members of a trade at Tusculum except the *dendrophori*, who were largely a religious association. This we should expect, as Tusculum was of course a residential and not a trading place.

From these, and from our historical authorities, a short sketch of the history of Tusculum from the earliest times may be given, following in the footsteps of Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 252). According to tradition, the founder of Tusculum was Telegonus, the son of Ulysses and Circe. The first mention of it in the Roman annals is at the end of the regal period, when it espoused the cause of Tarquinius Superbus on his expulsion from Rome, the chief of Tusculum, Octavius Mamilius, having received his daughter in marriage. Under Mamilius' leadership the thirty cities of the

Latin League waged war against Rome to secure the restoration of the Tarquins, but were defeated at the battle of the Lake Regillus (*supra*, 321) in 497 B.C. The history of the subsequent period is by no means clear; Diodorus xi 40 tells us that in 484 B.C. Tusculum was taken by the Romans—an event not mentioned by Livy and Dionysius: but we hear subsequently of close connexion between Rome and the people of Tusculum, except in 340 and 323 B.C., when they seem to have allied themselves with the enemies of Rome. It is clear that Tusculum was among the oldest of the *municipia*, if not the oldest: it already possessed the citizenship in 338 B.C., and according to Livy's account, with which other authors agree, received it as early as 381 B.C. When, however, it received the full citizenship is doubtful: after it did so, its citizens voted in the Papirian tribe, and seem to have been preponderant in it—though only one inscription from Tusculum or its neighbourhood mentions this tribe. Many of the chief families of Tusculum rose to the highest honours in Rome—the first was C. Fulvius, consul in 324 B.C.—and in time transferred their residence thither. Some of the cults of Tusculum were taken over by the Romans and placed under the charge of a college of Roman knights, who had no connexion with Tusculum itself. We hear little more of it under the Republic, except that in 211 B.C. Hannibal appeared before its gates, but was not admitted.

At the end of the Republic, as Cicero says (*Pro Planc.* 8 § 19), Tusculum was full of men of consular rank: but it had become so much a suburb of Rome that it had ceased to take any special pride in the honours which its citizens had won there. How favourite a summer resort it was, we learn from Cicero's works and letters. It may have come into vogue as such even before the Second Punic War: it is possible (but it depends on which version we adopt) that L. Caecilius Metellus, who was consul in 251 B.C. had an estate in the district of Tusculum,<sup>1</sup> though whether it was a villa or a farm we do not know. *Val. Max.* i. 4; 4, 5.

During the Imperial period, as we have seen, the territory of Tusculum continued to be frequented even by the emperors themselves,<sup>2</sup> though the town itself is hardly mentioned.

The chief magistrates were aediles: we hear of a dictator only in the early annals, though the town council kept the name of Senate. The cult

<sup>1</sup> One version of the text has *C. Metellus Tusculum praetor*, the other *Metellus praefectus centurionum Tusculorum*.

<sup>2</sup> The description of Strabo (iv. 3. 12, p. 239) may be noticed as a faithful picture. It is given in Tozer's *Sicily*, p. 158.

of Castor and Pollux had, as we have seen, a special importance, and their priests had also the charge of the worship of the imperial house.

At the beginning of the third century A.D. we hear of a *curator reipublicae Tusculanorum* in the person of L. Marius Perpetuus. For the mediaeval history of Tusculum and its final abandonment in 1191 A.D. we may consult Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 200 *sqq.*) and Seghetti (*Tuscolo e Frascati*, 105 *sqq.*).

To attempt to determine the exact site of the discovery of the numerous brickstamps that are recorded as having been found 'at Tusculum' would be almost impossible, and little would be gained by it. Among those discovered in December 1826 we may note *C.I.L.* xv. 265. 8, 359. 2, 1086. 4, 1088. 4, 1395. 3, for the reason that we have no other record of excavations then in progress; while those shown by Rossini (tav. 71) are *ib.* 797, 822, 824. We may add the lamp *ib.* 6205 with the inscription *annum novum faustum felicem Ioviano*. For sculptures seen at the Villa Rufinella by Wells cf. *op. cit.* 222.

Among the many objects found at Tusculum, of which the provenance cannot be more exactly fixed, we may note the terracotta plaque in the Campana collection figured by Canina, *Tuscolo*, tav. iii. (the recognition of Ulysses) and the various terracottas given *ibid.* tav. I–liii. (= *Edifici* VI. tav. xvi.–xcviii.—one figure, xcvi., Fig. 8, occurring in *Edifici* alone; lii. Fig. 3, which bears the stamp *Vales* (*C.I.L.* xv. 2553), is now at Aglié.

There is, too, the statue of Dionysus with his left arm resting on a statue of Aphrodite, a larger replica of the Deepdene statue, now at St. Petersburg (Ermitage, no. 156, Clarac, 695, 1615; see Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 280, no. 3). Canina (*Tuscolo*, p. 145, tav. xxxv.) wrongly states that it is in the British Museum.

Ficoroni (*Bolla d'Oro*, II, 12 = *mem.* 114 ed. Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. p. 172) mentions the discovery 'in the ruins of Tusculum' of a 'vetro cimiteriale,' i.e. the bottom of a glass vase with two portraits in gold upon it, which was given to him by the Abbot Bernardo Sterbini.

Among the proceeds of Lucien Bonaparte's excavations at Tusculum in 1818 (?) was a head of Antonina Augusta (?), sold by Capranesi to Mr. Rhodes, and seen in the possession of Col. Maitland Crichton by Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles*, p. 431; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikonographie*, ii. 1, p. 224, no. 16 merely repeats Michaelis' description). The bust of Drusus in the Capitol (Imperatorii, 7) was also found here in 1818.

According to Melchiorri (*Lettera al Sig. Cav. G. de Witte, intorno allo Stato del Mus. Cap.*, Rome, 1844, p. 10, no. 13), it belonged to a male heroic statue the rest of which is now in the porch of the Villa Borghese (no. xxviii.?). It was purchased by the Conservatori and came into the museum in 1842.

A statue found at Tusculum in 1820, and supposed to represent Cicero, has in reality no connexion with him. The head is figured in Kelsall's article in *Classical Journal*, xxiii. (1821) 265 ff. See Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* i. 142.

A double herm of Libya and a Triton, found 'near Tusculum' in 1829 and acquired by Bunsen from Capranesi, is also in Berlin (*Beschreibung*, no. 207).

A painting 'from Tusculum,' seen at Naples by Helbig in the collection of one Barone, representing a youthful Bacchus and a panther, is described by Helbig in *Bull. Inst.* 1863, 150.

The following sculptures from Tusculum out of the Campana collection are now in the Louvre—a draped Roman male figure (no. 920), a bust of M. Junius Brutus (no. 924 'environs of Tusculum'), a bust of Otho (no. 1217), a bust of Caligula (no. 1227), a bust of Antonia (no. 1229). The Hellenistic bas-relief of Jupiter with the eagle at his feet from the excavations of Azara is also in the Louvre (no. 1365).

A bronze tablet, said to have been found at Tusculum (to what it was affixed is uncertain), bore the inscription: *Aincio* (for *Anicio*) *Probo viro clarissimo et Anicie* (for *Aniciæ*) *Probæ clarissimæ* *e* [for *feminae*] with the monogram *P F*, the significance of which is still disputed, *C.I.L.* xiv. 4120, 2 = xv. 7157.

The bust of Marius (no. 417 in the catalogue of 1880) in the Museo Torlonia is said to have been found at Tusculum.

In the excavations made by Prince Aldobrandini (apparently not long before 1865) was found a bone tessera bearing the inscription *Philetus Rutili spectavit kalendis Aprilibus Tiberio Plautio (et Corvino) consulibus* 45 A.D. *C.I.L.* xiv. 4126.

Among the inscriptions found at Tusculum is Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 1120, a dedication *φήμη εὐαγγέλω*.

The Christian monuments of Tusculum are extremely few and are dealt with by De Rossi in *Bull. Crist.* 1872 pp. 97, 130 of the French translation. They include two fragments of inscriptions, belonging to a

cornice and to a mosaic, seen by Settele in 1829, but now lost<sup>1</sup> (probably belonging to two different churches and a gold ring with an intaglio of lapis lazuli decorated with Christian symbols, found at Tusculum in 1857.

Another copy of the second of them is given in the MS. of Biondi f. 35<sup>v</sup>): it is similar to Settele's; but in the first line we have

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(probably an error in reading the inscription), and the design of the decoration is slightly different.

A scarab of basalt with gnostic inscriptions in Greek, recently found at Tusculum, is published by Tomassetti in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 293, with notes by Wünsch.

XVIII.—THE DISTRICT TO THE N. OF TUSCULUM AS FAR AS THE  
VIA LABICANA.

To complete our survey of the territory to the N. of Tusculum, as far as the Via Labicana, we must examine (1) the road descending from the amphitheatre as far as the Barco di Borghese (*supra*, 326), (2) the road from the theatre to Le Cappellette, (3) the road running E. from these as far as Monte Porzio, and Monte Porzio itself.

Taking the first of these, we first of all see on its right (N.E.)<sup>2</sup> side some substructions in selce concrete, shown in our plan of Tusculum (31), and indicated also by Canina, who marks the road 'Via Particolare delle Ville'; then come some others on the right, above it, which form part of the side of a natural terrace on which there are no buildings: just below are the scanty remains of a large villa, by some mischance indicated neither by Grossi-Gondi nor by me: there is a large platform facing W.N.W., upon which a few remains of rooms are now to be seen, supported by a wall with curved niches, of *opus reticulatum*: a chamber behind this wall at one point is constructed of inferior brickwork. Below this is a small open reservoir, which lies a little to the S. of the track (marked in the map), which leaves the path ascending from the Villa Rufinella to the amphitheatre close to the word 'Scuola,' and thence runs N.E.

Below this track a group of ruins is marked in my map, which present some features of considerable interest. They are undoubtedly the

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson (*Ital. Lat.* 10572, 11) saw the first of them at the Villa Rufinella in 1874

<sup>2</sup> The modern path passes through them, but the ancient road must have kept just below.



remains of a large villa, facing N.W. The N.W. front is supported by a wall 31.60 metres long,<sup>1</sup> and 3.95 metres high, of fine polygonal work of blocks of very hard red tufa, with close joints and the faces left a little rough, there being slight rustication in some cases. The largest blocks measure about 1.00 by 0.46 metre, the smallest 0.35 × 0.31. The first 2 metres from the W. angle, however, are of small ashlar masonry of the same material: this angle is shown in Plate XXXII. Fig. 1. 2.00 metres before we reach the N.E. end of the wall there is a rectangular drain opening in it 0.60 metre wide, and at least 0.90 high, roofed with a flat lintel, to which corresponds inside an arched passage lined with *opus incertum*. There is no wall on the N.E. side, as the ground slopes up towards it; but on the S.W. there is a wall of *opus reticulatum*, and on the S.E. a *cryptoporticus* lined with the same material, to the S.E. of which is another wall in polygonal work, but less well preserved, originally about 18 metres in length and about 1.50 in height as preserved, with *opus reticulatum* in front of it, forming, as Fonteanive tells us, the wall of a bathroom with a mosaic pavement. To the E., and a little higher up, are other rooms belonging to the villa and its entrance, with, perhaps, the pavingstones of a branch road coming down to it. Among the walls which are of brick and *opus reticulatum* of selce I found the brickstamp, *C.I.L.* xv. 911 b (first century A.D.). Here were found mosaics and other decorations (Tomassetti, 183 n., and a brickstamp with Greek lettering (*idem* in *Rom. Mitt.* i. 1886), 63).

In front of the wall on the N.W. there is a rectangular reservoir of selce concrete with external buttresses, three on the S.W., one at the W. angle, and five on the N.E. Grossi-Gondi speaks of it and marks it in his map as a 'tomb.' That the polygonal work is of Roman date and connected with the villa, I have not the smallest doubt (compare *Papers.* iii. *passim* and Fonteanive *Avanzi Ciclopici*, 86, who publishes a good photograph of the wall, which was cleared in 1886, and Giovenale (*Diss. Pont. Acc. Arch.* Ser. II. vol. vii. p. 332 and Fig. 5, are of the same opinion. Tomassetti, on the other hand, and Grossi-Gondi (p. 153) consider it to be of far older date, and the latter regards it as a portion of

<sup>1</sup> Fonteanive gives the length at 23 metres. I suspect a misprint for 32. Tomassetti and Grossi-Gondi speak of one wall, 11 metres long and 3.85 high, having confused the two walls, apparently.

the city wall of Tusculum. The former speaks vaguely of a line of walls of *opus quadratum* which begins about 300 metres from the entrance gate of Camaldoli and after an interruption reappears in the part above the Villa Rufinella towards the amphitheatre, and proposes also to extend the city so far in this direction, but the idea seems to be quite impossible and unsupported by any evidence (cf. *infra*, 371). The material has been generally called sperone, but Giovenale calls it *pietra albana* (which should be peperino) or sperone in his text, and *tufo vulcanico* in the legend under his illustration.

Below this villa the road must have turned N.E., though no actual traces of its course can be seen now (it is rightly marked in Grossi-Gondi's map, but not in mine), keeping just above the remains of another large villa. At the top of it is a modern house resting upon an ancient subterranean reservoir with three chambers. Below it is a large platform, and below that another, upon which are the remains certainly of one reservoir with three intercommunicating chambers and possibly, as Grossi-Gondi thinks (p. 154) (he marks the two lower reservoirs separately in his map), of another, the arcades of which, however, are now open, so that if there was ever a reservoir, its outer wall has gone.

He made some excavations in 1898 (*Bull. Com.* 1898, 337) and found various fragments of paintings and stucco from wall decorations and two brickstamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 2304, first century A.D.) and a fragment which is to be associated with *ib.* 1138 or 1869. Below this villa is a quarry in which a drain may be seen, running some 10° N. of E. and belonging no doubt to this villa, and a small portion of the pavement of the road, running in the direction indicated by him.

Thence it crossed the modern path from Mondragone to Camaldoli and descended to the valley to the N.E. of the former, which it followed in a N.W. direction, as Grossi-Gondi has made out from recent discoveries, and passing about at the point where are the letters 'nd' of Mondragone in my map, after which my marking is correct. Here are the remains of a building which he considers to be a tomb: then there is a villa in the right-angled bend of the modern road to Monte Porzio which he mentions (p. 155, n. 3) and marks in his map, but, I think, a little too far W.; and below the road to the N.W. is a reservoir in selce concrete, which we have both of us omitted to indicate, with three chambers originally (only two of

which are preserved), and nine arches in the dividing wall, running N.W. by W.: the vineyard is the Vigna Carocci, so that Grossi-Gondi is wrong in his marking and in p. 156, n. 1 (see *supra*, 329).

The road then crossed the road to Colonna and continued towards Prata Porci (*supra*, 325).

We have left unnoticed the Villa Mondragone, to which we must now return. Grossi-Gondi, who for many years was on the teaching staff of the Jesuit school established there, has written an excellent account of it<sup>1</sup> and of the ancient remains upon which it rests, which he rightly attributes, from lead pipes found in 1732 (*C.I.L.* xv. 7847) to the brothers Quintilius Condianus and Quintilius Maximus, the owners of the great villa on the Via Appia (see my paper in *Ausonia* iv. (1910) 48 *sqq.*), who were put to death by Commodus about 183 A.D., whereas Stevenson (*Cimitero di Zotico*, 98) and others had thought that the villa at Barco di Borghese belonged to them. There are hardly any remains now visible,<sup>2</sup> so that I may refer my readers to Grossi-Gondi's book, and to the supplementary notes which will be found in his *Tuscolano*, p. 142.

Various antiquities have been found or preserved at Mondragone at different times: thus the head of a Muse in the Villa Borghese (Nibby, *Mon. Scelti della Villa Borghese*, Salone, no. 6, p. 42; Venturi, *Museo e Galleria Borghese*, xxxvii. was brought thither from the Villa Mondragone, and the colossal head of Antinous in the Louvre (no. 1205) came from it through the Borghese collection. *C.I.L.* xiv. 2596 'a dedication to Caracalla by Aemilius Macer Faustianus', now at the Villa Taverna, was first copied at Mondragone; but Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 49 suggests (groundlessly, I think) that it may have been found on the Colle Cesarano with the inscriptions of the Caesonii (*ib.* 3900-3902: cf. *Papers* iii. 138). He also enumerates other antiquities found or preserved there.

To the W.N.W. is the villa marked Villa Borghese.

It is also called Villa Taverna from its builder, Cardinal Ferdinando Taverna, who built it in 1604-5, but sold it in 1614 to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. It remained in the possession of the Borghese family until 1888, when it became the property of the Parisi family. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 53. It does not occupy an ancient site, and Grossi-Gondi

<sup>1</sup> *La Villa Tuscolana nell'epoca augustea e dei primi imperatori. La Villa di Quintili e la Villa di Mondragone*, Rome, 1901. His article in *Bull. Com.* 1898, 313 *sqq.* is repeated in this work (pp. 20 *sqq.* and 285 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> There are scanty traces in the path from Camaldoli on the N.E. side of the garden.

(p. 143) is probably right in supposing that the land round it belonged to the Villa of the Quintilii. A number of inscriptions and other antiquities are, or have been preserved there, among which I may mention the sarcophagus with a representation of the bringing home of the body of Meleager seen there by Robert in 1882 (*Sark.-Rel.* iii. 299) but since removed, the Lycurgus sarcophagus (Matz-Duhn, 2269), and others mentioned by Tomassetti (*Via Latina*, 178). To the N.E. of the house is a large reservoir: Lanciani (*Bull. Com.* 1884, 186) and Grossi-Gondi (*ib.* 1898, 334; *Villa dei Quintilii*, 289) conjectured that it supplied the villa at Barco di Borghese. A plan of it is given by Canina (*Tuscolo*, tav. ix. = *Edifizi*, VI. tav. lxxxix.), but Grossi-Gondi does not indicate it in his map (for its site cf. Canina, tav. vii.). At the two points between the Villa Borghese and the Barco where he marks ruins, there are traces of platforms with debris, but no remains of construction are visible. For the so-called Villa Vecchia cf. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 48.<sup>1</sup> With the Barco di Borghese we have already dealt (*supra*, 327 *sqq.*) and we may now return to the theatre of Tusculum, and follow the road<sup>2</sup> which descended from it past Camaldoli, the beginning of which has been described *supra*, 356.

We may begin our consideration of it with the scanty ruins marked 9 in our plan, which are situated immediately to the S. of the enclosure wall of the monastery of Camaldoli (cf. *supra*, 350) and probably belonged to the concrete of a villa platform, though nothing but debris is now visible there.

Just above them I saw in 1898 (they are not now to be seen) some scanty remains of walling of blocks of tufa about 0.60 metre (2 Roman feet) thick; and there were similar remains further N.N.W. These are, I imagine, the traces of the supposed city walls of Tusculum to which Tomassetti alludes, but, as I have said, I cannot agree with him that this is what they represent.

To the W. is the so-called Villa of the Caecilii (7 on our plan: *supra*, 348), to the N.W. of which (omitted in the map) and just below the tomb marked 8<sup>3</sup> is a building in *opus quadratum* and *opus reticulatum*—no doubt

<sup>1</sup> Tomassetti gives (*Bull. Com.* 1892, 359) a fragment of a Greek inscription, the significance of which is not clear, built into the casino of the Villa Vecchia, on the road from Frascati to Monte Porzio.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.L.* xiv. 2693 (a fragmentary sepulchral inscription found by Biondi in 1830) must belong to this road.

<sup>3</sup> The tomb 8 is marked too far W. in our plan, but this is due to the fact that there are errors

a villa on the S. edge of the modern track from the Villa Rufinella (*supra*, 367). To the N.E. (it is shown on the W. edge of Map I. of the present volume) is a large villa in *opus reticulatum*, marked Villa dei Furi by Canina (*Edifici*, VI. tav. lxxx., lxxxv.; but not in *Tuscolo*, tav. vi., vii., which was published in 1841<sup>1</sup>: see below). The ancient road passed within the enclosure wall of the wood belonging to the monastery of Camaldoli, and Canina (*Tuscolo*, p. 134) alludes to it. Further remains of it were found in 1901 (Grossi-Gondi, p. 160) at a considerable depth, varying in width from 2 to 4 metres.<sup>2</sup> In the upper part of its course it made a sharp turn to avoid an ancient villa not marked in my map, but indicated by Grossi-Gondi, and described by him (p. 166, cf. *Bull. Com.* 1902, 103). This building was discovered in 1901, and its plan was entirely different from the normal plan of a Roman house: among the rooms were two halls, paved with mosaic, with geometric designs in black and white. The brickstamps which were found in the building belonged to the first century A.D.; but some blocks of sperone which were found there may, Grossi-Gondi thinks, have belonged to some earlier building.

To the S.E. of it was a large cistern measuring 27.60 by 5.60 metres; and Mattei (*Tuscolo*, 78) describes a system of rock-hewn cisterns found by the monks in 1704 in the wood, consisting of passages  $7\frac{1}{2}$  palms (1.65 metre) wide, in which a man could walk, with shafts at intervals. Chaupy (*op. cit.* ii. 206) also mentions them.

It seems to me that the chamber discovered in 1862, containing a pavement in black and white mosaic, and representing gladiatorial scenes, must have belonged to the same building: it is said to have been found at the S.W. extremity of the enclosure of Camaldoli, towards the so-called Acqua del Cardinale. The pavement is now in the Villa Aldobrandini (Grossi-Gondi, pp. 19, 165 and tav. iii.: cf. *Ann. Inst.* 1863, 397).

The question as to the site of the tomb of the Furi is fully discussed by Grossi-Gondi (161 *sqq.*). The tomb had a vestibule of *opus quadratum*, with a carefully closed door of peperino, and was itself a chamber hewn in the tufa, in which was a sarcophagus some 5 feet long, and several smaller urns, about 12 in number: on some of these were the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv.

in the plan of Canina from which it is taken, which could not be corrected without a more extended survey than I was able to undertake.

<sup>1</sup> There he marks the tomb of the Furi just inside the wood of Camaldoli, at its S.E. extremity.

<sup>2</sup> Stevenson (*Lat. Lat.* 10572, 9) records its discovery in January 1894.

2700–2707, 2750. The discovery was made in 1665 or 1667 (?) (Kircher, *Vetus Latium*, 67<sup>1</sup>; Falconieri, *Inscriptiones athleticæ* in Gronovius, *Thesaurus Ant. Graec.* viii. 2348) in the wood belonging to the monastery close to the ancient road; but the wood was in those days apparently larger than in the nineteenth century, the present enclosure wall not including the site of the discovery. For in 1842<sup>2</sup> Canina, who was excavating on behalf of the Queen of Sardinia (*supra*, 359)—and not primarily of Campana, as Grossi-Gondi supposes—found outside it, at the point where he marks ‘Villa dei Furiî,’ two columns with dedications in identical terms to Fortune and to Mars (*M. Fourio(s) C. f. tribunos militare de praidad . . . . dedet C.I.L.* xiv. 2577, 2578), and with them some fragments of statuary, including a fine standing statue of Jupiter, which was conveyed to Aglié, and a fragment of the base of a statue with the name of the artist Sosicles (Loewy, *Inschr. Gr. Bildh.* no. 434). It was on this occasion recognized that the site of the discovery belonged to the monastery, and it was actually restored to it (*Edifici*, V. p. 72, n. 13). The discovery of the dedications renders it probable, though not certain, that either the villa indicated by Canina, or that described by Grossi-Gondi, belonged to members of the *gens Furia*, though the inscriptions belong to the first century B.C., while the remains of villas point, as the latter recognizes, to a date about a century later.

The line of the road probably cut that of the avenue leading to Camaldoli, inasmuch as Canina, in the map cited (*Tuscolo*, tav. vii.) marks a tomb a little below it, but in the same line. Beyond that point, we may conjecture that it descended towards Le Cappellette, as Grossi-Gondi does, or simply suppose that it ran towards Mondragone, as I have done (cf., however, *supra*, 326),<sup>3</sup> Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 295, 597; *Schede*, i. 63) considers the direct path from Camaldoli to Frascati, *i.e.* that which passes S. of the Villa Falconieri, to be ancient; but this seems to me uncertain: there are some pavingstones in it to the S.E. of Mondragone, but they are not, apparently, *in situ*.

The monastery of Camaldoli was originally erected in 1611: a part of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the additional information from his MS. notes published by Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 321.

<sup>2</sup> 1852, the date given by Canina himself, is the result of a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> It is not improbable that Holste is referring to this road. *Col. Diss.* F. 193 f. 67 ‘da Grottaferrata andando sotto Frascati verso l’osteria del Finocchio si vedono per tutto strade antiche, prima e la Latina . . . poi quella del Tuscolo che passa accanto a Frascati poi un’ altra che tira su per la valle verso Monte Dragoni dove si vedono vestigi immensi di una villa grandissima’ (Le Cappellette).

it was used as his villa by Cardinal Passionei, who collected there various antiquities, including many inscriptions, about 800 in all, and a library, etc. (Tomassetti, 186 n., Lanciani, *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, 294). Most of the inscriptions are now in the Vatican. After the Cardinal's death on July 5th, 1761, his antiquities were at once put up for sale: John Adam in his journal (published in *Diary of Fine Arts* ii. nos. 9, 10 (1831)), mentions that the sale was taking place on the 24th of that month and on August 27th says 'we made another jaunt to Frascati, to look at some of the antiquities of Cardinal Passionei, and made offer of 205 crowns for the vase of the Villa Adriana and some other fragments.'

Ghezzi notes the discovery in making an aqueduct from Tusculum to Camaldoli in 1741 of a Greek middle bronze of Trajan 'questa medaglia fu trovata nel condotto che fa fare il Sigr. Cardinal Passionei p(er) far condurre l'acqua la quale viene dal Tuscolo p(er) condottarla e p(er) farla venire al suo romitorio nei Camaldoli di Frascati, il dì 29 Xbre 1741.' (*Cod. Brit. Mus.* f. 2. published by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1893, 169.) Ghezzi also noted and drew (*Cod. cit.* f. 20) a marble mask used as a fountain jet 'questa testa . . . è posseduta dall' Emmo. Sr. Cardle. Passionei, il quale l'h'a collocata in una fontana che getta l'acqua nel sarcofago che gli donò N. Sre. P. Benedetto XIII, la quale stava in faccia alla pigna al belvedere al Vaticano et il med<sup>o</sup> . . . l'h'a fatta collocare al fine della macchia nel suo romitorio di Frascati, in faccia al Pischierone copiosa di diverse sorte di pesci, e dà belvedere di San Pietro per condurla alli Camaldoli gl' importo' per la sola conduttura scudi 30 et io cav. Ghezzi me ne sono lassata la memoria, essendo una testa non sola bella, ma assai particolare.'

Other antiquities in Cardinal Passionei's possession, but from Rome, are noted *ibid.* 21, 104, 111-118, 121.

On f. 120 he gives a drawing of a fragment of a marble statue of a boy with an elaborate sandal, leaning against a tree trunk—'questo frammento lo possiede Fra Bonifacio laico nel romitorio dei Camaldoli di Frascati, al quale gli fu dato da un villano che disse haverlo cavato al Tuscolo . . . il quale frammento è bellissimo e particolare p(er) il sandalo: il medm<sup>o</sup> è di marmo Pario alto 1 palmo e un quarto . . . (18 ottobre, 1741).'

The Greek inscriptions collected by Passionei at Camaldoli include *Kaibel, I.G.* xiv. 1360 Ἀκρίδι κυνάριον—the tombstone of a little dog—seen in 1858 by Vischer at Ockham Park, Surrey, the seat of Lord Lovelace,

1544, 1802 (unimportant tomb inscriptions, now lost), 1982, 2026, 2031 (now in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican).

An interesting Christian sarcophagus found at Camaldoli and transported to the Villa Taverna is published and described by De Rossi (*Bull. Crist.* 1872, pp. 133, 140 and pl. vi. of the French translation).

Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 141) notes a report of Pasquale Antini (dated September 8th 1889) that the monks of Camaldoli had found a male statue of a wrestler (?) and other antiquities; and here Helbig copied in 1888 the early brickstamp (beginning of first century A.D. or earlier) *C.I.L.* xv. 824. 7.

The road from Frascati to Monte Porzio has been already dealt with as far as Il Barco di Borghese (*supra*, 327). From this point, as Grossi-Gondi notes (p. 145), the line of the modern road is entirely different from the ancient, which at first followed the line of the lane on the E. of Mondragone; along this, in the Vigna Mancini, some pavement was found in 1888.<sup>1</sup> Beyond this point, however, its course is quite uncertain and both Grossi-Gondi and I (*Papers* i. Map V.) show it conjecturally: we can only be sure that it did not follow the modern line, inasmuch as this last cuts through an ancient villa just to the N. of the villa of the Collegio Nazionale (*infra*, 377), while the older track kept above the great villa which we now reach, the remains of which bear the name of Le Cappellette (Raggi, *Sui colli Albani e Tuscolani*, 110). It consists of two large platforms: the lower of them, to the S.W., is supported on the N.W. side by a wall with large semicircular niches, faced with good *opus reticulatum* of selce, with quoins of the same material, and bands of brick: the arches are of fine brickwork. The upper platform, to the N.E., is supported on the N.W. and S.W. sides by lofty arches and pillars of *opus reticulatum* of selce with selce quoins and voussoirs, which is possibly earlier than the work in the lower platform: these have been reinforced later within with concrete with the same facing, but inferior in quality, and with the addition of bands of baked bricks: on the N.W. side these additions are in two stories. A view of the N.W. side is given in Plate XXXII. Fig. 2.

In 1888 seven fragments of lead piping were found in the Vigna Mancini, which occupies this terrace, bearing the inscription *Matidiae Aug. fil. lxxxii. . . . Salonius Epictetus fecit* (*C.I.L.* xv. 7822: whether the

<sup>1</sup> *Not. Scav.*, 1888, 141 speaks only of 'poligoni di peperino,' a material never used for paving-stones, but Grossi-Gondi no doubt obtained better information on the spot.



reference is to Matidia the elder or the younger, *i.e.* to the niece or the grandniece of Trajan, is uncertain: but we thus have the name of an owner of the villa. Remains of painted decoration were found at the same time.

For discoveries of statues etc., made here in the seventeenth century (the objects are said to have been transported to the Villa Borghese), see *Cod. Tusc. cit.*, quoted by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 211 *sqq.* Kircher (*Vetus Latium*, 73) had attributed the ruins to the temple of Bona Fortuna mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the theory is repeated by Pococke (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 22981, 55): it is, however, without foundation, and Nibby (*Analisi* ii. 356) clearly saw the real nature of these remains. From the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1668 we learn that in March 1832 Don Camillo Borghese asked for permission to excavate in an oliveyard belonging to him in the territory of Monte Porzio, Contrada Le Cappellette, and more exactly in Contrada Pentima de' Frati, which lay on the old road to Monte Porzio. Rossignani reported that although there were large ruins close by, with double arches one above the other, no harm could be done to them by excavation. He added reports, that Campana (the tenant) had opposed, or that Campana himself had dug by night, or that Campana and the Prince had agreed, and that really the former was working with Pietro Paolo Spagna. In any case leave was granted; but we have no report of the result.

Grossi-Gondi attributes to the reservoir of this villa a large wall which he has noticed in the vineyard above p. 189. To the S.E. of this villa are the remains of another large platform (marked on the extreme E. edge of Map II. of *Papers* iv.<sup>1</sup> The Casale Campitelli rests on an ancient reservoir (marked R in *Papers* i. Map V.).

To the E. again, beyond the Casale Campitelli, are the remains of a platform of polygonal work, belonging to a villa marked in *Papers* i. Map V., to which I must refer my readers for the rest of the territory to be described in the present section. Excavations were made here in 1840 (Canina, *Tuscolo*, 107, 108 cf. tav. vii. and in the *Atti del Camerlengato* fasc. 1668 is a letter from Canina dated February 3rd, 1841, stating that Prince Borghese was continuing with a few men the work which he had

<sup>1</sup> The Casino del Collegio Clementino which Nibby saw high above him (*Viaggio*, ii. 58. ought to be, I think, the Casale Campitelli. Chaupy speaks of a Villa Vallemani here or hereabouts (iii. 218).

begun in the previous October on the hill belonging to him above the village of Monte Porzio towards Camaldoli, which was in the territory of Monte Porzio: that a large villa had been discovered which lay on the road which ran from the Via Labicana to Tusculum,<sup>1</sup> and that several marble pavements of various colours, and fairly well preserved, had been found.

To the N. again, and to the E. of Le Cappellette, is the villa of the Collegio Nazionale (formerly the Villa Lucidi) built upon the platform of a large ancient villa, which has arcades of *opus reticulatum*, and is cut through by the modern road.

Grossi-Gondi (p. 189) refers to the ancient road which perhaps passed S. of the site, the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2757 (*T. Vinicio Corintho optimo et karissimo lib(erto) patronus* which was found to the S. of the Villa Lucidi in 1879), and considers that it may give some indication of the ownership of the villa—but, I think, with no more foundation than in other similar cases.

We find from *Atti. cit.* fasc. 2362, that in July 1835 permission was granted to Don F. Borghese Aldobrandini to excavate in a vineyard and oliveyard of his in the territory of Monte Porzio occupied by Campana; but again we have no record of the results except that given by Canina, *Tusculo*, 104, who tells us that the site was a little nearer than Le Cappellette to Monte Porzio itself, that a few worked marbles were found, and that at the end of the previous century Campana had found pavements of mosaic and of fine marbles there. The site was obviously not the Vigna Lucidi, and it may have been at point 351, N. of the road. Here are the remains of a villa (Grossi-Gondi indeed marks two groups of ruins close together in his map), in which I saw the gutter blocks and columns in peperino, of the peristyle, and the torso of a nude male statue (probably sepulchral), of which the front alone was worked.

In 1826 the breaking up of the ground in the Vigna Lucidi resulted in the discovery of some statues—a Leda and the Swan (Canina, *Tusculo*, p. 104, 146, and tav. xxxv.—to whom the provenance is due), a torso of Apollo, and a colossal torso of a seated male figure (an emperor?), described by Nibby, *Monumenti Scelti della Villa Borghese*, Portico no. 6, p. 16, Camera iv. no. 5, p. 112: cf. Reinach, *Répertoire* ii. 416, 3: Venturi, *Il museo e la*

<sup>1</sup> This road is marked by Canina, but I know of no further evidence for its actual existence (*infra*, 405: cf. *Tusculo*, p. 68).

*Galleria Borghese*, xv., xxvii. (the latter also states that ii. a fragment of another statue of Apollo, and xvi., a nude torso, were found at the same time: with regard to the former Nibby gives no indication, while with regard to the latter, which is probably the second of the three torsos mentioned by him under no. 6, Venturi has probably misinterpreted Nibby, who expressly distinguishes it from the other two). Excavations were then made systematically under Canina's charge, but nothing of importance seems to have been found.

From *Atti del Camerlengato* Tit. iv. fasc. 3422 we learn that in April 1845, it came to the knowledge of Don Marcantonio Borghese that the Padri Somaschi del Clementino, tenants of the Villa Lucidi, had excavated without permission and found various objects of art. The custode and vignarolo of the villa stated that in breaking up the ground anew in the vineyard, two animals of marble, lacking legs and portions of the head, were found—also the pedestal of a column, a marble slab broken at the corners, various fragments of marble, brick, and three large tiles, which covered the opening of some grottos. The Governor of Frascati examined the question, and sequestered everything except a capital of a column, already conveyed to the Collegio Clementino, but reported that the objects were of no importance.

Further E. again, to the S. of Monte Porzio, is the former Villa Gammarelli, now a convent: just above it, to the S., within its garden, is a platform of selce concrete facing apparently N.W. by W.; on the N.E. by N. side a very fine piece of polygonal work in selce is preserved, which is undoubtedly of Roman date and formed part of the facing: the jointing is very good, the angle of one block being frequently let into the next block, and the fronts of the blocks are bossed: some measure as much as 0.90 by 0.60 metre, but 0.70 by 0.50 is an average dimension.

The walls of the villa above were faced with *opus reticulatum* and *opus incertum*.

To the S. again, close to the boundary of the property, recent excavations have brought to light the remains of some underground chambers, possibly connected with a water supply, but not completely cleared and now filled up again. A space measuring about 7 metres long there being no wall on the N.W., the width could not be determined, is lined with walls of concrete on the S.W. (short side), with brick on the S.E. (long side), and with *opus reticulatum* on the N.E. (short side). All the walls go

down straight, except that on the N.E., in which, 3·60 below ground level, is an arched opening 1·55 metre in span and 1·92 metre in depth, and 3·80 in height, with a horizontal strut of masonry across the opening, 1·40 below the top of the vault. This goes in some 2 metres further and is then filled with earth, being lined with cement as far as it can be followed. It had a branch to the N.W., which has not been cleared. Under the floor of this chamber is a small drain about 0·20 metre in diameter, and the excavation (in search of a water supply) had been carried some 4 metres deeper. Above, there was a cement lined space 0·60 metre wide on the N.E. side, into which a water channel, 0·48 wide and 0·60 high, discharged; while on the S.W. there was a channel 1 metre wide, beyond which was found a late burial, the body being placed under tiles (one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2321), and a minim of the 4th century A.D. having been found with it.

Just outside the boundary to the S.W. of the villa, on the N. edge of the chestnut wood on the slopes of the Monte Ciufoli, is a small single-chambered reservoir of selce concrete, with buttresses on the lower side.

On the E. of the villa, near the 'G' of Gammarelli, a path (not marked in the map) passes by and over the debris of another building, no doubt a villa.

To the N. of the Villa Gammarelli, under the house at the point where the road to Monte Compatri leaves the road to the village of Monte Porzio, are the remains of a reservoir. The village occupies a conical hill, which might well represent an ancient site, though we have no reason for supposing that it does so. A photograph of it from the S.W., which I owe to the kindness of Miss Dora E. Bulwer, is given in Plate XXXIII. Fig. 1.

The name of Monte Porzio appears, perhaps in the Register of Gregory II., and certainly about the middle of the eleventh century (Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 261), in the form Mons Porculi, and the addition Catone is modern, being due to the desire of antiquaries to place on this site a villa of Cato. In the village there are no ancient remains *in situ*, as far as I know. The origin of the name is no doubt the same as that of Prata Porci (*Papers*, i. 244), and the derivation from Porcius is not at all improbable. Cicero (*De Rep.* i. 1) says *M. Catoni . . . licuit Tusculi se in otio delectari salubri et propinquo loco*, which gives us no precise indication of the site of his house, and hardly, I think, justifies Grossi-Gondi p. 187.)

in supposing that Cato rather possessed a house within the town of Tusculum itself.

The antiquities to be seen within the village of Monte Porzio are noted by Tomassetti (260 n.). There are also various antiquities which are recorded as having been discovered or seen at or in the territory of Monte Porzio, without a more accurate determination of their provenance being possible. We may enumerate a torso of Hercules, seen in the smaller Palazzo Mattei by Matz-Duhn (no. 104): some mosaic pavements mentioned by Furietti (*De Musivis*, Rome, 1752, p. 58) as existing in the plain at the foot of Monte Porzio: the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1250 (first century A.D., 2336. 3 (end of first century)). We may add two statues of Venus, one in the Vatican, the other in the Louvre, which, according to Marocco (*Stato Pontificio* vii. 143), were found in the territory, but which I have not yet identified.

To Monte Porzio, though their exact provenance is uncertain, belong the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2580 (a dedication to Mars Gradivus by L. Plutius Pius . . . *aedilis, monitor, augur, praefectus*) *sacror(um)*—no doubt of Tusculum, cf. *ibid.* 2603), 2587 (a dedication to some deity not mentioned).

The statue formerly supposed to represent Sextus Pompeius, which came to the Louvre (no. 1251) from the Borghese collection, was found in the territory of Monte Porzio apparently at the end of the eighteenth century: it bears the inscription of the artist, Ophelion son of Aristonides. (Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* i. 226, Loewy, *I.G.B.* p. 289. no. 432, Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 1277.)

Under the village of Monte Porzio on the S.W. are inconsiderable ruins (buttresses in concrete) marked in the map. To the W. is the house marked Tivolacci, to the N. of which are the remains of a building on the point of the hill.

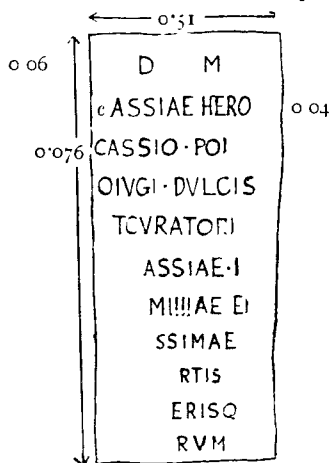
To the N. of the village, under the Casale Albertazzi, are considerable remains of a villa, including a large long reservoir, divided into two chambers each 170 metre wide, by pillars which carry the vaulting, of which Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 157<sup>v</sup>) gives a sketch plan and some particulars: cf. Tomassetti, *loc. cit.*

To the E. of the village, on the summit of the hill called I Romoli, 391 metres above sea-level, are the remains of another villa, in *opus reticulatum*, now less well preserved than when Stevenson saw them (*cod. cit.* f. 159, 160): the terrace occupied a space measuring some 100 by 60 metres, and in the centre of it is a reservoir 13 metres long, with two aisles, 285

and 2·63 metres wide, of which he gives a plan. To the N.W. (near the 'a' of Catone), he noticed that the breaking up of the ground for a new vineyard had led to the discovery of the debris of yet another building; and to the N. of point 391 is a possibly ancient quarry indicated in the map, and described by Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10563, 23).

S.E. of point 391, N.W. of the Casale Palocci, is the debris of a villa; while to the N. of it, on the S. slope of Monte Doddo, is the concrete of a villa platform, facing due W., with a drainage passage in it, 1·40 metre high and 0·62 wide. I may note that Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10563, 23) carefully examined the path from I Pallotta (or Palloci, as he calls it) to Monte Compatri (the old road to Monte Porzio) and found traces of ancient paving.

The district to the E. of this point has already been described in *Papers* i. 259 *sqq.*, but I may perhaps give a few additional notes upon it in this connection, largely based upon a further examination in which I followed out the hints given in Stevenson's notes and maps. I subjoin a plan of the reservoir under the Casale Brandolini: to the S. of it are ruins in *opus reticulatum* of the villa which it supplied: among these were found later burials; one of the bodies was apparently covered by a much worn slab of marble, the inscription upon which I copied as well as I could.



N. of the villa marked Le Cappellette in the map there is a large open reservoir.

To the S., N. of the Fontana Laura, are mediaeval ruins<sup>1</sup> and further N.E. again, to the N. of the Colle di S. Andrea, Stevenson notes the existence, in the vineyards and in the fieldwalls, of debris of buildings and of pavingstones—the latter probably from the Via Labicana. On the summit of the Colle di S. Andrea itself are the remains of a villa with a cryptoporticus. Taking the path from this point we find near the 'P' of 'Piano della Faveta,' the remains of a villa noted by Stevenson, and further S. what may be the edging of an ancient road going E.S.E. across the path; while near point 366 other ruins have recently been destroyed.

Further up, on the E. edge of the Colle Tufino, is the actual pavement of an ancient road ascending southwards, the course of which cannot be followed very far. On the top of the hill there has been an extensive villa: on the E. edge, W. of the line of the road, is a black mosaic floor, and under the ruined house on the summit is a large reservoir in selce concrete, of which I give a plan in the text. It runs N. by W., the W. side being built against the hill.



Further W. is the hill marked I Colli di Fontana Molara (*Papers* i. 264): on the top of the hill are two narrow underground passages (no doubt for the storage of water) lined with cement.

The wood to the S.W. is known as the Macchia Pietreliscie, which should point to there having once been an ancient road found in it, but of this I could learn nothing.<sup>2</sup> There is the debris of a building in it, near the point of one of the zigzags of the modern road; and a little to the N. of the Casa Lutti (see Map I. of the present volume) there is a vaulted substruction of selce concrete going N. and S., with a ruined house above it. Finally, to the N. of the Convent of S. Silvestro<sup>3</sup> (*Papers* i. 263) below a high cliff, and above the high-road, are the remains of what may be a cryptoporticus with two aisles: my guide, however, gave it the name of

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson (*Pat. Lat.* 10572, 164) gives from a copy by Pasquale Antini, the following inscription as found at La Caricara (*Papers* i. 262):

DIS M VILESIA  
MATERI PISSIME  
FECIT, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Can this be the road alluded to by Chaupy (*Monon de Campagne d'Hora c.* ii 184) as running between Monte Compatri and Rocca Priora (*infra*, 411 n. ?)

<sup>3</sup> There are two reservoirs, not one only, to the S.S.E. of it, on the way up from the village, and some substructions also.

S. Francesco, it being supposed traditionally to have formed part of a long ruined monastery,<sup>1</sup> and Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10563, 23) who saw it on Aug. 27, 1890, considered it mediaeval, and very likely rightly.

We have still to deal with the eastern portion of the road from Frascati to Colonna, as far as it falls within Map V. of *Papers* i., and with the ancient remains along it.<sup>2</sup> (As to its antiquity see *Papers* i. 253, n. 1 and *supra*, 326.)

The Casale Celli occupies the site of an extensive ancient villa, and remains of black and white mosaic pavement may be seen there: to the N.E. is a large round reservoir, at the ground level, on a terrace supported by a wall with niches of *opus incertum*. Various architectural fragments (columns, capitals, etc.) were found, and seen and described by Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 37 *sqq.*), at the time of whose visit it belonged to Leonori, having previously been the property of one Anderson,<sup>3</sup> and in 1777 of the brothers Gizzarelli. In the doorway into the yard to the S. of the house both he and I copied a fragmentary inscription, which I read thus

OHLIV

upon a piece of marble 0·15 by 0·06 metre, the letters being 0·03 high. A number of large lead pipes were found, with an internal diameter of 0·10 to 0·13 metre, which were said to have come from the direction of the Casale Albertazzi (*supra*, 380).

Further E., at the Casale Janari, also to the N. of the modern road, there are only a few marble fragments visible, and it is doubtful whether the site is an ancient one; but the Casale Brandi (formerly Casale Filonardi or Lionardi or Tofanelli) is built upon ancient ruins in *opus reticulatum*, and under it are extensive reservoirs formed of several small chambers of roughly faced selce concrete. Built into the modern wall on its W. side is the marble cippus with the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2616, erected to P. Avidius Trachalus, praefect of a cohort and tribune of a cohort, and

<sup>1</sup> The reader need hardly be reminded that the current distinction in English, according to which monastery is used for a community of men, and convent for a community of women (whereas Italian usage is rather in favour of the reverse), has no logical nor historical foundation.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know the site of the Vigna Bellini (though perhaps it fell within the territory of Frascati) in which in 1879, in making the road from Frascati to Colonna, there were found (and removed to the Museo Kircheriano in Rome) 17 fragments of marble decoration, parts of two statues, a spur, and a lead pipe (*Not. Scavi*, 1879, 206).

<sup>3</sup> Tomassetti (p. 260, n. no. 9) tells us that an inscription of one Pomponius had recently been found in this vineyard, but lost again.



two other inscriptions from tombs (*ib.* 2719, 2738), one on a cippus, the other on a sarcophagus, have been seen there. The fountain basin is a plain sarcophagus, measuring 2.40 by 1.09 metres over all, with spaces for two bodies. Stevenson (*cod. cit.* 39) copied here in front of the casale the inscription :

SER · SVLPICI  
HOMILI

which apparently was carved upon the left half of a double tablet, the right half of which was without inscription. He also noted here various architectural fragments.

A modern path leads hence northwards to the Casale Grandi, which lies E. of the Casale di Fontana Candida.

There is no proof of the antiquity of either of the paths to Fontana Candida: W. of the westernmost is the Casale of La Quercetta which certainly occupies the site of an ancient building. To the S. of the Casale di Fontana Candida is a mediaeval ruin, on an ancient site, and to the E. of this some remains of *opus reticulatum* walls. Just to the N. of the casale the railway cuts through a large villa of the same material, which extended under the casale itself. In the courtyard of the casale I saw a draped male toga statue and some fine terracotta antefixae.<sup>1</sup>

In 1883 a marble slab was found at Fontana Candida, bearing the following inscription: *D(is) Manibus Crescenti Sili Italici Collegium salutarem (sic).* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2653.) The Silius Italicus mentioned is either the poet, who was consul in 68 A.D., or his eldest son, who was consul suffectus before 101 A.D. (see *Prosopographia* iii. p. 245, no 509).

Lanciani (*Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, 266) wishes to identify the *collegium salutare* of this inscription with the well-known *collegium salutare cultorum Dianae et Antinoi* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2112), in the statutes of which there is a provision that if a member died within twenty miles of Lanuvium, his body should be brought to the headquarters of the *collegium* and buried with the usual forms. This is, of course, possible; but as De Rossi had already pointed out *Bull. Com.* 1882, 144, it is by no means a necessary supposition, inasmuch as we have records of the existence of other *collegia salutaria*—Waltzing indeed *Corporations*

<sup>1</sup> Prehistoric tombs of the iron age have been found in the Vigna Giannaria in the district of Fontana Candida: the vases are preserved in the archaeological museum at Frascati, and are unpublished. (*Not. Scavi*, 1902, p. 171, and note 3.)

*Professionnelles*, iv. 202) enumerates 19, all of them in Italy but one in Gaul, at Narbonne, and another in Portugal, at Coimbra. It is generally admitted that the epithet *salutare* was chosen for the sake of a good omen and signified that the object of the *collegium* was to guarantee a decent burial to the members.

With this inscription were found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1443 (end of first or beginning of second century), 2260 (first century A.D.), according to Lanciani, who copied them in the shop of Alessandro Fausti, a dealer in antiquities at Frascati (*Not. Scavi*, 1883, 85). They are certainly not later in date than the inscription, the lettering of which seems to point to the second century (though it cannot be very late in it), and it is a pity that we have not further information as to the circumstances of the discovery.

In a vineyard near Fontana Candida was found the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2680, which is still preserved there; while another (*ib.* 2785) was removed from Fontana Candida to Frascati in 1884, according to *Not. Scavi*, 1884, 348 (a statement slightly inconsistent with Dessau's account, *C.I.L. in loc.*).

Beyond Fontana Candida (below Monte Porzio) in the property of one G. B. Corvaccini, according to Grandi, the unimportant sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2748, 2758 were found about the year 1846 (*supra*, 319); and below it in the vigna formerly Vivari, now Montani, are the remains of a villa (not now so conspicuous as Grandi makes out—see *Papers*, i. 252 and Map V.), near which was found, according to Grandi, in 1840, the unimportant sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2695. Another inscription of this nature from Fontana Calida (*sic*) is given in *Not. Scavi*, 1895, 249.

Both Stevenson (in 1875—*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 161<sup>v</sup>) and I have seen and copied at the Casale Grandi a little further E., the inscription: IN FR. P. XIII. IN. AG. P. XVII. S. on a broken piece of white marble, 0.50 metre long and 0.10 high, which is in all probability *C.I.L.* vi. 30033, which Hulsen copied in the Vigna Amendola on the Via Appia; and the provenance of the fragments of marble, etc. still to be seen there is quite doubtful (cf. *supra*, 319).

Returning to the road and going E. to the so-called Grotte Pallotta (*Papers*, i. 253, n. 3), I should add that Grossi-Gondi (p. 175) maintains that the inscription of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2925) really belongs to this site, and thus gives us the name of the owner of the villa;

and certainly the testimony of *Cod. Tusc. cit.* 150<sup>b</sup> (cited by Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 210, and again in *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 55) is not to be neglected.

Further E. again is the Casale Ciuffa (*Papers*, i. 255) which stands upon the remains of an ancient reservoir: below it is another casale, also built upon a reservoir, but not marked in the Staff Map. For the district to the E. of this I must refer to my description already given in *Papers*, i. *cit.*

#### XIX.—FROM THE THIRTEENTH MILE OF THE VIA LATINA TO ROCCA DI PAPA AND MONTE CAVO.

We have already followed the road S. from La Pedica to the Ponte Squarciarelli and Marino (*supra*, 252, but we have not examined the district to the E. of it. Close to it, a little before it turns E. to descend to the bridge, I have noticed remains of a villa in *opus reticulatum*: the site is now occupied by modern houses. The Torre delle Streghe is spoken of by Tomassetti (142 n.) as though it was built upon the core of an ancient tomb, but no traces of ancient construction are now visible there (so also Grossi-Gondi, p. 193, n. 2).

Here Stevenson saw in September 1891 a plain cippus of marble; and at the Casino of Filomena Serafini, close by, a pedestal of white marble, of curious design, 0·70 metre in height, and widening from 0·20 metre at the top to 0·23 at the bottom. The front was decorated with a head of Minerva in relief, with a winged helmet and Gorgonion: the eyes were left hollow. On each side of it a bird's head projected. It was said to have been found in a vineyard further up the hill, apparently in the remains of a building of which the marble pavement was discovered, with the usual late burials under tiles. In the vineyard in which stood the so-called Torre delle Streghe the fragmentary tomb inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2552 was copied in the eighteenth century by Cardoni; but in the next century it was seen by De Rossi in the Vigna Santovetti on the way up to Rocca di Papa. Cardoni's idea that it contained the names of the consuls of 240 A.D. is incorrect.

Not far from the Ponte degli Squarciarelli we may place the springs of the Aqua Julia<sup>1</sup>: a cippus of this aqueduct, bearing the number 302 *C.I.L.*

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus (ii. 9) gives the distance from Rome as two miles to the right of the twelfth mile of the Via Latina, which takes us beyond even the Aqua Algidiosa. But it is probably not to be

xiv. 4278; vi. 31563 *b*, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, 82) was found on the left bank of the stream, about 200 metres below the Cartiera, *i.e.* almost opposite the Abbey of Grottaferrata; and another, with the number mutilated (*C.I.L.* vi. 31563 *c*; *Not. Scavi*, 1893, 240) was found a little higher up, towards the second intake of the large mill; but neither of them was, so far as is recorded, found *in situ*. There are now springs to be seen about 200 metres below the bridge in the bed of the stream, and Lanciani (*Comentari di Frontino*, 296) notes, as is still the case, that, while little or no water may be passing under the bridge, the springs themselves are plentiful (cf. *Builder*, xciv. 235, Feb. 29, 1908). Rocchi (*Diss. Pont. Acc. Arch.* Ser. II. vol. vii. 1900) 237 *fin.* speaks of masses of travertine which served for the intake, and states that he believes that he has seen the specus at three points. These springs may, I think, be safely attributed to the Aqua Julia. Holste (*Cod. Dresd.* F. 193, f. 41<sup>v</sup>) considered the fountain of the Aqua Algidosia or, as it was called in his time, d'Angelosia to be the real starting point of the aqueduct.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, no actual remains of its channel to be

taken as an accurate measurement. The cippus no. 302 gives the length of the channel as 14½ miles from the point at which it stood to Rome, while Frontinus gives the total length as 15½ miles.

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to quote the actual words of Holste in regard to the Aqua Julia (*Cod. Dresd.* F. 193, f. 41 *sqq.*): '1649. 14 Septembris fui Cryptae ferratae, unde ab homine locorum optime perito conluctus fui, primum recta via ad orientem, qua curribus iter Marinum et Velitias ex Via Latina ad XII sive ad Cryptam ferratam deflectendo. D. C. circiter passibus progressis ad dictam viam occurrit fons a Card. Alexandro Farnesio Abbate dicti loci extractus, vulgo dicitur, la fontana dei Squarciaelli, et Crabrae ex proximo imminet cum hac inscriptione

Alexander Farnesius Card. aquam Tepulam ad publicum usum hoc extracto vase collegit M.D. lxxii.

Sed aqua eius fontis nequaquam eo, aut proximo loco scaturit, sed ductu subterraneo eum ad locum ac deinde ad dictum monasterium Cryptae ferratae perducitur. Sed nullum dubium est quin superioribus in locis concipiatur ex aliquo capite Iuliae. E regione huius fontis Farnesiani ad sinistram latas Crabrae luculentae sunt scaturigines aquae limpidissimae, quas olim Iulie patem fuisse dubium nullum est, imminet autem hisce scaturiginibus in colle vinea Thomae Vitacei, qui puteum profundum excavans in veterem aquaeductum incidit, per quem etiam nunc aqua cum strepitu labitur.

A fonte Farnesiano paululum adscendentes defleximus tandem ex via illa curuli, diverticulo sinistrosum ad passus amplius mille, ubi ad sinistram latas Crabrae insignis fons ex antio opera humana exciso profluit, statim Crabrae iungitur. Vulgo la fontana d'Angelosia dicitur. Antrum illud in modum reticulatae excisum fornice lateritio antiqui Romani operis clauditur, ostia quoque ipsa sive frontispicium antiqui operis lateritii vestigia ostendit. Hunc praecipuum Iuliae fontem caputque fuisse certum est. Paulo supra dictum fontem in planitie palustri concipiuntur illae aquae scaturigines et in piscinam sive cisternam deducuntur, quae vulgo La Botte dicitur, et proxime sub hisce scaturiginibus nascitur Crabra loco valde uliginoso arundinetis consito.

Primae illae scaturigines ex cisterna la Botte rivo subterraneo per cuniculos excavos in villas Tusculanas perducuntur, nec dubito quin haec scaturigines cum proximis illis Crabram olim constituerint. Omnes istae scaturigines oriuntur in territorio Molanae ad ipsum confinium territorii Abbatiae Cryptoferratae. Crabra autem quae nunc quoque suo rivo Romam perducitur, duobus

seen, and I do not know whether he was right in considering the brickwork at that fountain to be ancient, inasmuch as the fountain has now been enclosed.<sup>1</sup> Secchi p. 35 of the work cited *supra*, 228, records his discovery of an ancient channel, 10 to 12 metres above the level of the modern fountain of the Squarciarelli, which was running towards the Aqua Algidosia or del Canalicchio, and which he believed that he had found again lower down in the Vigna Passamonti, near the Villa Montioni (*supra*, 226) and near Fontana Piscaro (whether he is right in this statement I am not sure), and he notes rightly that this is the only water to which Frontinus' description would apply (i. 9): '*praeter caput Iuliae transfuit aqua quae vocatur Crabra. Hanc Agrippa omisit, seu quia improbaverat, sive quia Tusculanis possessoribus relinquendam credebat; ea namque est quam omnes villae tractus eius per vicem in dies modulosque certos dispensatam accipiunt. Sed non eadem moderatione aquarii nostri partem eius semper in supplementum Iuliae vindicaverunt nec ut Iuliam augerent, quoniam hauriebant largiendo compendii sui gratia. Exclusi ergo Crabram et totam iussu imperatoris reddidi Tusculanis, qui nunc forsitan non sine admiratione eam sumunt, ignari cui causae insolitam abundantiam debeant.*'

Holste is, however, perfectly right in pointing out that the springs of the Crabra take their rise in the Valle della Molara, as Lanciani, *op. cit.* 322, also says, at 612 metres above sea-level, under the Colle Bartolucci, to the N. of the 18th mile of the Via Latina: the water is now conveyed to Frascati by the Acquedotto Aldobrandino, constructed early in the seventeenth century (*supra*, 334, and restored by Canina in 1838-9 *Tuscolo*, 85). Grossi-Gondi p. 83, n. 2) unnecessarily supposes a misprint in Lanciani's text (cf. *supra*, 232 n. 2).

At point 395 is a house the Casale Iozzi, according to Stevenson) which occupies an ancient site: there is just below it a long low embanking wall of rough *opus reticulatum* of selce with quoins of stone, and square weep-holes at frequent intervals: beyond this again the front of the wall begins to be decorated with half columns. Near the house is a reservoir, and to the W. is another house, by which stands an ancient handmill. To

constat ramis, quorum alterum ex valle Cryptoferratensi defluentem Maranam vocant, et rivum aquae Ferentinae Marino defluentem excipit paulo supra pontem ad decimum. Ultra Marianum nascitur Marinella.'

<sup>1</sup> In 1901 the following bricksamps (from tombs 'a capanna' (?) but no further details were given) were found at the reservoir of the Aqua Algidosia, *C.I.L.* xv. 205, 211, 239, and a variety of 596 (*No. Stat.* 1901, 202).

the W. again, above the second 'p' of 'Giuseppe,' Stevenson saw the core of a tomb in concrete, 3·80 metres high and 2·70 square, parallel to the path which ran E.S.E. from the Ponte Squarciarelli to the Casalaccio,<sup>1</sup> and which, from this point onwards, followed the line of an ancient road.

At the Casalaccio there is an ancient reservoir with two chambers under the modern house; and to the E. are clear indications of the site of a villa.

To the S. is the Vigna Troili, in which De Rossi saw two fragments of marble, 0·50 metre high, with the remains of an inscription in letters 0·22 high, belonging doubtless to a large tomb . . . . *Cn. f. Pap(iria tribu)* . . . . and . . . . *eros* (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2574). I saw the first fragment, but without the initial *C*, in 1909. I also noticed there a block of travertine 1 metre long and 0·59 metre high, with the upper half of three letters of a very large inscription (the upper half alone being 0·32 metre high)

APV

(The second letter was either a P or a B) and a marble cippus 0·90 metre high, the inscribed surface measuring 0·54 by 0·56 metre, and the letters being 0·03 metre high.

TI CLAUDIUS MNESTER  
CLAUDIAE PHILTATE  
ET  
CLAUDIAE VERECUNDAE  
CLAUDIAE SEVERAE F

Tomassetti (p. 266 n.) notes in a vineyard on the left of the high-road an architrave of peperino with curious sculptures, and at the Casa Fondi, to the S.W. of the Villa Troili, the existence of various inscriptions, which had, however, been brought from Rome.

To the S. of the Villa Troili on the modern high-road is the Casale dei Frati (formerly Villa Locatelli), which probably occupies the site of an ancient villa in *opus reticulatum*, of which much debris may be seen—though Stevenson (*cod. cit.* 50<sup>v</sup>) was informed that the material came from Catorso (*infra*, 402) and that a male and female statue from the same site, which had been preserved there, had since been sold. At the Casale

<sup>1</sup> Casalaccio on the map is an obvious misprint. The lane between point 395 and the Casalaccio has been diverted in recent years.

Botti to the E. he noted architectural fragments, but saw no remains in the vineyard.

The line of the path we have been following now falls into the modern road to Rocca di Papa: perhaps the path going on almost due S. and eventually reaching Palazzuolo is ancient, but there are no decided traces of this, for though it is sunk deep, the soil is soft, and I have only marked it as doubtfully ancient for a short distance.

Before going further E. we must return to the district to the S. of the Ponte Squarciarelli.

At the point of divergence of the modern road to Marino, I noted in May 1904 two heads placed in the wall, representing our Lord and the Virgin, the former mediaeval, the latter a Roman female head, with the hair parted in the middle and waved to each side with a veil over it. In the grounds of the Trappist Monastery of S. Giuseppe here two lead pipes were found in 1902, bearing the inscriptions . . . *Antoni Albi* and *Demetrius L. Anton Albi servus fecit*. 150 metres off were found remains of a villa in *opus reticulatum* and marble fragments. Grossi-Gondi 193 = *Bull. Com.* 1902, 320.

To the S. of the monastery the modern road to Marino cuts through a drain and a reservoir in concrete: the latter is well preserved and has two chambers, each 390 metres wide and about 14.50 metres long, with three apertures each 1.10 wide in the dividing wall. To the S. of this, in the Vigna Santovetti, are fragments of marble sculptures and column drums, which led me to suppose the existence of a villa here, but which may not really belong to the site. To the W., however, are extensive, though scanty traces of a villa, as also in the Villa Blasi cf. Stevenson. *Cod. cit.* 51 and again further S.E., not far from the Casale Cavaletti. Rosa marks a villa at this last place. The path going E.S.E. back to the Casale Grotte dell' Acqua is deeply sunk, but the soil is so soft that it is not necessarily ancient.

The Casale Grotte dell' Acqua occupies the site of a very large villa, to which belongs no doubt a wall in *opus reticulatum* of selce to the S.S.E. of the Casale, found in the recent excavations for the electric tramway to Rocca di Papa: on the N.E. side of it was a gutter of peperino slabs, covered in by a small concrete vault. Under the Casale itself is a large reservoir with two chambers, each 21.20 metres long.

To the S.E. were many loose paving-stones, which may have belonged

to a road leading to another villa which was brought to light in the course of the tramway works. It is in rough *opus reticulatum*, with some brickwork: the floors of two rooms were visible, one in plain cement, the other in cement with fragments of marble placed in it at intervals. Under one of the floors is a vaulted reservoir, and most of the building is on vaulted substructions of irregular orientation and shape. To the E. of it was found a lead water pipe, without inscription (*Not. Scavi*, 1905, 272). I saw one brickstamp (*C.I.L.* xv. 1121. a—first century, A.D.).

To the S.E. of this villa in the tramway cutting are the scanty traces of another building; and a little beyond this, in the Valle Scura, is the lower station of the funicular railway on to Rocca di Papa itself. The high-road offers no definite traces of antiquity, and the ancient road may have passed further S.W.: I have marked it conjecturally as following the older path which preceded the zigzags of the modern road.

To the N.E. of the Grotte dell' Acqua, on the further side of the high-road, is a vineyard in which are the remains of another villa: there is a large platform in *opus reticulatum* facing W., and on the top of it are mosaic pavements.<sup>1</sup> To the N. is the Casale della Morte, and to the N. again the Vigna Portone Gazzi, where there are mediaeval ruins: neither of these names appears on our map. To the N. of the last is the Vigna Pio Vitale, at the Casale of which are two well-preserved column bases of tufa and some blocks of tufa. For the district further N. see *infra*, 402. I have doubtfully marked as of ancient origin the path ascending S.E. from the neighbourhood of these houses to the high-road: the evidence is by no means sufficient for certainty on the point. To the E. of this path is an aqueduct crossing the Vallone Arcioni in a S.W. direction, which takes its name from these remains, of which I have not found any full description in any other writer. Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 118) attributes them to the Aqua Argentiana (which is merely a false reading for Alsietina), while Canina, *Tuscolo*, 85, wishes to connect them with the springs from the Valle della Molara (*supra*, 388). I give a photograph of the central portion in Plate XXXIII. Fig. 2, and a detail of the construction in Plate XXXV. Fig. 4.

<sup>1</sup> The site of the discoveries described in *Not. Scavi*, 1878, 260, as having been made in a vineyard belonging to Locatelli, among the ruins of an ancient building, some 3 kilometres from Rocca di Papa, on the left of the high-road, is not exactly clear; but I suspect it may be this villa. The ruins are described as consisting of a long line of subterranean corridors lined with white cement: within them were found some statues, which are there described.



There are seven arches standing, three incomplete on the N.E. side, and two or three on the W. The highest, over the stream, is about 8 metres high with a span of 4 metres; some of those on the west bank have a span of 4.20 to 4.50 metres. The construction is of peperino concrete faced alternately with baked bricks 0.03 metre thick and small rectangular blocks of peperino 0.04 to 0.06 metre thick; the mortar courses average 0.02 metre thick. At an interval of 1.40 metre at the bottom of the piers, but as little as 0.53 metre higher up, a bonding course of tiles 0.04 metre thick runs right through. The arches are of tiles, about one voussoir in every four going right through the width.

The piers are 2.10 metres thick and 2.00 wide, and some of them have auxiliary buttresses on the inner side. I could see no traces of the specus, nor could I follow the aqueduct E. or W.: there are no traces of deposit to be seen, and its absence renders it impossible to determine the course without excavation. From the level it might well be going towards the reservoir of the Grotte dell' Acqua.

The valley goes on S.E., becoming deeper, until it reaches the great cliff below the Pentima Stalla, from which it takes its origin. On the further side of it, S.W. of the letters 'ciole' of the word 'Spadacciole,' Stevenson has marked the pavement of an ancient road, which still exists, running S.E. up the hill through the wood as far as the Via delle Molare. Just before it reaches this, on its N. edge about the first 'e' of 'delle', are the ruins of a villa, which Rosa, it seems, also saw. They seem to have been excavated not very long ago, and I am inclined to identify them with the villa in which were made the discoveries described by De Rossi in *Ann. Inst.* 1873, 178: this was situated within the macchia of Rocca di Papa, and not far from the aqueduct (*infra*, 394, of which he speaks in the preceding pages. In this villa there were found the lower part of a bas-relief of the third century A.D. representing three female figures with a dedication to Fortune *S anctae Deae Fortunae Felicitati d'onum, d'edit*, the name of the dedicator having perished with the upper part of the relief (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2568, a sepulchral inscription of the second or third century A.D. *Dis Manibus Sex to Antistio Montano qui vixit annis duobus m'ensibus, II diebus F..... Festianus actor bene merenti* *ib.* 2569, which has, but without sufficient reason, been taken as an indication of the name of the owners of the villa, four lead pipes, of which two, *C.I.L.* xv. 7834, xii. *Cn. Cassi Lusitani*, 7848 *M. Trebelli Hierodis*, give us, probably,

the names of persons to whom the house once belonged, and two others, *ibid.* 7858, *T. Cispinus Verus fecit*, 7867, *Septimius Secundinus fecit*, merely give us the names of the makers of the pipes: with the pipes was found (and destroyed) a leaden box which served for the distribution of the water and from which these pipes would have begun their course. Among the bricks found in the building were some bearing the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 533. 8 (M. Aurelius or Commodus) and 2370 (first century A.D.). Lanciani (*Not. Scavi*, 1878, 259) describes statues of Diana and of Juno (?) preserved at Rocca di Papa, and said to have been found here in or about 1870. A fine statue from the Selva di Rocca di Papa, in the Locatelli property, representing an ephebus or a youth exercising in the palaestra, was, it is reported, removed to Frascati in 1884: it was half life-size, with the arms and one foot missing (*Not. Scavi*, 1884, 348). Whether it was found in these ruins, or in those mentioned *supra*, 391 is not clear from the description. I cannot trace the pavement of this road further in either direction: there are traces of antiquity in the Via delle Molare—just W. of the 'M' is a cutting with pavingstones in it—but only at that point: so that whether we should suppose that an ancient road descended to the Madonna della Molare or to the Casa dei Guardiani is uncertain.

To the S.E. lies the village of Rocca di Papa, which has been thought by topographers to occupy the site of Cabe or Cabum, the city of the *Cabenses in Monte Albano*, named by Pliny (*N.H.* iii. 64) among the peoples of Latium who had perished, who, as Mommsen remarked (*Bull. Inst.* 1861, 206), are identical with the *Kaßavol* of the list of the thirty cities of the Latin League (Dionysius v. 61): their name, as he conjectured, probably survives in that of the modern Monte Cavo,<sup>1</sup> and was still preserved in imperial times as that of a priesthood (*Cabenses Sacerdotes feriarum Latinarum montis Albani*, *C.I.L.* vi. 2173 = xiv. 2228, or *Sacerdotes Cabenses Montis Albani*, *ib.* vi. 2174, 2175). Whether the name Papa is not also a corruption of the same is a more difficult question, though it seems possible. Tomassetti, however (p. 266), does not accept the idea; and it does not appear before the end of the twelfth century. Lanciani (*Not. Scavi*, 1878, 259) reports the discovery of some remains in *opus quadratum* at the entrance of the village, at the corner of the road leading to Ariccia.<sup>2</sup> I cannot agree

<sup>1</sup> Cavi or Cave is the correct form of the name—in a document of 1249 we have a mention of the *vna . in . ala . Montis . Cavae* (Tomassetti, 280).

<sup>2</sup> The brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1068. a. 17 is recorded as found at Rocca di Papa in 1860: cf. 1324. 3 (near Rocca di Papa).

with Tomassetti in believing that any of the wall under the foundations of the now destroyed mediaeval castle above the village is antique :<sup>1</sup> the blocks are too small and are clearly mortared. Nor is he right in placing this castle on the hill marked 731 metres in the map : it really occupies the height marked 760, while the discovery made by M. S. De Rossi must be placed, not near it but some way further N.E., probably, from the map (*Ann. Inst.* 1873, p. 169 and tav. d'agg. R.S.) on the Colle Molare. Here, in a cutting of the forest, near the edge of the crater, there was seen and partly demolished a portion of an ancient enceinte in *opus quadratum*, in which the break for a gate or door was seen. Close by an archaic tomb was found, with archaic pottery in it, with a rough stele of local stone ; and neolithic weapons were common. Pinza too *Mon. Lincei* xv. (1905) 35) mentions the discovery of a bronze celt in the Campo d'Annibale. I have not myself seen anything of the wall ; nor have I been able to hear of the existence of any of the five cippi of the Aqua Augusta (De Rossi, *Ann. cit.* 170 *sqq.* ; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2567), which, from the map already cited, must have been found a little further N.E. 'in cutting the underwood which descends from the Campo d'Annibale (the name popularly but groundlessly,<sup>2</sup> given to the inner crater of the Alban volcano) towards the valley of Algidus and the Via Latina' and 'in the part of it which descends from the springs of Pentima Stalla to the fields of Rocca Priora.' The aqueduct itself was not found, and the cippi throw no light on its origin or course, though De Rossi *Ann. cit.* 177 wishes to connect it with that in the Vallone Arcioni, of which we have spoken *supra*, 391. See Lanciani, *Comentari cit.* 327.

To the W. of the Colle Molare a path goes off N. : it first runs down gradually, through a cutting 470 metres wide and some 40 deep : this is mentioned by Nibby in his article on *Le Vie degli Antichi*, 42 'in Nardini, *Roma Antica*, ed. iv. 1820; vol. iv.,. It then descends steeply through the Bosco Riguardata Molare, but through a shallower cutting.

Excavations made in 1793<sup>3</sup> by Prince Filippo Colonna in the Bosco Riguardata in a circular building of about 150 feet in diameter with eight niches, supposed to be a ruined temple, led to the discovery of the statue of

<sup>1</sup> He gives a description and plan of it pp. 273-274.

<sup>2</sup> That the name had no classical foundation was seen by Fabretti (*De Anis.* Rome, 1680, p. 151, §§ 393-394) ; and Tomassetti (p. 280) points out that it is taken from that of the Annibaldi family, the mediaeval lords of Rocca di Papa.

<sup>3</sup> The precise date is given by Lea in his MS. notes in the library of the French School at Rome (I. 12, f. 185 v.).

Artemis now in Berlin (*Beschreibung*, no. 59) which was restored by Pacetti (*Memorie Enciclopediche*, iii. 90, no. 55).

Niebuhr's statement that it was found near Le Frattocchie is unsupported by other evidence. See Levezow, *Berliner Kunstbl.* 1828, 317, who gives no provenance. I have never actually seen the building and cannot certainly identify it. The only ruins I have seen thereabouts, and these do not correspond to the description, would fall about where is the second 'a' of 'Riguardata,' and belong to a building some 20 metres long by 10 wide, with fallen vaulting in tufa concrete: the mortar is bad, but I could not see any certain indication of date anywhere.

At the Casale dei Guardiani the path falls into one leading S.E. with which we shall deal later (*infra*, 403).

Just at the point where the path we have described leaves the Via di Rocca Priora, in the angle between the two paths, there is ancient debris—brick, pottery, etc. The Via di Rocca Priora, when it leaves the crater, descends sharply: in places it is paved with large rough blocks of selce, probably of ancient origin: where they are gone the path is worn away deeper. Some way down it begins to be cut through the peperino, and then measures 2.58 metres from edge to edge, and 1.80 metre between the ruts: the cutting is not more than five feet deep, and there is a drainage channel cut down the middle. It crosses the path going S.E. from the Casale dei Guardiani, and falls into the Via Latina near the Muracci (*infra*, 412).

A third path from Rocca di Papa, which falls into the path from the Casa dei Guardiani, is the Via delle Selve, which crosses the floor of the inner crater of the Alban volcano, passes N. of the Monte Vescovo, and crosses the rim of the inner crater at the Forcella. Of its antiquity there is no certainty, but it would have formed an important—almost a necessary line—of communication.<sup>1</sup>

There is, on the other hand, evidence for the existence of an ancient road ascending to the summit of Monte Cavo from this side. Its precise course as far as point 685 (on the E. edge of Map II. of *Papers*, iv. cannot be fixed, but it probably followed the line of the track running S. from point 760, and I have unfortunately omitted to mark it conjecturally. From point 685 it must have ascended rapidly, but we only reach actual

<sup>1</sup> Under the N. slopes of Monte Cavo, on the S. (or rather W.) edge of the Campo d'Annibale, three small Egyptian statuettes, two of porcelain, one of blue stone, were found in 1885. (*Bull. Inst.* 1885, 182.)

traces of pavement further up, to the E. of point 790, almost due W. of the summit of the mountain : here it joins the road ascending from the S., and both proceed towards the top together.

The modern path up the mountain from Rocca di Papa avails itself of the last portion—that which is included in Map I. of the present volume—which begins shortly after this junction : the road runs first due S. and then reaches the top by a wide bend. The pavement is well preserved on this ascent (see Plate XXXIV. Fig. I.) and is 2.60 metres (9 Roman feet) in width.

On some of the pavingstones in this last portion of the ascent the letters N and V are found often on adjacent blocks (N occurs seven times, V five or six times) : Mommsen and Hulsén explain them as meaning *Nova* and *Vetus*, *i.e.* as marking parts of the road that had or had not been repaired (*Röm. Mitt.* 1890, 70 *fn.*). Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 114 had already noticed them, but had interpreted the letters to mean *N(uminis) V(ia)*. He remarks that one can still see the roughening on the surface of some of the pavingstones, to prevent slipping.

We must return for a moment to the road ascending from the S., though the greater part of it falls outside the limits of the territory we have undertaken to describe. There has been a good deal of discussion as to the course taken by the ancient road from Rome to the summit of the Alban Mount—it is often called the Via Triumphalis by modern writers, though there is no authority for the name. Nibby at one time thought that it diverged from the Via Appia near Bovillae and passed by Marino, and then turned due S. near the Ponte degli Squarciarelli (*Viaggio Antiquario*, ii. 74 : later he made it follow the N. edge of the lake of Albano, and so reach Palazzuolo (*Analisi*, iii. 114). Rocchi (*Dis. Pont. Acc. Arch.* Ser. II. vol. vii. 1900, 223 *sqq.*) prefers to make it diverge from the 12th mile of the Via Latina (*supra*, 227, 280). He mentions the existence of pavingstones *in situ* and in the fieldwalls just at the pilasters of the entrance gate of the old Villa Colonna (1629–1640., *i.e.* at the point where the main track diverges E.S.E. from that which goes to Palazzuolo, and of two *crepidines* in tufa some 625 metres from the first traces, which gave the width of the road as 8 Roman feet. To the E. of Palazzuolo more of its pavement is preserved *in situ*; and here to the N. of the road is a large reservoir of selce concrete, measuring some 26 by 21 metres and open to the air. The road ran E.S.E. as far as the Casa dei Guardiani, which is just outside Map

I. of the present volume on the W., and is built over an ancient building in brickwork of the second (?) century A.D. (the bricks being 0·21 metre long and 0·035 thick, and the mortar 0·015 thick), of which two vaulted chambers remain. Two column drums of gray marble, 0·42 in diameter, are to be seen there; and in 1897 a statue representing a Roman matron, of the well-known 'Pudicitia' type, was found in digging near the S.E. side of the Casa (*Not. Scavi*, 1897, 389).

Close by (if the two vaulted chambers described are the same, and if, as is probable, the Casa was erected in the interval) remains of a bath establishment were found in 1894, consisting of two almost semicircular chambers, one paved with mosaic, the other with white marble and porta santa: the rooms were heated by hypocausts, and on the large tiles, 0·60 metre square, which rested on the pillars and supported the floor were the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 171 (about 138 A.D.), 207, 674 (both 134 A.D.): cf. *Not. Scavi*, 1894, 405. It is a pity the later report does not mention the earlier.

Thence the mediaeval post-road (which probably followed as before an ancient line) continued past the Fontana Tempesta to the pass of the Faiola and Velletri, leaving Nemi on the S.W.; while the road up the mountain (which was joined by a branch from the S.W. at the Casa dei Guardiani (but passing N.W. of it, not S.E. as the modern path does forming a mode of access both from Ariccia and from Genzano, in all probability<sup>1</sup>) turns off first to the N.E., and then, as it ascends, runs N.W.<sup>2</sup> and then due N., until it joins the road coming up from Rocca di Papa, E. of point 790 (*supra*, 396) as may be seen in the map: its paving is still traceable for nearly the whole distance, and is in places quite well preserved: Chaupy (*op. cit.* ii. 115) saw it almost entire: the first portion was destroyed in his time. It is recorded that Pius II., when he saw a workman damaging it, gave orders for its preservation, and that Alexander VII. drove up to the top of the mountain by it in a carriage (Mattei, *Tuscolo*, 18).

The Alban Mount (Albanus Mons, Τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ὄρος) is, strictly speaking, Monte Cavo itself, but the name has been extended to the whole massif of both craters of the Alban volcano (*Papers*, iv. 9). It is the highest point of the Alban Hills (956 marked on the map as the altitude of the

<sup>1</sup> The traces of this branch are hard to follow, but can be found in the wood as far as the modern road from Ariccia to Rocca di Papa. It is 2·85 metres wide: Stevenson's map first called my attention to it. On its E. side are remains in *opus reticulatum*.

<sup>2</sup> Where it turns N. yet another branch may have joined it; but this must be discussed elsewhere.

Maschio delle Facte to the E. is probably an error for 936).<sup>1</sup> It was in ancient times crowned by the temple of Jupiter Latialis, the federal sanctuary of the Latin League, at which in the spring of each year the festival of this ancient confederation was held (*feriae Latinae*). Here too those generals to whom the honour of holding it in Rome was not conceded celebrated their triumph.

In imperial times the worship was carried on by the *Sacerdotes Cabenses montis Albani* (*supra*, 393).

As a sketch in *Cod. Barb. Lat.* xxix. 215 f. 38 shows (it was published by De Rossi, *Ann. Inst.* 1873, p. 167, tav. RS), even in the seventeenth century there remained only the foundations of the temple, of massive blocks of peperino (I measured one 2.65 metres long by 0.70 thick, another was 1.90 by 0.83 metre) and unimportant architectural fragments, which were used in the erection of the Passionist Monastery by Henry, Cardinal York, and may still be seen in the walls of the garden: that he destroyed the well-preserved remains of the temple for his purpose is incorrect, and so is the date 1783 or 1788, given by some writers. Hulsén (in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* i. 1310) gives the date as about 1777, but I think it should be a little earlier; for Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace* (1767) ii. 114) says 'les vestiges du Temple de Jupiter-Latialis ont été fort sensibles jusqu'à nos tems, mais diminués par un hermitage que se fabriqua sur Monte Cavo un François de la Cour de cette Reine de Pologne qui se retira à Rome, ils sont sur le point de disparoitre par la maison et l'église, que la nouvelle Religion des Passionanti s'y bâtit.' He then alludes to *C.I.L.* xiv. 2242-4: 'il a été tiré d'un endroit où l'on aperçoit les fondemens d'un grand Portique qui entourait le Temple.'

Seven years earlier Piranesi (*Antichità di Albano*, Rome, 1762, tav. i., ii.) gave elevations and sections of a Doric entablature and column which no doubt belonged to the temple, and also of a larger cornice: Canina, *Edifici*, VI. tav. lxxii. attributes the larger cornice to the temple and the smaller fragments to a colonnade surrounding it, and gives a quite arbitrary reconstruction of the plan. Delbrück *Die drei Tempel im Forum Olitorium*, Tav. iv. 2, reproduces Piranesi's engraving of the entablature and column.

In the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 43 are some papers in regard

<sup>1</sup> The same applies to Monte Pesciolon the rim of the outer crater, which is really 939 metres above sea-level. See *Papier*, iv. 9, notes 1 and 2.

to the preservation of the remains in the first half of the last century. The correspondence begins with a request, dated 30th July 1824, from the Provincial of the Passionists, for leave to make a superficial excavation for blocks of stone within their enclosure for the campanile of the church, which had to be transferred elsewhere. The request was referred to Carlo Fea, who strongly objected, and leave was therefore refused. The request was renewed in February 1825, the Provincial pointing out that he only desired to dig in the garden and use the stones that were found, and not to touch those which formed part of the temple: the Commission was again inclined to refuse permission, but decided to visit the spot first. The result of the visit was a definite refusal, the Commission deciding that there was plenty of other material available. A sketch and plans of the new campanile by Valadier are given. In August 1836 the Cardinal Chamberlain made further inquiries to see if his orders had been respected, but the results are not here to be found.

Excavations were conducted on the summit of the mountain by the German Archaeological Institute in 1876, under the direction of Michele Stefano de Rossi, and are described by him in *Ann. Inst.* 1876, and tav. d'agg. Q. They rendered it possible, first of all, to assign the drawing just mentioned to its proper place on the site. It showed, if it is to be considered as entirely trustworthy (though it was not found possible to ascertain the correctness of the details), that the temple was a rectangular chamber, with an apse on the N. side, placed near the N.W. angle of the sacred area, which lay to the E. of the modern monastery buildings, and to which the road ascending the mountain led directly. To the W. of the temple was a large construction, supposed to be the base of an altar.

In this area was a shaft leading into a passage which served for the collection of rainwater, leading to a large cistern from which the water was distributed by another passage, not cemented, but floored with selce, in which, therefore, lead pipes must have been placed.

Fragments of plates of lead with inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2233–2235 = xv. 7808–7810) were found in the cistern, which were connected with the distribution of the water, belonging in all probability to the receptacles from which the pipes originated. One bore the inscription *clur ater aed ium s[acrarium . . . . .]us. Ca . . . . in . . . .*, another the numbers cxli., cccciiii., with the consular date II B.C., and a third the numbers cccxlv., cxv.,



the significance of which is not clear: the numbers are certainly too high for *quinarii* to be meant. De Rossi rightly calls attention to the fact that in 11 B.C. a law was passed about the distribution of water (Frontinus § 99 *sqq.*).

To the S. of the area was a room with pavement of black and white mosaic, with a drain for rainwater to the S. of it. I should imagine that it was here or in the irregular walls (no. 11 of De Rossi's plan) that the various brickstamps were found which, though not mentioned in his report, are recorded in *C.I.L.* xv.<sup>1</sup>

Among the objects attributable to the *stips votiva* of the temple were some specimens of archaic pottery and of *aes rude*. The most important of the portions known to us of the fasti of the temple relating to the *feriae Latinae* had been discovered previously, some in 1765, some in or about 1869, and only a few fragments came to light: they were found in the cistern. All were cut on blocks of marble, which formed, it seems, the walls of the temple itself. They began to be inscribed in the time of Augustus, but seem to have commenced from the time of the Decemviri (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2236-2244). Other inscriptions found at the top of the mountain are—a dedication to Jupiter Latiaris, made by L. Rubellius Geminus, consul in 29 A.D., carved on a fine marble base (*ib.* 2227), a dedication to Antoninus Pius(?) made by the *Sacerdotes Cabenses* (*ib.* 2228, *supra*, 393), a fragment of a cippus with the letters *Imp.* *ib.* 2229, another fragment of a dedication to Agrippa as *patronus* in his third consulship (13-12 B.C.) (*ib.* 2230), a base of peperino bearing an inscription which Henzen read [*rest*]itue[runt] *Ardetes* *ib.* 2231, but which Hulsen has made out from a re-examination of the original to be *Dixei Ardetes*: he attributes it to the fifth century of Rome, and considers it thus to be one of the oldest Latin inscriptions extant *Rom. Mitt.* 1895, 65.

Whether the fragment *ib.* 2232 *adcm vet]ustate c[ollapsam resti]tuit*

<sup>1</sup> 193, 6, 194, 2 (early years of Septimius Severus) 204, 23 (Severus) 226, 12 (M. Aurelius) 276 (115-120 A.D.) 367, 7 (M. Aurelius) 399, 14 (Faustina the younger) 400, 10 (do.) 435, 4 (Severus) 550, a. 15 (about 123 A.D.) 563, i. 37, p. 54, A. 79 (123 A.D.) 578, b. 10 (Hadrian) 585, b. 28, d. 59 (Hadrian) 596, 24 (Hadrian) 602, 4 (Severus) 737, 4 (161-168 A.D.) 754, a. 30 (Antoninus Pius?) 767, 6 (Severus) 774, 2 (Severus) 883, a. 3 (middle first century A.D.) 904, f. 27 (Trajan) 923, 3 (beginning of second century A.D.) 1012, a. 1 (after 108 A.D.) 1068, a. 18 (145-155 A.D.) 1086, 16 (154 A.D.) 1116, c. 8 (123 A.D.) 1135, 3 (end of second century A.D.) 1210, 15 (127 A.D.) 1609, 10 (after Diocletian) 1838, a. 3, d. 8 (Hadrian) 2249. To these we may add *ib.* 221, a. 8 (Faustina or Commodus) 400, 9 (Faustina the younger) 1058, 8 (125 A.D.) found in the eighteenth century 'in the ruins of the temple of Jupiter,' a statement to which we need not give credence, while 403, 7 (Commodus) was found on the mountain according to Ricci *Alba Lon.* a. 70, and 873, a. 1 (first century A.D.) and 1146, a. 9 (Antoninus Pius) were found about 1871.

.... which was seen by Armellini (*Cronichetta*, 1876, 139) in Rocca di Papa, can refer to the temple itself, as he thought, or whether indeed it was found on the mountain, is uncertain: it may refer to any building that needed repair. The fragments *ib.* 2245–2250, 4210, *a*, *b*, were found on the mountain, but cannot be assigned to the *fasti*, and to what inscriptions they belonged is uncertain: 2249 seems to be a portion of a ritual poem, and possibly *ib.* 4210 *c* may belong to it.

The exact provenance of Kaibel, *I.G.* xiv. 1118, recorded by Fabretti as ‘below the Alban mount on a rough altar’ is unknown, and it may or may not have belonged to the temple. Its text is  $\Delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\iota\phi$ .

Among the inscriptions relating to the Alban Mount, though not found here, we may note *C.I.L.* vi. 14844 discovered in 1736 on the Esquiline near the *columbarium* of the Arruntii (*ibid.* 5931 *sqq.*).

*Clange Hilarionis v(ixit) a(nnis) xx perit in Monte Albano xiiii Kal. Iul. L. Arruntio M. Lepido Cos(s).* (17th June, A.D. 6).

## XX.—THE VIA LATINA FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH MILE.

Beyond the thirteenth mile the ancient road followed the modern line for a little way, until it was joined by the branch which comes E.S.E. from the Frascati road (*supra*, 257): then it must have cut across the bend E. of the Casale Reali, where there are many pavingstones in the fieldwalls: then it passed S. of the modern road. At the point where it crossed the Fosso dei Ladroni, and was running 10° N. of E., scanty remains of a substruction wall in polygonal work of porous selce<sup>1</sup> (‘madre di selce’), with *opus quadratum* on top, are preserved, and there are also supporting walls in concrete; but I do not think there can have been a bridge there in ancient times.<sup>2</sup> A branch road seems to have diverged from it S.E.

A little after the crossing a path turns off S. towards Rocca di Papa: it soon bifurcates, but neither branch seems to be ancient.

Close to the house marked 415 I saw brick debris, and there is a reservoir to the W.S.W. towards the Acqua Algidosa (*supra*, 388), the so-

<sup>1</sup> The blocks are well jointed, and are about 0.40 to 0.60 metre high and 0.85 metre deep, but the faces are rusticated.

<sup>2</sup> This portion of the ancient road was known to Eschmaird: in *Esposizione*, *cit.* 410 (Venuti, 282) he notes the discovery of two large jars, which he believed to be ossuaries, at the side of the road.

called Grotta delle Streghe, nearly 40 metres long and 3 wide: to the W. of it are walls in *opus reticulatum*, belonging to a villa in which late burials were found, and also a fragment of an inferior draped statue. To the E., just S. of the 'a' of 'Pratone,' Stevenson indicated the ruins of a villa in the former Vigna Luccichenti: there is a small reservoir in *opus reticulatum* of selce at the ground level, and to the W. of it much debris with fine marble, while to the S. is a long substruction.

To the S. in the path going E. there is a conduit, cut through by it, formed by a line of terracotta pipes 0.09 metre in diameter inside, enclosed in a channel of small blocks of stone 0.25 metre wide; and to the E. of this, just where the communal boundary line turns due S. for a little while, W. of the legend 'V. Catorso,' is a reservoir about 20 metres long, with two chambers, on the E. edge of a large cornfield. To the S. again, under the house marked 447 in the map, is a large vaulted chamber which, however, seems to be mediaeval.

To the E. of this house is the Vigna Giovanetti, at which is still preserved the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2494 *Philero's; [et] Antiochu[s] Laribus d(onom) dederunt libentes m'eritis*. It is upon a cippus of tufa, 0.45 metre square and 0.55 high as far as the base moulding, which is 0.22 high, the base being 0.57 square. The letters are deeply cut and good, belonging to the first century A.D. Those of the first line are 0.11 metre high, and the rest respectively 0.085, 0.07, and 0.075 metre high. I may note that the *o* at the end of the first line is very small owing to a miscalculation of the space available, and that some of the other letters are cramped. To the E. again, E. of the letters 'Sp' of 'Spadacciole,' is a small house, to the W. of which is the walling of a cistern of *opus reticulatum* with tufa quoins and three courses of brickwork below. There are numerous pavingstones, which might belong to the road which we saw further S. (*supra*, 392); and though I could obtain no information as to its course, this seems to agree fairly well with what Stevenson was told (*Cod. cit.* 63<sup>v</sup>). In that case it would have been taken to mark the boundary line which still exists, between the cultivated area and the woods. Further N.N.W. in the wood (W. of the 'B' of 'Borghese') I noticed other debris, and Rosa also saw ancient buildings here.

The Via Latina, to which we must now return, passed immediately to the S. of the Casino Le Molare: then it ran straight on due E. and must have recrossed the ravine which follows the S. side of the modern road, and

have taken more or less the line of the latter, though there are no certain traces until we reach the Osteria di Molare, just beyond which there is some pavement *in situ* 4·15 metres wide, while further on, between point 553 and the sixteenth mile, pavement may be seen in the stream bed.

A little after the fourteenth mile are the remains of a villa on its S. edge, in which there is a good example of facing in rough irregular blocks of selce, illustrating the transition from the older polygonal style to *opus incertum* from which *opus reticulatum* was developed. Cf. *Mélanges de l'École Française*, xxv. (1905) 183. Above it is a reservoir with two chambers.

Hence a cutting runs E. to the N. of the hill marked 516 in the map, which does not seem to be that of an ancient road. Further S., on the W. slope of the hill which is known as the Colle della Tartaruga or Colle Precolio, and on the E. edge of Map II. of *Papers*, iv. are the remains of another villa: the platform faces W.S.W., and four shallow arcades of *opus incertum* (almost *reticulatum*) of selce are preserved: the arches have voussoirs alternately of selce and peperino, and in front of the N. end is a later addition; but the whole was apparently quite a small building. A specimen of the construction is given in Pl. XXXV. Fig. 3.

We now pass to Map I. of the present volume. On the top of the hill (point 516) Stevenson marks the existence of something ancient, but there is only a little debris; and the same is the case below the chapel of the Madonna delle Molare,<sup>1</sup> where there is brick and other rubbish, including a half column of tufa. Past this runs a track, leaving the high-road at the Fontanile S. Nicola, and running S.E. to the Casa dei Guardiani and on beyond it. For a long way there are no certain traces of antiquity,<sup>2</sup> though in places it is deep cut, and it is significant that it follows the boundary line between the forest and the cultivated land and between the communes of Rocca di Papa and Rocca Priora: nor are there any remains on the rim of the inner crater, which rises on its S.W. side.<sup>3</sup> Just before it reaches a

<sup>1</sup> The Castel di Molare is entirely mediaeval (Tomassetti, 282 *sqq.*—a photograph is given in his *Campagna Romana*, i. (1910), p. 178. Fig. 70), but there is some ancient debris: a hoard of mediaeval coins was found near it in 1902 (*Bull. Com.* 1902, 327).

<sup>2</sup> The road from the Madonna to the Casa is sunk deep, and about five or more metres wide: but the soil is soft, and the pavement now visible is mediaeval. The track S.E. from the Casa to Colle Tondo, which I have marked doubtfully, is also deep sunk, and there are many bits of loose selce.

<sup>3</sup> Somewhere near this road (between Rocca di Papa and Rocca Priora) was found the brick-stamp, *C.I.L.* xv. 1211. 3 (about 123 A.D.)

branch coming from La Forcella (*supra*, 395), the actual crepido is preserved *in situ*, running S.E., and many pavingstones may be seen lying loose along its line, and also a few *in situ*. Here are the remains of a villa—I saw a chamber in *opus mixtum*, with a modern hut ('capanna') built over it, in which was a brick drain 0·48 metre wide, and was told that other rooms had been found, but covered up again. The land belonged, I was informed, to Giovanni Giovenazzi of Rocca di Papa.

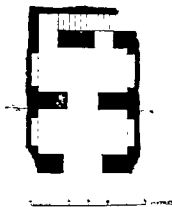
Beyond this point the path shows no further traces of antiquity: a little before it reaches the Riserva di Domatore it is joined by the main path from La Forcella, and then by another path from Rocca Priora (*infra*, 412), and shortly afterwards falls into the path along the Valle Vivaro, which leaves the Via Latina to the W. of the Lago della Doganella (*infra*, 413). This has no natural trace of antiquity, but is probably an ancient line of communication. At the point some way to the E. marked in the map, E. of the Fontanile del Ributto, W. of point 681 (the Colle del Favo) I have seen brick debris, and Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 34<sup>1</sup>) notes ruins of *opus reticulatum* near this hill. He tells us that he was informed by Nicola Santovetti of Grottaferrata that a torso of a statue, then at the Fontana del Vivaro was found near the ancient road (*i.e.* the Via Latina); and that there was a spring at the Fosso della Vetica, which was very scanty in summer, but copious in winter.

At point 585 (Il Meleto) on a hillock many lead pipes with inscriptions had, as Stevenson was told, been found fifty years before, and he had himself seen much debris there: I saw brick rubbish at the point marked in the map a little to the E. A tomb had been, he says, found in 1891, 'a capanna,' *i.e.* with tiles forming the roof (unless indeed a hut urn is meant) with a mirror, and not far off was found a helmet<sup>1</sup>; and further S.W. just beyond the limits of our map, another tomb was discovered.

We must now return to the territory on the N. side of the Via Latina, which we have so far omitted. Not far from the road, due S. of the theatre of Tusculum, and W. of a fieldwall and fence, are a few blocks of a polygonal wall in selce approximating to *opus quadratum*, facing S.; against it was built a drain in concrete, with a pointed roof: some of the

<sup>1</sup> The exact words are 'Sepolcro a capanna con specchio presso Monsignore(?) trovato nel 1891, e vicino fu l'elmo (?)'. A Valle di Pratone al Vivaro dove c'è la parola 'di' di 'V. di Vivaro' [the lettering has now been altered slightly] ivi pure altro sep(olcro).'

walling under this drain is of *opus reticulatum*. To the N.W. is a large platform, running about 20° W. of N., and to the N. E. of the platform is a fallen fragment of the concrete wall of a reservoir, and also a building, possibly a tomb, of which I give a plan: the inner chamber is all of good brickwork, but the outer is entirely of *opus mixtum* and has probably been added later. The stairs led to an upper story, which is not preserved: the building is built into the hillside and only stands free in front.



To the E. of the fieldwall are traces of polygonal walling (of a platform) and above there is a reservoir consisting of a single vaulted chamber in concrete, 15 metres long and 3.50 metres wide. Further to the N.E. on the path leading up to Tusculum under the slopes below the citadel are remains in concrete, indicated in the map.

Further E., just after the fifteenth mile, a path diverges to the N., which follows the line of an ancient road, ascending sharply. To the E. of it are the remains of a platform of rough polygonal blocks of selce, preserved only to a height of one or two courses: the blocks are about 0.90 metre deep. Just above, on the edge of the road, and cut through by the modern path, are the remains of the platform of a villa in *opus reticulatum* of tufa and selce, with stone quoins: there are four shallow arcades in front, and behind are extensive substructions. I should imagine this is the site referred to by Canina (*Tuscolo*, 108) as excavated in 1834: remains of baths and hypocausts were found.

To the W. of the head of the valley too are the ruins of other buildings, including a large reservoir some 20 metres long; and to the N.W., due E. of and below the highest point of the arx of Tusculum, are remains in *opus reticulatum*. The path we have been following then passes through a cutting<sup>1</sup> in the gap between the arx and the hills to the E. of it, and arrives at a meeting-point of paths—one, probably of ancient origin, though certain traces are not visible, going W. to the road to Camaldoli (*supra*, 371), another descending N. to Monte Porzio (*supra*, 377), for which there is no definite evidence, and a third going E. along the ridge, which is certainly ancient, and which we must now follow.

The paving was well preserved within living memory, and there are

<sup>1</sup> The cutting is a fairly deep one, and it is conceivable that in earlier times it was a ditch connected with the defences of Tusculum.

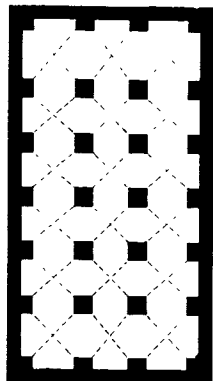
still pavingstones in the fieldwalls. After following it E. for some 500 metres we reach a group of ancient buildings situated on the boundary line between the communes of Monte Porzio and Rocca Priora, marked by a fieldwall.

First come the remains of a villa, with fragments of black and white mosaics, Roman Doric tufa columns, pieces of painted plaster, marble, etc. Late burials were also found here, and, I was told, a small bronze horse. On the platform is a reservoir 22.50 metres long and 2.50 metres wide; and there are other chambers to the N.

Below, on the W. side of the field wall, is a much ruined reservoir in two chambers, and close to it a deep circular shaft (marked W. in the map), which comes just at the point where the modern aqueduct which runs to Camaldoli terminates, and may be connected with it.

To the S., a good way further down the hill, still just E. of the boundary line, is a reservoir with one chamber some 10 metres long, and below it, a little N. of the twenty-second kilometre stone of the modern road, the villa which no doubt it supplied, of which three apsidal rooms are preserved. In the ruins of the latter Professor Lanciani found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 565 k (about 123 A.D.) 1369 (164 A.D.—2 copies): the walling was partly in *opus reticulatum*, partly in brick, and partly in

both together: in one wall the cubes of the former were placed horizontally: pieces of marble, a peperino column coated with stucco, and an Ionic capital in sperone were seen.



To the E. of the uppermost villa is a large reservoir in selce concrete measuring 20.20 by 10.80 metres outside, a plan of which is here given: the vaulting is quadripartite, and there are no external buttresses. It is referred to by Eschinardi (ed. Venuti, 1750), p. 272. The Staff Map marks ruins to the N. of the path at this point, which do not exist—either the path has changed its course since the map was made, or there is an error in the map. From here a branch path goes

off, soon turning N., and descending sharply to S. Silvestro above Monte Compatri *supra*, 382; there are no traces of antiquity along it, but it seems a necessary line of communication. The main path then bends slightly round the head of a valley, and here I noticed a rock-cut drain

0.47 metre wide and running S.E. Further S.E. are the remains of a villa in good brick work and *opus incertum* below the path; and above it (not marked in our map) is a villa with vaulted substructions in brick and *opus reticulatum*, on which may still be seen a plain white mosaic pavement with small tesserae, and fragments of fine marbles. Several red tufa columns about 0.40 metre in diameter, lie about there and look surprisingly fresh.

From *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 246 we learn that on August 23rd, 1850, one Alessandro Mompieri, in searching for water for a new supply for the Commune of Monte Compatri, came upon some ruins on the south side of Monte Salomone (I imagine the reference must be to one of these villas, as there are no others answering to the description), with a fine coloured marble pavement, a fragment of a frieze of Parian marble decorated with ivy, various fragments of terracottas, of frescoes, stuccoes, and other decorations supposed to belong to a temple. Remains of a road were noticed leading up from the Via Latina to Monte Salomone, and other ruins were found on the upper slope facing S.W., one with *reticulatum* walls.

The Commission composed of Jacobini, Grifi, Visconti, and Canina, visited the site on September 19th, and stated the remains to be those of a villa. Besides the marble pavement, which was of giallo antico brecciato and bardiglio, they noticed a marble threshold on one side and beyond it the beginning of a black and white mosaic pavement. The remains of stucco, etc. showed that the building was of a certain magnificence: a terracotta antefix with a Scylla on it showed signs of the decline of art. The Commission then went to Tusculum and descended to Frascati, where they examined the statue of the Faun<sup>1</sup> in the shop of the chemist Signor Volpi. The Commune then obtained leave to continue the excavations.

On May 5th, 1851, the president of the Municipal Commission of Monte Compatri wrote that so far he had not been able to spend more money on the excavations on Monte Salomone, which had been authorized by the Ministry, but that it had been reported to him that one Domenico Ciuffa had removed the squared blocks of stone which had been set aside, and had also devastated the *opus reticulatum* walls: the material he had placed in the lower story of his own house. Ciuffa, however, denied this,

<sup>1</sup> I do not know which is the statue referred to.



asserting that he had removed the stones from property of his own close to the hill in the course of clearing the ground.

Beyond these two villas the path divides again, one branch descending gradually E.S.E. along the slopes. Its pavement is well preserved and can be traced as far as the point marked in the map, where it is interrupted by cultivation; a few stones are preserved, but it soon dies out, and the course assigned to it in the map is entirely conjectural.

The upper path is less certainly ancient, but must, I think, be taken as an almost necessary line of communication. Between the two (not marked in the map) I noticed a platform supported by walls of rough blocks of selce, and at the two places indicated in the map, S.W. and S. of point 725, are similar remains, with some brick debris at the latter; while a little further W., S.E. of the summit of Monte Salomone, is a vaulted chamber (substruction or reservoir) in selce concrete.

Our path now reaches the road from Monte Compatri to Rocca Priora; the modern zigzag road follows a different course from the older path, which may represent an ancient line, though Stevenson (*Vat. Lat.* 10563, 23) was unable to find any trace of antiquity in the *macchia* and also the short cut from the sixteenth mile of the Via Latina, which, again, perhaps, follows an ancient line.

The village of Rocca Priora itself presents no traces of antiquity: there are no remains of ancient walls, either of a fortified enceinte or of later villas; and Tomassetti 294, n. 1, saw no other antiquities there but a fragment of a Christian relief. The mediaeval castle has been recently destroyed, and a new building constructed on the plan of the old one (*ib.* 295.).

Holste (*Adnotationes ad Cluv.* 780. 18) proposed to identify Rocca Priora with Corbio, an ancient city of Latium probably a member of the Latin League (*Dionys.* v. 61 Κορβιυτῶν). According to Liv. ii. 39. 4, Coriolanus after the capture of Lanuvium (*Papers*, iv. 4 n.) took Corbio, Vitellia, Trebium, Labici, and Pedum. That the list of these towns is given in any topographical order is by no means certain, and in any case Labici is the only one of which the modern representative (Monte Compatri, see *Papers*, i. 256 *sqq.*) is known to us. Of Vitellia we only know that it was a Roman colony in the territory of the Aequi Liv. v. 29) and it does not appear in the list of members of the Latin League. Trebium, which is only mentioned in the present passage, can hardly be identified with

Treba, the modern Trevi nel Lazio, S.E. of Subiaco,<sup>1</sup> and some authorities prefer to read Tolerium, which was one of the cities of the Latin League, and which is mentioned by Dionysius (viii. 17) as having been the first place captured by Coriolanus; Bola, Labici, Pedum, Corbio, Corioli, and Bovillae (c. 20) being reduced afterwards, and Lavinium unsuccessfully besieged.<sup>2</sup> Thence he advanced to Rome; and then during a thirty days' truce marched against and took the other Latin cities (c. 36), Satricum, Ecetra, Setia, Polusca, Alba? (in the text we find Ἀλβιήτας) Mugilla, Corioli (?).

Plutarch (*Coriol.* 28) gives the order thus—Circeii, Tolerium,<sup>3</sup> Labici, Pedum,<sup>4</sup> Bola,<sup>5</sup> Lavinium; and does not name the other seven cities. Circeii is the first town mentioned by Livy; but both omit Longula, while Livy omits Bola, Bovillae, Ecetra, Setia, and Alba (?).

We have further indications in the accounts of the wars against the Aequi, where we find (Liv. iv. 49) Bola and Labici in their possession towards the end of the fifth century B.C., and are told that the territory of these two places adjoined.<sup>6</sup> Corbio, too, was obviously not far from Algidus (Liv. iii. 30),<sup>7</sup> which plays so large a part in the wars between

<sup>1</sup> There was, however, a farm called Trebia on the Via Latina in the Middle Ages (Tomassetti, 316).

<sup>2</sup> I have suggested altering Lavinium to Lanuvium in Livy ii. 39 (*ind. L. recepit*, a good deal earlier in the campaign: cf. *Papers*, iv. 4. n.) for topographical reasons; and I think that the testimony of Dionysius and Plutarch is also in my favour: for both tell us that he raised the siege of Lavinium in order to march on Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Tolerium has been identified with Valmontone by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 369): see *Papers*, i. 273, n. 2. One of his arguments is the similarity of name with the Trerus or Tolerus or Tolenus (Sacco): cf. Bormann, *Allat. Chorogr.* 78). In *Analisi*, iii. 22 he identifies Vitellia with Valmontone by a slip: for elsewhere (i. 466) he puts it at Civitella di Subiaco.

<sup>4</sup> Of the site of Pedum we have no exact knowledge (*Papers*, i. 205, iii. 140), though Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 288, n. 6) is not averse to placing it at Gallicano, as Nibby does (*Analisi*, ii. 551). The discovery in Tunisia of an inscription (*Bull. Ant. de France*, 1905, 177: *Bull. Com.* 1905, 363) of a *curator Viae Polanae* of equestrian rank does not help us in the matter of topography, for we do not know what this road may be.

<sup>5</sup> I should think that Bovillae was the best reading here: for it is said to be not more than 100 stadia (12½ miles) from Rome; and this is very much too little, if, with Hulsen (in Pauly-Wissowa *R.E.* iii. 667) we are to place Bola in the upper valley of the Sacco: as he rightly remarks, a more precise identification is impossible. Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 291) placed it at Lugnano (now Labico)—see *Papers*, i. 273, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Simul Aequos triennio ante accepta clades prohibuit Bolanis, suae gentis populo, praesidium ferre. Excursionem inde in confinem agrum Labianum factae erant novaeque colonis bellum inlatum.*

<sup>7</sup> *Horatius, cum iam Aequi Corbione interfecto praesidio Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Aequi pugnat, multos mortales occidit, fugat hostem non ex Aequae modo sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Cormonem etiam diruit propter proditum praesidium.* Cf. *il.* 27 and Dionys. x. 20. Of Ortona we have no further knowledge, except from Liv. ii. 43, and Dionys. viii. 91, from whom we hear of

Rome and the Aequi, and Ortona, of which we hear very little, must have been in the neighbourhood.

Certainly Corbio was a strong position in those ancient days; and Rocca Priora is the only site still occupied by a village which can claim to be as near Algidus as Corbio should be. We may therefore consider the identification a probable, but not a certain one; while as to Ortona, which seems to have utterly disappeared, we must confess our inability to fix it. In regard to Bola, Pedum, and Tolerium, we may content ourselves with saying that Nibby's identifications are probable, but not demonstrable in the present state of our knowledge, and that he is wrong in excluding Zagarolo from the list of possible sites for one of these ancient towns—he prefers to believe that it was only the site of an imperial villa. But, inas-much as we have no real knowledge of the degree to which these towns or villages, which loom so large in the early history of Rome, were really fortified, and to what extent they would have left traces behind them, it is by no means necessary that they should have occupied sites upon which villages still stand. This is no doubt a more probable supposition (we so frequently find in Italy that the mediaeval town has returned to the primitive site on the hill, abandoning the Roman settlement in the plain: Labici itself, Privernum, Falerii, and many more are cases in point) and it also provides a far easier explanation for their utter disappearance. But it must be borne in mind that we are not bound to accept it. Thus in these cases we must, I think, be content with an approximate identification, until, as in the case of Labici, epigraphic or other evidence comes to our aid to settle the question.

We should further note that the majority of the places mentioned in the account of the campaign of Coriolanus—Satricum, Bola, Corioli, Longula?, Pedum, Tolerium, Vitellia—figure in Pliny's list of the 53 peoples of Latium which had utterly perished (*N.H.* iii. 68, 69); and, though in some cases there is undoubtedly exaggeration in this expression, the fact is significant.

The town of Carventum, one of the thirty cities whose inhabitants are mentioned by Dionysius v. 61 among the members of the Latin League, and are perhaps identical with the Cusuetani mentioned by Pliny among a previous capture by the Aequi, and are told that it was a Latin city. Bunbury in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities and Topography* is inclined to accept the suggestion that we are to identify with the people of Ortona the Fortuni (?) of Dionys. v. 61 and the Hortenses of Plin. iii. 69. This may or may not be so.

the peoples of Latium who had utterly perished, also appears in the warfare against the Aequi as an important post (Liv. iv. 53, 55, where the arx Carventana is mentioned). Nibby and others have failed to notice that it is expressly distinguished in the latter passage from Verrugo (*infra*, 424) *illa pro certo habenda, in quibus non dissentiunt (auctores) ab arce Carventana, cum diu nequiquam oppugnata esset, recessum, Verruginem in Volscis eodem exercitu receptam*—and have therefore identified it with Rocca Massima, whereas it should rather be placed in the neighbourhood of Algidus (cf. Hulsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iii. 1628).

From Rocca Priora a path descends first in an E.N.E. direction, and then due N., which falls into a road leaving the Via Labicana at the 18th mile, just W. of S. Cesareo (*Papers*, i. 266 *fin.* and Map V.). The cutting where it turns N. at the 'cc' of 'Rocca' is fine, being about 10 metres deep and 3 wide, and may possibly be of ancient origin, though the rock is not hard; but there are no further traces until we reach Fontana Chiusa, where there are a few possibly ancient pavingstones. I do not know what is the origin of the name Casa La Statua, and have not visited it. Just at the point where our path falls into that coming from S. Cesareo there is a piece of pavement *in situ* belonging to the latter: it is 2.40 metres wide and runs 20° E. of S. To the E. of the latter road I noticed a little brick debris.

Another path which is probably ancient,<sup>1</sup> as it is cut through the rock (though this in places is soft) and has what may be ancient pavingstones in it, leaves Rocca Priora in a S.E. direction and runs to the Via Latina. At the Fontanile Maggiore (from which is taken the view of Rocca Priora on Plate XXXVI. Fig. 1) it has a branch to the E. of which the antiquity is not certain. To the E. of the summit of the Colle Trinciotto is a rough substruction wall of a single course of blocks of selce some 30 metres long, and another some 9 metres N.N.E. of it: on the slopes below is brick debris, and we probably have before us the remains of the terrace wall of some building. The path continues E., and is eventually joined by another branch which leaves the path from Rocca Priora lower down, passing N. of the Monte Fiore and of the Colle della Mola (the hill marked 640 metres above sea-level, N. of la

<sup>1</sup> It is noted by Chaupy, *Monum. de Campagne d'Hercule*, ii. 164, who states (*op. cit.* 184) that it continued between Monte Compatri and Rocca Priora (*op. cit.* 382 n. 2), and that he noticed its cuttings and pavingstones.

Mola; where the path runs through a cutting some 2 metres deep and 2 wide.

A little E. of the Colle della Mola, these two branches (supposing them to be of ancient origin) would have joined and fallen either into the road which descends N.E. along the Piano dei Mancinelli (*Papers*, i. Map VII) or into that which runs due N. (it would fall just outside the E. edge of Map I. of the present volume—see the key-map given in vol. iv.) down the Valle della Giumenta or Clementina (*Papers*, i. Map VI.), the prolongation of which is certainly ancient, as we have seen just above. I noticed ancient material used in a ruined house E. of the hill marked 522 in Map I. of this volume, and ancient debris and ruins both to the S. of and at point 331 (*Papers*, i. Map VI.), S. of the Casa della Pidocchiosa, and also to the E. of the last-named house, not far from the Via Labicana. Rosa in his map already alluded to indicates a number of ancient buildings in this neighbourhood, and these are no doubt the traces which he saw.

The path down from Rocca Priora continues beyond these two branches in a southerly direction, crosses the Via Latina, and runs on until it reaches the Valle Vivaro (*supra*, 404).

‘In a vineyard in the district of Tusculum’ said to lie towards the Valle della Molara, a vase was found with a hoard of gold coins of the late empire (474–565 A.D.). Lanciani saw twenty of them, all in mint condition—two of Zeno, eleven of Anastasius I., five of Iustinus I., two of Justinian (*Not. Scavi*, 1884, 192). The site is fixed as being the Colle Cappuccio or Colle Scapucciato, S. of Rocca Priora and W. of this path, by Tomassetti (p. 284, n. 2).

Returning to the sixteenth mile of the Via Latina, we find, a little beyond it, on the S. of the road, the scanty remains of an outpost of the Castel di Molare, called I Muracci (Tomassetti, 297). The course of the Via Latina is traceable all the way along close to the modern path, as is indicated in the map: there is little paving *in situ*, but there are plenty of loose pavingstones to be seen. At the seventeenth mile it reaches its summit level (582 metres), which is no less than 221 metres (725 feet) higher than that of the Via Labicana at Mezza Selva (*Papers*, i. 270; iv. 8). The Casale Osteria Nuova is built actually upon the pavement of the road, as is so often the case. At the top of the descent E. of point 558, where it is crossed by the path from Rocca Priora, there are some remains of pave-

ment *in situ* in the modern lane; but in the straight line to the E. it is buried under the soil.

Beyond the nineteenth mile the path through the Valle di Vivaro diverges to the S. (*supra*, 404); and just beyond it is the Lago della Doganella, considered by some authorities to be identical with Lake Regillus (see my papers cited *supra*, 321). I was wrong in denying that the lake was fed by springs, for these exist to the S. and supply the Fosso della Vetica (the water is slightly sulphurous). Indeed, on subsequent visits I have found it full of water (see Plate XXXVI. Fig. 2, for a view of it from the N.), but the other arguments against the identification are, I think, sufficient.

To the E. of the lake the road ascends to the actual pass of Algidus, turning N. and then E. again: on the ascent is the twentieth mile: there are various ruins here, but they are entirely mediaeval. They belong, I presume, to the Osteria dell' Aglio (Holste *ad Cluv.* 778, 25) or della Cava which was later on replaced by the Osteria Nuova. The road at point 560 reaches the summit of the pass by which it traverses the rim of the outer crater of the Alban Volcano between the Monte Castellaccio to the N. and the Monte Tagliente to the S. On both summits of the former (the western one appears in Map I., the eastern in Map II. of the present volume) there are extensive ruins, which are, so far as I can make out, entirely mediaeval, though there has been some use of ancient materials (I saw a granite column and some marble fragments): no doubt they were fortifications to guard the pass. They were seen by Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 160), who believed them to be ruins of the temple of Fortune. Tomassetti, who himself saw and described these ruins (p. 300), is wrong, I think, in supposing that Chaupy alludes to the Colle Fiore; while Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* 43) is referring to the castle (*infra*, 414). On the Monte Tagliente, on the other hand, there are no remains at all, nor have I found anything ancient along the rim of the crater going southwards, until the Passo Brosciano, where N. of the path there is a concrete wall running W. by N. belonging to a small building, apparently ancient. I have, indeed, ascended to every one of the many summits along the rim, in a vain search for the temples of Diana and Fortune (Horace, *Od.* i. 21. 1 *Dianam tenerae dicite virgines . . . vos laetam fluvii et nemorum coma, quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido . . . tollite laudibus*; iii. 23. 9 *quae nivali pascitur Algido . . . victima*; iv. 4. 57 *duris ut illex*

*tonsa bipennibus nigrae feraci frondis in Algido. Carm. Saec. 69 quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque Diana. Liv. xxi. 62 supplicatio Fortunae in Algido (imperata).*

No temple of either deity is, it is true, actually mentioned, but one would think their existence must be assumed from these passages.

The ruins I have seen, however, on the various hill-tops certainly cannot be attributed to either of these buildings. On the Maschio d'Ariano in particular, where the Staff Map (Map I. of the present volume) marks *Algidum*, there are, to my mind, no traces of anything earlier than the large mediaeval castle; nor can I agree with Chaupy (*loc. cit.*) and Rosa (*map cit.*) in seeing the traces of an ancient road ascending to it from the N. It seems to me clear that the remains spoken of by Gell (p. 43), who gives a sketch of what he calls the wall of Algidum, are simply the remains of this castle, the walls of which are largely built in small *opus quadratum* of brown granular tufa (the blocks being 0.30 to 0.44 metre high and 0.34 to 0.70 metre long) but contain mortar. Chaupy (*loc. cit.*) and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 121 *sqq.*) also visited the site, and Tomassetti gives a description of it and a plan<sup>1</sup> (301 *sqq.*). I am sure he is right in supposing that those authors who speak of remains of a temple of Diana here have mistaken for it the apse of the mediaeval church; and his supposition that this was the site of the temple of Diana, which would thus have been entirely obliterated by the mediaeval castle, has a good deal in its favour. The church was dedicated to S. Silvestro, and as an addition to Tomassetti's account of the mediaeval history of Algidus I may add that Duchesne (*Lib. Pont.* ii. 309, n. 57) refers to it the notice *oppidum S. Silvestri in suam dittonem convertit* (*Paschalis* ii.).

Below the castle are various cuttings in the rock, probably forming the foundations of houses or huts, or perhaps simply quarries.<sup>2</sup> The view from the castle is magnificent, and it is equally fine, though changing rapidly in details, as one follows the summits of the ridge to the S.W. over the Monte Peschio, the highest point of all (939 metres above sea-

<sup>1</sup> Further excavation has laid bare more than he saw: thus, his conjecture as to the position of the gate has been verified, and the way in which it was defended made more clear: on the other hand, I could not find any subterranean chambers in the position which he assigns to them in the plan, but I saw two chambers just to the N. of the entrance running N. and S. There are also some rock cuttings (quarries?) just to the E. of his 'roccia tagliata a picco.'

<sup>2</sup> It may be a kindness to intending visitors to state that the Acqua Donzella has now been entirely appropriated to the supply of some village below the mountain, and that the wayfarer will hope in vain for any water there.

level.<sup>1</sup> I found no ancient remains until I reached the Maschio d'Artemisio, 812 metres above sea-level, where there are scanty remains of mediaeval fortification to the E. and S.W. of the summit; while on the Monte Spina, 736 metres above sea-level, there is much brick debris. Immediately to the W. of this last summit is a deep depression in which runs the mediaeval post-road to Velletri (*supra*, 397), which crosses the rim of the outer crater at this point. Here, however, we are far beyond the limits of our maps, and we must now return to the Via Latina, which we left at the pass of Algidus.

As we have already noticed (*Papers*, iv. 3 *sqq.*), the military importance of Algidus is especially prominent in the accounts of the warfare against the Acqui in 465–389 B.C., in which it was for a long while an advanced post of the latter, especially for their joint operations with the Volscians, though it formed no integral part of their territory (Hulsen, *s.v.* *Algidus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* i. 1476).

There never was an actual town of Algidus or Algidum, as Dionysius thought x. 21 ἀκούων περὶ πόλιν Ἀλγιδὸν ἀθρόας εἶναι τὰς τε Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν δυνάμεις; xi. 3 Αἰκανοὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Τουσκλάνων γῆν ἐμβalόντες ὁμορον οὔσαν σφίσι καὶ πολλὰ δηώσαντες αὐτῆς ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ πόλει τίθενται τὸν χάρακα; *ib.* 23, 28 he uses the phrase ἐν Ἀλγιδῷ τῆς Αἰκανῶν χώρας: and Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237—ἡ Λατίνη . . . μεταξὺ Τούσκλου πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ὄρους κάτεισι ἐπὶ Ἀλγιδὸν πολίχριον καὶ Πικτᾶς παιδοχείᾳ) is probably, as Hulsen thinks, alluding to a post station in the pass; while Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.*) is merely copying Dionysius. Many modern writers have followed this error, and have found a tower or castle of Algidum on Monte Fiore, where there are no ruins at all<sup>2</sup> cf. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, ii. 595 *fin.*. Livy invariably uses the phrase *in Algido*, which Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 721) paraphrases as *Algida terra*. In imperial times we hear of this locality as a favourite resort; cf. Statius, *Silv.* iv. 4. 16 *hos Praeneste sacrum, nemus hos glaciale Dianae, Algidus aut horrens aut Tuscula protegit umbra, Tiburis hi lucos Aniculaque frigora captant*: Martial x. 30. 6 mentions *Tusculanos Algidosque secessus* among places usually selected for villas: Silius Italicus (xii. 536) calls the place

<sup>1</sup> The Fontanile Moscaccio, some way down the S.S.E. slope of this mountain, is fed by a good spring, brought by a rock-cut channel 0.00 metre wide, possibly of Roman origin.

<sup>2</sup> Tomassetti knows nothing of the destruction of the castle by Sixtus V., which is mentioned as a tradition by Holste (*loc. cit.*).



*amoena Algida* and Symmachus (*Ep.* iii. 50) refers to it as a summer resort—*ut aestas mihi Praenestino Alcido frangeretur*, while Pliny speaks of chick peas (*ciceres*) and radishes (*raphani*) as growing especially well in Algidus (*H.N.* xviii. 130, xix. 81). Some later writers (*e.g.* Hieron in *Chron. Euseb.* a. Abr. 1528, Eutrop. i. 17, 18, *Auctor de vir. ill.* 17) speak of Algidus mons. (There is, I think, no doubt that the Ἀλγιδών of Procopius (*B.G.* iii. 22) refers to Alsium.) We have seen that the remains of villas in the neighbourhood of the pass are somewhat scanty, and the name must in imperial times have taken a somewhat wider sense, referring especially to the northern portion of the rim of the outer crater: for in the southern part there are, so far as I know (though, owing to the existence of forests, exploration is not easy), far fewer ancient buildings.

#### XXI.—THE VIA LATINA FROM THE TWENTIETH TO THE THIRTIETH MILE.

Immediately after traversing the pass, the Via Latina begins to descend; but, before it does so, a branch goes off to the left, which reaches the Via Labicana on the Colle Tre Are (*Papers*, i. 274: cf. Map. VII.). The pavement is preserved along the left-hand track, until it takes a sharp bend S.: here, in a field, where V is marked in the map, is brick debris, and remains of fine coloured marbles. At the Casale di Mezza Selva itself there is nothing ancient: beyond it the road is crossed by that mentioned in *Papers*, i. 270, which Holste (*Cod. Dresd.* F. 193, 72<sup>v</sup>) notes as ancient—unless he is referring to that near Il Fico<sup>1</sup> (cf. *infra*, 417)—and beyond again are further traces of paving.

According to Foggini (*Mus. Cap.* iv. p. 24) the cippus bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3030 (cf. Matz-Duhn 3879) was found under his own eyes in the district called Mezza Selva, three miles (*sic*) from Palestrina; while according to Marini (*Vat. Lat.* 9131, 12<sup>v</sup>) it was discovered at the Osteria della Cava (*supra*, 413) in 1768, whereas Foggini (*ap. Amaduzzi, Anecd. litt.* iii. (1774), p. 468, n. 13) states that it was found in 1770.

At point 403 (the district is known as Il Fico) Stevenson marks a road going due S. in his map, probably just along the boundary line, and ascending to the Colle della Regina and Colle della Castagna (*infra*, 417):

<sup>1</sup> What he means by referring to a paved road which crosses that which we are following half a mile before the Casale, coming from the Labicana, and going to the Piano di Velletri, I do not understand.

there are no pavingstones now visible on this portion of it, but to the N. of the main road there is pavement, which is soon lost in a thicket of broom. We may probably suppose therefore that it ran on to the Via Labicana and reached it at the Valle dei Gelsi. A little to the E., on the N. of the road we have been following, is a reservoir and some debris, indicated by Stevenson; and further on again on the S., before the descent to the Via Labicana begins, is the brick debris of another villa. For the Via Labicana cf. *Papers*, i. 274.

Returning to the pass, and following the Via Latina itself (Via di Ardena in the map) we find ancient pavingstones in it, in many cases relaid, and then the stones may be seen in a ploughed field to the N. On the N. edge is a concrete reservoir with a single chamber; and further on, just before reaching the Casa Borghese, are remains of a building in *opus quadratum* of tufa, *opus reticulatum* of selce, and brick, and of a long narrow reservoir. At the Casa Borghese are two Corinthian capitals, a female draped statue, of white marble, lacking the head, which was in a separate piece, also part of what seemed to be the torso of an animal. The modern path then passes through a cutting which is not ancient: at the twenty-second mile, on the S. side of, and above it, are four masses of fallen concrete, the remains of a tomb: the course of the road is traceable for the whole way, but only at intervals is there pavement *in situ*. It continues to descend gradually, until it reaches, at the point called Le Crocette, a path which crosses it at right angles. On the descent to the N. there are a few loose pavingstones, and in the valley the path divides, one branch going towards Casale di Mezza Selva and forming a part of the line of road described in *Papers*, i. 270. There is little evidence for the antiquity of this portion, but we are perhaps justified in assuming it as a necessary link in the chain, and the map opp. p. 90 inserted in Fabretti's *De Aquis*, ed. 1788,<sup>1</sup> marks it as ancient (*via in Latinam et Appiam tendens*). The other branch going N.E. can be traced by pavement *in situ* as marked in the map: it first ascends E.N.E. along the slopes of the Colle della Castagna, then runs due N. up a gully, at the head of which are scanty foundation walls, and to the E. of them a reservoir; while, further E.N.E., on the Colle della Regina above the head of a lateral valley going E., are the remains of an extensive building. Loose pavingstones may be

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from a passage in his *Inscriptiones* (p. 415) that this is the map originally inserted in his *Athenaeum Insularum in Grunorum*, a rare tract directed against Gronovius which I have never seen.

seen all about; and on the descent towards the Spallette di Piovito and the Valle Carbone the pavement is *in situ*, running N.E. for a while and then almost due N. At the bottom of the descent it would fall into the path running N. from the Fontanile delle Macere along the bottom of a broad valley between the Colle della Castagna and the Colle del Rapiglio, which is probably the road alluded to by Holste (*ad Cluv.* 949, 33) as coming from the Via Latina to the Via Labicana at the Colle dei Quadri and by Chaupy (*op. cit.* iii. 463; cf. *Papers*, i. 274), though there are now no traces of it to be seen.

To the S. of Le Crocette there are loose pavingstones and some pavement *in situ* along the path as far as the edge of the wood; but along the Valle Ontanese there are no traces of it to be seen as far as the Via Ariana, and the slight depressions in which the track runs in places cannot claim to be of ancient origin. Further S. too it presents no traces of antiquity, though if followed due S. it eventually reaches the Via Doganale near the Lake of Giulianello; and Holste (*Cod. Dresd.* F. 193. 74) says that he was told that it was paved in his day.<sup>1</sup> That the portion of the Via Ariana to the S.W. of this point is of ancient origin is clear from the testimony of De la Blanchère—*Chapitre de l'histoire pontine* 48—from *Sav. étr. à l'Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L.* x. i. (1889),—who states that there were traces of it near Fontana di Papa, S.W. of l'Ariano, and by the discovery of the pavement *in situ* on the line of the present road further S.W., about three kilometres before reaching Velletri, in a locality called 'Pietreliscie,' a name which recalls the time when the modern road was not yet made, and the ancient road was still in use (*Not. Scavi*, 1899, 338).

In 1834, the contractor for the road, in digging for material in land belonging to the Municipality of Velletri, at a place called Il Macchione, within the territory of Ariano, came upon some walls of inferior construction, probably mediaeval, and some fragments of marble columns, etc. The report that a statue was also discovered proved to be untrue (*Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 2223).

To the E. of Le Crocette, both N. and S. of the road, there is brick debris. To the E. of this Stevenson marks an ancient road, running right along the top of the hill down to the Via Ariana: there are no traces of it,

<sup>1</sup> Disse un tale mastro Antonio Carlone di Montefortino che ad un certo luogo detto l'Uscione si rincontra un' altra selciata che tira a man dritta verso S. Giuliano . . . e tengo io per sento . . . che sia quella medesima che traversando la Latina passa vicino all' hosteria di Mezza Selva e si rincontra con la Labicana a un certo luogo detto La Torre (*op. cit.* 418).

and I cannot help thinking that he has marked wrongly the road of which we have just spoken. On the other hand he is right in indicating that the ancient road kept to the N. of the modern track, from the twenty-third mile onward, and did not follow the narrow defile by which this descends (in which there is mediaeval paving) but kept straight on, over the end of the hill, some 100 metres further N., preserving thus a straighter line than I had given it. We now reach the Fontanile delle Macere in the valley, which is bordered all round with pavingstones. Cultivation has destroyed unfortunately all trace of the ruins of which Chaupy speaks (ii. 171; iii. 463) as being so plentiful. He remarks rightly that the situation was not a favourable one for a post station, but I think that Ad Pictas must be placed here (*Papers*, i. 275) or close by. The steep curving ascent, too, beyond the fountain, is probably not ancient: after this, though the line of the road is for a while lost in the vineyards, he marks it a little further S. than I have done—perhaps not correctly, for there are two parallel walls, possibly belonging to a tomb near the top of the ascent, and then some loose pavingstones, which are probably not far from their original position.

Just beyond the twenty-fourth mile the Via Latina is cut at right angles by a road coming from the Via Labicana at the Colle della Strada,<sup>1</sup> which has no pavement *in situ* but is in places deeply cut (*Papers*, i. 274) and which at this point falls into the Via Ariana (*supra*, 418); and I feel sure that this must be the road to which Chaupy refers (ii. 171; iii. 463) as cutting the Via Latina at right angles immediately after the Fontanile delle Macere—especially as the portion of the Via Ariana to the E. of this point is not ancient, and indeed, when the Via Latina was in existence, would have had no *raison d'être*.

On the S.W. slope of the Colle Rotondo (*Papers* i, Map vii.) is a rectangular open piscina, and to the N. traces of a villa, and further N. again of another. The Colle Casalupi is by some authors, and very likely correctly, thought to be identical with the Fundus Casaluci of the inscription of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Fabretti, *Inscr.* p. 416), which with the Fundus Stagnis is placed at the thirtieth mile of the Via Latina. Marocco, *Stato Pontificio* ix. 39 notes ruins there. The road passing E. of the Colle Rotondo is probably also of ancient origin (*Papers*, i. 274), and though further

<sup>1</sup> It goes on N. to Labico, though Westphal (p. 76, *ibid.*), whom Kiepert must be following (map to *C.I.L.* xiv), prolongs it to Valmontone.

investigation has shown me that there are, as a fact, no traces of ancient pavement on the Via del Buon Viaggio and the Via Doganale, I still believe this line to be of ancient origin. This is the *Via Coram tendens* of Fabretti's map. The tomb on the S. of the Via Latina just to the E. of the Via Ariana is that which was discovered in 1890 (*Papers, cit.*). On the further side of the railway, to the N. of the road, is a reservoir in limestone concrete (for we are now leaving the volcanic region of the Alban Hills, and reaching the limestone district of the Volscian mountains), while S. of the Colle Pastore and on the summit of the Colle Monte Crepi are scanty remains of probably ancient buildings.

I have been able to take a rubbing of the milestone, of which I published a copy in *Papers*, i. 278, n. 2, from which it seems to me clear that the reading should be as follows:

IMP  
INVICTO  
MAXEN  
AV PERPETV  
XXV

We have thus the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth milestone of the time of Maxentius. Whether it had really been found at La Pescara I do not know, but in any case there is no doubt that it belonged to the Via Latina.

Beyond the twenty-fifth mile, on the N. side of the road, is a small rectangular building—a tomb or a reservoir. Traces of pavement on this portion of the road are scanty, and to the E. of the divergence of a path to the E.N.E. past S. Egidio, which reaches S. Ilario by way of the Valle Materna, and probably, but not certainly, follows an ancient line (cf *Papers*, i. 279), there are no traces of antiquity at all along the Via Latina, which has completely disappeared in the vineyards. Marocco, *op. cit.* 38, saw fragments of columns in the Valle Rapello probably the same as the Valle Stefano below the Colle di S. Egidio, and the ruins of a villa with mosaic pavements and hypocausts on the Colle Cadellino. To the N., W. of the so-called Grotta di Serracina, are the remains of a villa: the Grotta itself we could not find, nor does the path along the N. side of the Colle dei Lepri appear to be ancient. E. of the Casa Guglielmetti, just at the approach to the modern village of Artena, there is a tomb of white limestone concrete, which may mark the line of the road, but still no paving-

stones are visible, nor are there any in the straight section E. of Artena, though there is a little mediaeval paving.

The scanty antiquities of Artena itself, and the interesting remains of La Civita (an ancient town to which we cannot give a name) are fully dealt with by Dr. G. J. Pfeiffer and myself in a paper in the *Supplementary Papers of the American School*, i. (1905) 87 *sqq.*

There is another milestone (*C.I.L.* x. 6884) belonging to this part of the road and now preserved at Artena, the number on which is unfortunately not clear. Serangeli, in his MS. account of Montefortino see *C.I.L.* x. p. 591) gives the following account of its discovery: 'The Via Latina crosses the vineyards in the district of Le Valli opposite to Montefortino . . . near the property of the rural benefice of S. Pietro, cutting the modern road to Valmontone, where was found lying on the ground the milestone recognised as such by Fabretti and Adrien Auronet (more correctly Auzout, as Fabretti gives it), a Frenchman. It is now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Borghese (where it still is) having been transported there in 1698 by my orders, I having been urged to do so by the above-mentioned antiquaries.' Fabretti (*Inscriptiones*, 414, 367) gives a copy of the inscription on the milestone, which he believes to have borne the number 34, and states that it was found two miles before the station of Ad Bivium, which he rightly puts at S. Ilario. He accepts, however, the distance of thirty-five miles from Rome by the Via Latina given by the Antonine Itinerary, which is excessive. Stevenson read the text thus *D[omino] N[ostro] Imp[eratori] Caes[ar]i Cl[audio] Iulia[no] P[ro]p[ri]o felici Augusto X] XXIII. I could not make out the number at all when I saw it; but the spot at which it was found must have been very near the twenty-seventh mile, as will be seen from our map. Fabretti's reading may well have been influenced by his mistaken idea as to the length of the road: Stevenson confesses to having had some doubt about the number, and I therefore think it legitimate to suggest that this may be the twenty-seventh milestone: the number would thus be complete, and we only have to suppose that XXVII has been misread as XXIII, which, with an inscription of the time of Julian the Apostate, is not difficult. Marocco (*op. cit.* 40) notes the discovery here of a cinerary urn of *palombino*, with a gold necklace decorated with precious stones, and of the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* x. 5986. In this, however, he may not be correct, for the latter had been found over a century before.*

After the twenty-eighth mile the road divides, one branch going on eastwards along the foot of the mountains, while the other turns N.E. and runs, first ascending and then descending again, to join the Via Labicana at S. Ilario: on the N. side of the latter, near the twenty-ninth mile, is a large reservoir, and further on, on the Colle Maiorana, a villa; and along this branch are many loose pavingstones. I have not thought it worth while to carry the map further E., as the junction of the two roads is shown in *Papers*, i. Map VIII., and I have nothing to add to it.

I still feel no doubt that S. Ilario is to be identified with Ad Bivium. As I have pointed out (*Papers*, i. 280; iv. 7), the distances by the two roads are so nearly identical that Mommsen's arguments for the priority of the Via Labicana would fall to the ground; and the military importance of the pass of Algidus leads me to suppose the existence of a road to it in very early times, though I certainly think that at a later period the Via Labicana became the more important road.<sup>1</sup>

It may be interesting to quote Holste's account of the catacombs of S. Ilario (*Cod. Dresd.* f. 193, 73'): 'S. Ilario is a hill, on the top of which are seen traces of an oratory, and below a very fine ancient cemetery, all cut out in the hard tufa. The entrance faces N.W., and at the entrance on each side there opens a passage: that on the left ends in a niche, that on the right turns and leads into other passages which go out on the same side. In the middle, on the right, one enters by a low opening into a small square room, where there is a little water: they call it the fountain of S. Ilario, the water from which the women drink from dead men's skulls in order to have milk; and of this water they relate many wonderful things, and also of the skulls.'

The castle of Piombinara or Pimpinara (*Papers*, i. 280), on the opposite side of the Sacco from the railway station of Segni, is now fully described, with a plan, by Tomassetti (*Vie Labicana e Prenestina*, Rome, 1907, 118). The lofty tower, one of the highest in the Campagna, commanded a view over both the Via Labicana and the Via Latina, and the castle occupied a hill in a narrow part of the Sacco valley, where there is now only just room for the road and railway to pass, one on each side of the stream, close to the point where the Via Labicana must have crossed the

<sup>1</sup> I should add that I have, since I wrote *Papers*, iv. 8, n. followed the high-road from Teano to Cassino: I could not see any certain traces of antiquity along it, but this does not prove that it is not of ancient origin, and the line seems to me the natural one. I do not feel sure about the object or antiquity of the building I had thought to be a tomb.

Sacco, and been joined by the road along its valley, which is now followed by the modern road from Valmontone. A view of the castle from the S.E. is given on Plate XXXIV. Fig. 2.

The original line of the Via Latina is, if our view is correct, that which kept on due E. from the bifurcation between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth mile, and joined the line of the Via Labicana at Compitum Anagninum, or perhaps originally even further on; but we shall find it to be tortuous and difficult compared with the Via Labicana, so that it must naturally have become of minor importance.

Just before the twenty-ninth mile the road crosses a stream descending from the S., the upper valley of which is known as the Vallone Grotta Ferrata. Some way up it is a hill called the Colle l'Oppi, and this is probably the site of some discoveries recorded in *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 2209. In August, 1834, a shepherd named Giovanni Villani discovered a tomb formed of tiles, nineteen in number, each two palms by one (0.446 × 0.223 metre) without stamps: within it was the skeleton of a child, with a gold necklace decorated with dark oval stones fixed to it, three gold rings, a 'ciappetta' of gold with a violet stone in it and two gold hooks at the back, and some pieces of glass. Further search led to no discoveries, but the ground was covered with debris. The objects were bought for the Papal museums for 16 scudi 20 baiocchi. The locality is defined as being in the Quarto degli Oppi, in the district called La Suattera, four miles from Montefortino, five from Colle Ferro, and seven from Piombinara.

Just after this, on the extreme S. edge of Map VIII. of *Papers*, i., is a small reservoir of limestone concrete, while to the S. on the hill are the so-called Muracci di Crepadosso, the remains of another reservoir. We then cross the boundary line, and enter a small isolated portion of the territory of the Commune of Rome. The rest of the course of the road, as far as Compitum Anagninum, is shown in the Staff Map of Italy, fo. 151, iii. (Anagni), 1:50,000.

The road now turns S.E.: on its S.W. side is the brick debris of a villa, just under the 'Cr' of 'Crepadosso,' while to the S. of Fontana Viola, where are the letters 'di,' are the remains of three reservoirs in limestone concrete, with much debris lying about. To the N.E. are remains of a villa, N.W. of the Casale Colle Ferro, N. and E. of which are other reservoirs. Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 473) and others have placed Verrugo



here: it appears to have been a locality (whether a town or merely a strong military position is uncertain) in Volscian territory, the possession of which was frequently disputed in the warfare between the Volscians and the Romans in 445-394 B.C.; but we cannot certainly localize it, and the site of Colle Ferro has perhaps hardly sufficient military importance. (In Liv. iv. 55 it is spoken of as in the Volscian territory, whereas in iv. 1 we find *laeti audiere patres . . . Vulscos Aequosque ob communitam Terruginem fremere*, and in v. 28 it is spoken of in connection with the war with the Aequi: so that it must have been on the frontier between the territory of both peoples and that of Rome. Similarly, in one passage Diodorus (xiv. 11) speaks of it as a Volscian city, in another (*ib.* 98) in connection with the war against the Aequi.) It is therefore unlikely that it is to be identified with Rocca Massima; and we have seen above that the traditional view, that the *arx Carventana* is to be placed there, will not hold good (*supra*, 411).

There is a large reservoir to the S.E. of Colle Ferro at point 222, and a small one in the fork of the roads to Segni<sup>1</sup> and to Gavignano, close to which is a tomb: to the N. of these, close to the latter road, is a villa with substruction walls in polygonal work and *opus incertum*; and there is another villa a little to the E. at point 232, with more ruins again S. of it. Two groups of ruins marked in the map to the N. of the Via Latina are both reservoirs. The frequency of these is remarkable, and it is clear that the water supply of the district cannot have been good.

The Via Latina in the meantime has no traces of antiquity (except that the mediaeval ruins W. of the Ponte del Pisso contain a few paving-stones), and the pavement and all the bridges are mediaeval. The path going N. a little before I Rossili passes through a cutting which appears to be of ancient origin, and would form a line of communication between the Via Labicana and Segni. Beyond this the path undulates considerably and follows a tortuous course. By the chapel marked 'Cona fra Rocco' in the map there is an ancient reservoir or tomb in concrete, but otherwise there are no traces of antiquity. We cross the Sacco close to the railway station of Anagni: from that point, though I have not followed it, I suppose that the Via Latina would have run N.E. to the Osteria della

<sup>1</sup> The bridge of the former road over the Sacco (now replaced by a modern iron one) was ancient in Fabretti's day (*Inscriptioes*, p. 416—cf. Marocco *op. cit.* ix. 43) but has no doubt been carried away by the frequent floods to which this river is subject.

Fontana (Compitum Anagninum) (*Papers*, i. 281). The distance would have been about forty-one miles from Rome, which would only agree fairly well with the itineraries which give the distance from Rome by the Via Labicana as forty miles, and from Ad Pictas as fifteen miles, which is too little (*ib.* 216).

Due S. from the Osteria della Fontana an ancient road must have run to Villamagna on the S. side of the Sacco, and on the N. slope of the Volscian hills. This we know from the duplicate inscriptions *C.I.L.* x 5909 (cf. the Addenda, p. 982) still preserved at Anagni, set up by Septimius Severus and Caracalla (Geta's name has been erased) in 207 A.D., recording that they paved the *via quae ducit in villam magnam*. The name La Selciatella, which may be seen on the map a little N. of the railway, is significant, though I do not imagine that any pavement is still preserved along its course, inasmuch as Holste, who, like Marangoni, saw it in a good state of preservation, tells us that its destruction was being begun in order to provide material for the new one.

I have not yet visited Villamagna; but the remains of a large villa there are described by Ambrosio de Magistris (*Storia di Anagni*, Rome, 1889, i. 198). That it belonged to M. Aurelius, however, is by no means certain. From the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 599, we learn that on April 2, 1827, the Cardinal Chamberlain wrote to the Delegato of Frosinone, informing him that he had heard that excavations had been carried on without leave at Villamagna. The result of inquiries made was that a letter of recommendation to the Bishop of Ferentino, given by the Cardinal Chamberlain himself to the sculptor Laboureur, who desired to make these excavations, had been taken by the Chapter of Anagni to amount to a permission, and that the excavations, conducted in September, 1826, had led to no result.



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## ADDENDA.

P. 256, l. 14. In *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 3750, the discovery (in March 1852) by Domenico Giusti in his vineyard of fragments of a lid of a large sarcophagus is recorded: a piece near the angle contained a rayed head of the Sun. P. E. Visconti advised its purchase for the Papal Museums, but it is not clear whether this actually took place.

P. 277, l. 8. To the W. was another reservoir, with two chambers, each 11·48 metres long and 3·10 metres wide.

P. 277, l. 13. Here we noticed many blocks of marble and peperino: among the former was a fragment of an epistyle, 0·32 metre thick, with the following fragmentary inscription in letters 0·08 and 0·07 metre high.



P. 280, l. 20. Possibly archaic tombs, as I have seen such pottery there.

P. 280, l. 23. Here Mr. St. Clair Baddeley found the buckstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 104 (123 A.D.) of which only one other copy is recorded.

P. 290, last line of text. Marocco, *op. cit.* 59, says it was found in the Vigna Limiti.

P. 304, l. 3. A Vigna or Villa Cremona was incorporated in the present Villa Torlonia: Lanciani (*Scavi degli Scavi*, in 52) publishes a document proving its purchase in 1579, so that Matter may be alluding to another site or alluding to it under its old name.

P. 305, last line but one of text. The *opus reticulatum* on the external wall is mentioned by Stevenson in his notes (*Vat. Lat.* 10572, 128). An ancient road within the area of Frascati itself is alluded to in two passages of his notes (*ibid.* 81). 'Carocci says that in the Seminario there is a piece of ancient road which must be a continuation of that which is in the property of the Tinazzaro'; and *ibid.* 114: 'In the house of the innkeeper Nino . . . near and opposite to the Tinazzaro, where there is an ancient road pavement and a floor in *opus opicatum* to be seen. It is said to extend a long way.'

P. 306, l. 16. The building, of which a sketch and plan by Valadier are given, consisted of a flight of steps of brick, faced with marble, built against an earlier wall of *opus reticulatum* of selce with brick bands, and half columns 0·45 metre in diameter. On the right was a wall of similar construction, contemporary with the steps. A torso of a statue of a boy was found, and other fragments of marbles, etc.

P. 307, l. 8. Father Grossi-Gondi informs me that the identification is certain.

P. 345, n. 1. For these frescoes see *Catalogo del Museo Campano*, Classe vi., pp. 4 *sqq.*, nos. 1, 5, 6, 15, 17, 23, 25, 36, 38.

P. 346, n. 1. *C.I.L.* xv. 817 (1st cent. A.D.) was also found (Stevenson, *Vat. Lat.* 10572, ff. 102, 111).

P. 362, l. 12. After 'bearing' insert the following: 'the inscription *M. Durmius C. Caellius C. f. ex S. n. d. n. C. n. u. l. t. o.* (2627), and, early in the 19th century, apparently at Tusculum itself, of'

P. 362, l. 14. Before 'an inscription' insert 'also of.'

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THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION  
OF THE  
RELIEFS OF TRAJAN'S COLUMN

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## THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE RELIEFS OF TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

THE object of this paper is neither to discuss the artistic significance of the reliefs which adorn the Column of Trajan, nor to solve the problem raised by the inscription on its base, but solely to treat the sculptures as embodying an historical narrative in stone, and to present certain conclusions differing from those of earlier interpreters. These conclusions were originally formed during my residence in Rome as Director of the British school; they were first tentatively expressed at a meeting of the School held on April 4, 1906 (when I had ceased to hold the office of Director) and developed with greater detail in a paper read before the Oxford Philological Society on March 15, 1907 (see *Class. Rev.* 1907, p. 125) and finally in a communication made to the International Historical Congress at Berlin on August 8, 1908. It is unnecessary to say that the great publication of Cichorius<sup>1</sup> (and the incisive criticisms of that work by Petersen<sup>2</sup>) have brought the question here to be discussed into the foreground of archaeological debate; the views since put forward by von Domaszewski<sup>3</sup> and Weber<sup>4</sup> appear to me (as will presently be shewn) to betoken a retrogression in the direction of theories which should have been recognised as put definitely out of court by the researches of Cichorius and Petersen.

No attempt has been made in this paper to enter into full topographical detail, except where such is essential to the argument. I have not had an opportunity of visiting the scenes of Trajan's campaigns, and

<sup>1</sup> *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, 1896-1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Trajan's dakische Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erzählt*, 1899-1903 (two vols., referred to below as 'Petersen i and ii').

<sup>3</sup> *Philologus*, 1906, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, pp. 18 f.

without such personal inspection of the sites an adequate commentary on the reliefs cannot be written.

We may assume at the outset that the designer of the reliefs was an innovator, seeking for a means of expression under fresh material conditions and obliged to create new conventions with this end in view. The history of the spiral column in ancient architecture has been traced by M. Victor Chapot,<sup>1</sup> but he has not been able to furnish any example of such decoration as we here see applied to a helicoid surface. But in the reign of Trajan the time was ripe for such an experiment. Whatever the merits of Roman art, it must be conceded that it had the defect of overloading the field of decoration with ornament. The function of the artist was to tell with the least possible omission the story of the Imperial triumphs (whether in peace or war) which he was called to celebrate; and since the Flavian period the restraining influence of the classical Hellenic standards was growing weaker. A comparison of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum with that of Titus at Rome will do more than any words to make this point clear. Nor can we be surprised that the spiral column seemed to afford too good an opportunity for the perpetuation of Trajan's military exploits to be lost. Thus it is not necessary to search for models in the earlier history of sculpture or painting, nor to appeal to the remoter analogies of the book-roll or the σκυτάλη.

The style thus brought into being is commonly known—after Wickhoff—as ‘continuous.’ This term is not altogether well chosen. If it expresses more than the bare fact that a continuous band of relief is here used to depict a connected narrative, it must imply that there is an unbroken background upon which the events unfold themselves; and this is very far from being true. To the historian the breaks and pauses in the narrative revealed by attentive study are of the first importance: and it is essential to the right understanding of the monument that we should distinguish three modes by which the artist unfolds his story:

a) The episodic, successive, or isolating style, where we have a series of incidents clearly marked off as individual scenes: of this the most obvious examples are to be found at the beginning of the several campaigns, where the *Allocutio*, the *Lustratio exercitus*, and the council of war are successively shewn, or again in the disconnected episodes which follow the great crisis of the action, such as the *Allocutio* (Cich. xlii.), the interment of

<sup>1</sup> *La colonne torsée et le décor en hélice dans l'art antique*, Paris, 1907.

the Dacian chiefs (Cich. xliii.), the distribution of the *dona militaria* (Cich. xlv.), and the torture of Roman prisoners (Cich. xlv.):

(b) The continuous style, properly so called, where the march of events proceeds in the foreground without abrupt transitions (the background being represented as continuous) in such a manner that the spectator is carried on through a series of scenes adroitly linked together to the climax of the narrative: the journey of Trajan at the outset of the second war is the classical example of this:

(c) The panoramic style—a bold experiment, in which the artist, assuming in the spectator some acquaintance with the subject-matter of the narrative and also with the principles of symmetrical composition, inherited from Greek art, unfolds in a comprehensive picture a series of events or moments not in reality contemporaneous; it will be shewn that we have a striking instance of this procedure in the Second War.

A careful study of the reliefs leads to the conclusion that the designer became only gradually aware of the potentialities inherent in the style which he was creating, and that in the treatment of the Second War he attained greater freedom of composition and ventured on bolder and more successful experiments than in the earlier stage of his work. It will not be amiss here to give a very brief *résumé* of the story as he tells it, marking the changes of method. The numbering of scenes follows that of Cichorius, but is adopted solely for convenience of reference, since (as Petersen pointed out) the divisions are often arbitrary. Where the artist has not clearly indicated a break in the narrative by such conventional signs as a tree, a change of direction, or a repetition of the principal figures, subdivision is perilous and often misleading.

## I.—FIRST WAR (A.D. 101–2).

### (a) *First Campaign* (A.D. 102).

- § 1. Introductory (i–iii.). The Danube frontier line.
- § 2. Crossing of the river (iv., v.).
- § 3. Advance and clearing of route (vi.–xx.); episodic.
- § 4. Final advance and engagement (xxi.–xxiv.); continuous.
- § 5. Later operations (xxv.–xxx.); episodic.

*(b) Winter Campaign (A.D. 102-3).*

- § 1. Dacians take the offensive (xxxi., xxxii.).
- § 2. Trajan proceeds to the scene of action and drives off the raiders (xxxiii.-xxxvii.); continuous.
- § 3. Operations in Lower Moesia (including battle-scene) and return of Trajan (xxxviii.-xlvi.).

*(c) Second Campaign (A.D. 103).*

- § 1. Crossing of the Danube (xlvi.).
- § 2. Advance by fresh route and storm of Dacian positions (xlix.-lxxiii); mainly episodic.
- § 3. Fall of Sarmizegetusa and submission of Decebalus (lxxiv.-lxxvi.); panoramic.
- § 4. Final *allocutio* (lxxvii.).

## II.—SECOND WAR (A.D. 105-6).

*(a) First Campaign (A.D. 105).*

- § 1. Journey of Trajan to Moesia (lxxix.-xc.); continuous.
- § 2. Sacrifice at Six Altars (xci.).
- § 3. Relief of Roman garrisons (xcii.-xcviii); panoramic.

*(b) Operations Suspended (Winter, A.D. 105-6).*

- § 1. Trajan at Pontes (xcix.).
- § 2. Trajan at Drobetae (c.).

*(c) Second Campaign (A.D. 106).*

- § 1. Preliminary scenes (ci.-cv.); episodic.
- § 2. Advance in two columns (cvi.-cx.); continuous.
- § 3. Dacians' alarm; first contact of the armies (cxii., cxiii.).
- § 4. Siege of Sarmizegetusa (cxiii.-cxviii); continuous.
- § 5. Fall of Sarmizegetusa (cxix.-cxxii.); panoramic.
- § 6. War in the mountains (cxxiii.-end); mainly episodic (some scenes treated in the continuous manner).

In translating the narrative whose outlines have been thus traced from picture-language into that of prose history, it is to be assumed that the

designer endeavoured to make his record of fact as plain and as straightforward as the conditions of his art allowed. Sometimes, it is true, especially in the great panoramic chapter which relates the story of the timely relief given by Trajan to his hard-pressed garrisons in A.D. 105 (ii. *a*, § 3) the spectator's eye is obliged to embrace more than one winding of the spiral in order to grasp the significance of the operations which are depicted; but, as we shall see, the limits of the synoptic passage are clearly marked, and throughout the whole band of reliefs the spectator is never at a loss to discern the breaks and pauses which punctuate the phrasing of the narrative. Our suspicions will therefore be aroused if we are confronted by an interpretation of the reliefs which demands that we should read into an apparently simple representation indications of combined movements which could at best be remotely suggested in terms of relief-sculpture. Having premised so much, we may now endeavour to shew that in both series of reliefs a straightforward interpretation of our material text leads to results which recent writers on the column have missed or rejected.

#### I.—THE CAMPAIGN OF A.D. 101.

The literary evidence for the course of this campaign is contained almost entirely in the single surviving fragment of Trajan's own *Commentarii*, preserved by Priscian (Peter, *Hist. rom. fragm.* ii. p. 117, which proves that his army followed the route which skirts the base of the western Carpathians. Cassius Dio makes no distinction between the two campaigns of the First War, and the only direct point of contact between his narrative and that of the Column is furnished by the story of the messenger from the Buri who brought to Trajan a warning written on a fungus, which is represented in scene ix. The main engagement took place, according to Dio, at Tapae, but we have no evidence (apart from the column and *a priori* arguments) to shew where this was.

All recent interpreters of the Column have assumed that a converging march of two Roman columns is represented. Since the narrative is chiefly concerned with the operations of the army commanded by the Emperor in person, indications of the double line of advance are sought at the outset and again at the point where the junction is effected. We shall see that on this latter point the interpreters disagree; but they are at one in regard-



ing the passage of the Danube by two pontoon bridges, one of which is crossed by legionaries, the other by praetorians (headed by the Emperor), as in reality representing the armies of Upper and Lower Moesia setting out from two widely distant bases. Since the spectator is led to suppose that he is standing on the left (or north) bank of the Danube, and witnessing the passage of troops from the opposite side of the river, it follows that the town from whose gate the legionary column issues must be in Lower Moesia. To determine the precise point is not, however, so easy. Cichorius (ii. pp. 32 f.) believes that the passage took place at Drobetae, 'on the spot which remained throughout ancient times the principal place of crossing to Dacia and where Trajan himself immediately after the first war built his great stone bridge over the stream.' In that case the buildings represented in scene iii. can have no direct connexion with the *tête de pont* from which the troops are issuing, since the *castellum* of Pons Trajani (or Pontes) built at the southern end of the later stone bridge (Procop. *de aedif.* iv. 6; cf. p. 456) is certainly not to be seen. We could only suppose, with Cichorius, that some 'Landschaftsbild' east of the Iron Gates, was here shewn. It is surely impossible, however, thus to divorce the buildings from the archway. Petersen concludes that the fortified place 'lies near the Great Bridge of Trajan, though it cannot well be the *castellum* of Pontes itself' (i. p. 15). Domaszewski, on the other hand, boldly transfers the passage of the Lower Moesian army to the neighbourhood of Oescus (which he thinks to be represented in iii.) on the ground that this was the headquarters of that force. It would surely be more natural if the view of the double advance be accepted to assume that the passage of the Danube by the Lower Moesian army took place at the point from which the shortest route led to Tibiscum, *i.e.* Tsierna-Orsova: this seems a necessary modification of the view expressed by Dierauer<sup>1</sup> that the Eastern army crossed the river at Taliata and marched thence to Tsierna.

But the question must first be asked, what indication is there that two armies, separated by sixty miles of river and mountain, are here to be distinguished? The unprejudiced spectator will certainly find none such, but will assume that in order to make the opening of the story more impressive, the artist has represented a double pontoon bridge in order to shew both the legions and the guard to full advantage. Just as legionaries only are seen crossing the first bridge, so are praetorians only shewn on the second;

<sup>1</sup> *Beitrag zu einer kritischen Geschichte Trajans*, pp. 81 f.

although the force immediately under the Emperor's command would, of course, include other troops besides those of the household. The external evidence for the hypothesis of the double advance is of the slightest. Such as has been adduced may be summarily dealt with.

(a) Cichorius maintains that the shields of the legion represented in iv., with the *corona* as emblem, do not appear again until xxvi., at which point he therefore places the junction of the two armies; but Petersen (i. pp. 12 f., 26) has shewn the weakness of this argument, which would, moreover, lead us to place the junction *after* the principal engagement of the year, a manifest absurdity. Details of this kind cannot possibly bear the weight of the conclusions drawn by Cichorius: the form of the legionary *signa*, for example, as seen in iv. is not identical with that shewn in either of the other scenes where the 'Eastern army' has been recognised, yet that fact alone would not be fatal to the current theory (cf. Petersen i. p. 26).

(b) Cichorius and Petersen both recognise in the pontoon bridge of scene xlviii., with an archway on the r. bank, the same spot which is represented in iv. This is quite unconvincing. The buildings seen to l. of the archway in iv. are absent in xlviii., where on the other hand we find on the l. bank of the river elaborate fortifications and a palisade. Petersen's explanation of these, viz. that they were set up for the protection of the *tête de pont* at the point where the great stone bridge was afterwards built, is certainly more acceptable than that of Domaszewski, who sees in them a *vallum* extending from the bridge at Celei (near Oescus) as far as 'the range which reaches the Danube between Drobetae and Tsierna,'<sup>1</sup> but the mere presence of a conventional gateway—a motive borrowed from our artist by the designer of the column of Marcus Aurelius (cf. *Die Marcussäule*, Pls. IX, X) is far from sufficient to support the identity of the two crossings.

On the other hand the artist is at no loss to represent, when necessary, the simultaneous march of converging columns. In the second campaign of the second war (ii. c, § 2; scenes cvi.–cx.) he shews by the simplest, yet most intelligible, means, that two Roman armies advanced independently against the Dacian capital, separated by a range of mountains, and eventually effected their junction without opposition. Nothing of the kind is shewn in the First War; and the onus of proof certainly lies on those who would look to read such combined movements between the lines of the material text.

<sup>1</sup> P. 333.

It is still less easy to find confirmation of this hypothesis in the scenes which follow the advance of the army commanded by the Emperor. The march of this force and its several halting-places are very clearly shewn. Fortunately Trajan himself tells us that Berzovia and Aizis were two of these stages; and we may therefore identify the others with the stations marked on the itineraries on the route from Lederata to Tibiscum. It is agreed that the bridge and camp of scene xii. are those of Apus fluvius (Udvarszállás), and that xiii.-xiv. represent Arcidava (Varadia). A track having been cleared through the forest, the next *castellum* (xvi.) is built at Centum putea (to be distinguished from the camp (xvii.) containing the Emperor's tent, which appears in the background and is not to be regarded as permanent), and the next three stations, Berzovia (xviii.), Aizis (xx.) and Caput Bubali (xxi.) are clearly distinguished. Then comes the passage of the Temes, with the town of Tibiscum in the background; and from this point the final advance begins. It is surely here, if at all, that we should expect to find the junction of the two armies indicated; and Petersen and Domaszewski are in agreement in holding that it took place before the principal battle of the campaign, represented in xxiv., was fought. The view of Cichorius (mentioned above, p. 441) that the junction was effected *after* the engagement is manifestly wrong; but the fact that so close a student of the column should have been led to place it so late surely proves that the indications are far from clear. There is, however, a significant difference between the views of Petersen and Domaszewski. The former holds that after the last appearance of Trajan in xx. the scene changes and that from xxi. onwards the march of the 'Eastern army' is represented. He would place the camp of xxi. below the pass known as the 'Key of Teregoval' and the fortified place which we have identified with Tibiscum at the top of the pass. Domaszewski, on the other hand, thinks that the first appearance of the Lower Moesian army is in scene xxii., where it is represented by a compact body of legionaries. Neither of these views can be accepted. Petersen sees clearly that the auxiliary cavalry crossing the bridge belong to the same force as the legion in front of them, and likewise to that which occupies the camp of xxi.—the starting-point of the advance which leads to the engagement of xxiv. As against Domaszewski he is manifestly in the right. But just as there is no break in xxii., so there is none before xxi. The artist of the column was quite capable of indicating an abrupt change of scene, but when he did so he placed his

meaning beyond the possibility of doubt. No better example could be found than that which we see in the Second War, where the sacrifice at the Six Altars (xci.) is plainly followed by a distant scene (xcii.), in which the artist takes up a new thread of his story, marking the close of the previous chapter by a pile of shields and a complete change of direction in the human figures. There is nothing of the sort in the transition from xx. to xxi., which are evidently as closely connected as any of the previous stages in the advance of Trajan's army. That the Emperor himself does not appear in xxi. is in no way remarkable. The camp contains a tent which represents the *praetorium*, just as in xvii. and similar scenes. No one who does not feel obliged to read into the simple narrative preconceived ideas of Trajan's strategy (which Petersen compares with that of the Prussian campaign of 1866, ending in a junction of two armies in the presence of the enemy) will ever detect a break in the continuity of the advance. But it is true that from xxi. onwards the artist changes his method. Hitherto he has indicated the gradual progress of the Roman force through difficult country, in which each position is secured by permanent works as soon as it is occupied and communications are thus rendered safe and easy, by a series of loosely connected scenes varying in detail, yet a little monotonous in effect. Now he shews us Trajan's army in marching order in the final stages of its march, culminating in the battle scene of xxiv. Perhaps the strangest argument in favour of the double advance is that which has been drawn from the representation of the battle. All arms are here shewn: auxiliaries and irregular *numeri* are engaged in hand-to-hand conflict with the enemy, while the guards and the legions are for the time being held in reserve. The *legatus* who stands beside the Emperor and is obviously receiving orders from him as to the movements of the troops under his command may or may not be identical with the commander of the legionary force which we saw crossing the bridge of boats in iv. : but he is most assuredly not the leader of a force which has just effected a junction upon the field of battle with the guards under the Emperor's immediate command. That the serried mass of men on the left is to be conceived as 'two columns of *loricati*, each consisting of two files;' that the 'lower column has clearly arrived later, because it is further to the rear;' and that 'one of the *signiferi* of the guard is looking round at its *signa* in such a striking manner that this too, beside the other indications, may be taken to refer to the recent arrival of the legion' (Petersen i. p. 25) are a

series of forced and groundless assumptions. Here we may indeed apply to Petersen the words which he uses of Cichorius, 'the historian has closed the eyes of the archaeologist.' The attitude of the *signifer* is one of the commonest traits by which the designer of the reliefs endeavours to break the monotony of his serried ranks: we have another example in scene xxii.

The case for a combined movement thus breaks down at every point. The moral clearly pointed by the scenes which follow the principal engagement is that Trajan underrated the strength of Decebalus and found the Iron Gates pass and its defences an obstacle impregnable to frontal attacks; and there is therefore no antecedent unlikelihood in the supposition that he took with him a force of guards, legions, and auxiliaries sufficient in his judgment to overcome such resistance as he was likely to meet, and advanced directly against Sarmizegetusa. Such at least is the story as we read it on the column; and the artist was not without the means of indicating the independent operations of separate corps, for he has done so clearly enough in scenes cvi.-cix. That equally unmistakable signs of a combined movement are not to be found in the opening scenes seems to prove conclusively that no such strategy was actually adopted.

## II.—THE CAMPAIGN OF A.D. 105.

The differences of opinion which exist among the interpreters of the opening scenes of the column are small indeed compared with those which arise concerning the interpretation of the second series of reliefs. On one point, and one alone, they are agreed,<sup>1</sup> and that is that the starting-point of Trajan's voyage in scene lxxix. is Ancona. The very arch with its inscription—dated it is true in the year A.D. 115, but doubtless erected in memory of the Emperor's departure ten years before—which we see in the foreground of the scene still stands on the *molo* of Ancona; the temple with its image of the so-called 'Venus Genetrix' in the background is beyond all doubt the

*domus Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon.*<sup>2</sup>

No sooner, however, has Trajan set sail than the agreement of the interpreters comes to an end. Broadly speaking, the views which require

<sup>1</sup> De laur., *op. cit.* p. 98, n. 2, questioned Froehner's identification and conjectured that Trajan wintered on the Danube in A.D. 104-5; but this view need not be seriously considered.

<sup>2</sup> *Juv.* iv. 40

serious consideration fall into two groups—those which assume that Trajan crossed the Adriatic either immediately or at an early stage of his journey and landing in Dalmatia proceeded to the theatre of war by land, and those which take him by the long sea-route—touching at Greek ports—to the Thracian coast. The case for the long sea-route was argued by Benndorf in his publication of the trophy of Adam Klissi;<sup>1</sup> and it may be doubted whether the theory would ever have been brought to the birth, had it not been for the presence of that mysterious monument as well as the ‘*vallum* of Trajan’ in the Dobrudsha, which according to Benndorf was Trajan’s objective. Benndorf sought to identify the works represented in scenes xcv.–xcvii. with those whose remains may be seen in the Dobrudsha; but this view can no longer be seriously entertained, and is in fact abandoned by the more recent upholders of the ‘long sea-route.’ The criticisms of Petersen on Benndorf’s theory<sup>2</sup> contain much that is valuable; but the view which he substitutes is, as we shall presently see, open to serious question. Both Cichorius and Petersen (in his later treatment of the subject) agree in holding that Trajan’s journey was mainly taken by land; but Domaszewski has recently revived the theory of Benndorf in a somewhat altered form, and this has been further modified by his pupil Weber. Domaszewski holds that Trajan sailed from Ancona to Corinth (lxxx. ff.) and thence to the Piraeus (lxxxvi.); we then see him landing at Deultum on the coast of Thrace (lxxxvii.), crossing the Balkans (lxxxviii.–xc. , offering sacrifice to the Manes of Roman soldiers slain in the First Dacian War at Nicopolis (xci.), and proceeding by a newly made road to Oescus (xcii.). The scene then shifts to the neighbourhood of Sarmizegetusa, where the Roman camp is attacked by the Dacians (xciii.–xciv.), and back again to the *vallum* between Drobetae and Oescus (xcv.), whose defenders are relieved by Trajan (xcvi.). The modification introduced by Weber consists in placing Trajan’s landing-place at Aenos in Southern Thrace; we find a city named Trajanopolis in this neighbourhood, and the first three stations on the road northward to the Balkans are Zirinis, Plotinopolis, and Ulpia (afterwards renamed Hadrianopolis).

It is difficult to adduce evidence in *disproof* of this highly fanciful hypothesis, which is best met by confronting it with a simpler and more convincing interpretation of the reliefs; but it may be well to lay stress upon the fact that the solution of this problem is bound up with that of

<sup>1</sup> *Das Monument von Adam Klissi*, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Mitth.* 1896, pp. 105 ff.

another, viz. the political and military situation at the outbreak of the Second Dacian War.

Here we are practically dependent (as far as literary evidence goes) on Cassius Dio, who gives us (lxviii. 9) the terms of peace imposed upon Decebalus in A.D. 102, and explains (in the following chapter) how their violation brought about the renewal of the war. In order to appreciate the difficulty which arises, it is best to consider the two passages together, setting out the several conditions in order. Thus we read

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| (a) τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα<br>τούς τε μηχανοποιούς παρα-<br>δοῦναι. | (a) ὄπλα τε κατεσκευάζετο.          |
| (b) καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρα-<br>δοῦναι.                               | (b) καὶ τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας ἐδέχετο. |
| (c) τα τε ἐρύματα καθελεῖν.  | (c) τά τε ἐρύματα ἐπεσκεύαζε.       |

So far the parallelism both in order and sense is exact: then comes an inversion:—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (d) καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαλωκυίας<br>ἀποστῆναι.                                   | (c) παρὰ τε τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας<br>ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τοῖς<br>τὰναντία οἱ φρονήσασι<br>πρότερον ἐλυμαίνετο. |
| (e) καὶ προσέτι τοὺς τε αὐτοὺς<br>ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους τοῖς<br>Ῥωμαίοις νομίζειν. | (d) καὶ τῶν Ἰαζύγων καὶ χώραν<br>τινὰ ἀπετέμετο.  |

It is perfectly clear that the correspondence of clauses is maintained although the order is reversed. What then do we learn as to the loss of *territorial* sovereignty by Decebalus? Cichorius holds that Decebalus was obliged to evacuate all the territory occupied by Trajan in the First War, and deduces the consequence that in the Second War Sarmizegetusa itself was in Roman hands, and that the Dacian capital, the siege of which is represented on the Column, is to be sought in the remoter region of Northern Dacia. Petersen, on the other hand, considers that the *χώρα ἐαλωκυία* was that which Decebalus had taken from his neighbours, and presses the verbal parallelism in the passages quoted above—‘instead of giving up territory, he even (*καί*) took some from the Iazyges.’ But there are strong reasons for taking the words of Dio in the other sense. Too much stress,

indeed, should not be laid upon the fact that they were so understood by Petrus Patricius (*F.H.G.* iv. p. 185, 5), who paraphrases the first passage in the words *παραχωρεῖν δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἣν ἐκράτησεν ὁ Τραιανός*. But the phrase of Dio is exactly repeated in chap. 22 of the same book, where the Parthian king expresses his readiness *τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐαλωκυίας ἀποστήναι*: here there can be no doubt as to its meaning, and it must surely be taken in the same sense in the earlier chapter. Moreover, Dio tells us that Trajan left a legionary force (this seems to be the meaning of *τὸ στρατόπεδον*) in Sarmizegetusa, and garrisons (*φρουραὶ*) in the rest of the country. Petersen considers that these measures were temporary, pending the ratification of the treaty of peace by the Senate; but this is a strained interpretation of Dio's words. Domaszewski apparently sides with Cichorius, since he regards the camp attacked by the Dacians in Scene xciv. as that established by Trajan at Sarmizegetusa. But Petersen's demonstration that Sarmizegetusa is represented as the Dacian capital in both series of reliefs is convincing; and the evidence of the column on a matter of such primary importance must outweigh that of the bare epitome of Dio.

However we determine the question of the terms of peace imposed on Decebalus in A.D. 103, there can be no doubt that they had been broken in A.D. 105; and where our literary evidence fails us, the narrative of the Column must be treated as of paramount authority. Now the analysis of the second series of reliefs which was given above (p. 438) suggests a conclusion somewhat different from those just summarised. The campaigns of A.D. 105 and A.D. 106 are treated with a marked difference. In the second the course of events is plain enough. Trajan makes the bridge of Turn-Severin his base and advances against the Dacian capital, the siege and capture of which is followed by a war of episodes: the scenes at the bridge itself form a point of rest between the first and second campaigns. The narrative of the first campaign falls into two halves—the journey of Trajan, and the panoramic passage, the subject of which is beyond all doubt the relief of Roman posts threatened by the Dacians: this is immediately followed by the arrival of Trajan at the bridge. The conclusion is irresistible that in the campaign of A.D. 105 *the offensive was taken by the Dacians* and not by Trajan. The motive of the artist in representing his journey with such abundant detail is obvious. It was to divert attention from the fact of the Dacian inroad and the imminent



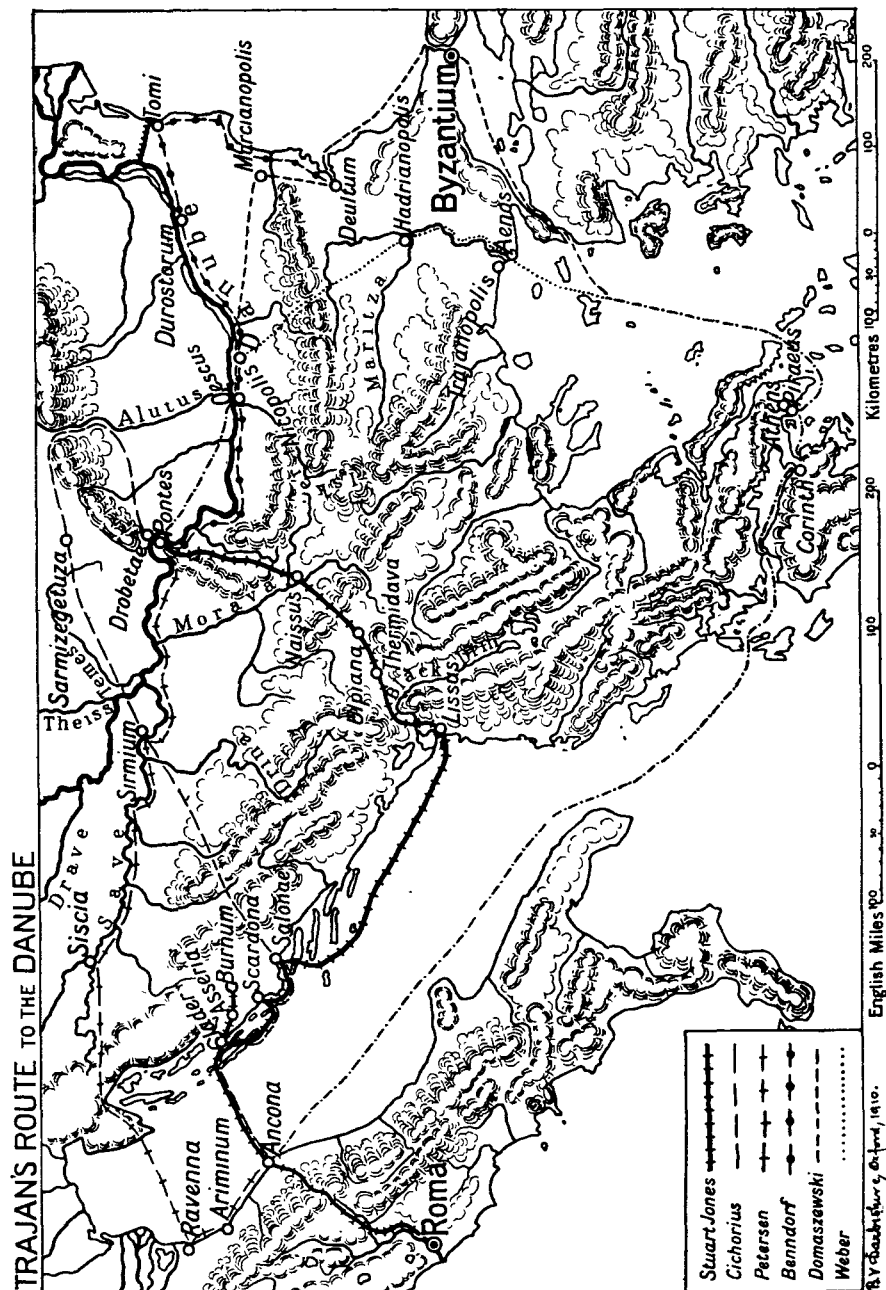
danger of the Roman positions on the Danube, or rather in the province of Moesia. For surely he who runs may read plainly enough the tokens of a Dacian invasion of the Roman province. The fighting depicted in scenes xcii.–xcvii. manifestly *precedes* Trajan's safe arrival at the bridge, in thanksgiving for which he offers sacrifice to the gods; and unless the scene of warfare is laid on the right, or Roman, bank of the Danube the artist cannot be acquitted of telling his story in an obscure and even a misleading way. The interpretation which it is here proposed to substitute for those put forward by earlier writers will, it may be hoped, commend itself by its simplicity and reasonableness. It will be convenient to divide the narrative into sections.<sup>1</sup>

*A.—Trajan's Journey by Sea.*

The first stage is evidently to be thought of as a short one. The journey is made with oars, not sails, in the Liburnian biremes of the *classis Ravennas*; and it is no coasting voyage, for if so, we should have a continuous background as in the scenes of the First War which depict Trajan's voyage on the Danube. Cichorius is therefore right in placing the landing of Trajan at **Iader** (Zara) on the Dalmatian coast. So far as the natural features of that coast are indicated they agree well enough with the situation of Zara: Cichorius presses such details as the re-entrant angle of the quay-wall somewhat too far, but Petersen is not justified in rejecting the identification. He is right, however, in protesting against the division of scenes here proposed by Cichorius (lxxx. Iader, lxxxii. Scardona, lxxxii. Gulf of Sebenico). Here, if anywhere, the continuous style is employed. The town is throughout Iader: the interruption in the quay-wall indicates that it lies—as Zara does—on a projecting spit of land not wholly shewn in the relief: and on leaving it Trajan is seen making a short land journey in order to reach a fortified place with a legionary garrison, at which a sacrifice of oxen takes place. This episode is fatal both to the theory of the long sea-route *via* Corinth, since no such garrison was posted in its neighbourhood,<sup>2</sup> and to the view of Petersen that a town on the Italian coast—probably Ariminum—is represented,

<sup>1</sup> The accompanying sketch-map will serve to illustrate the argument of the text. Where Trajan's route is not precisely indicated (as by Cichorius and Petersen) it is schematically represented without regard to lines of road.

<sup>2</sup> Domażewski supposes the camp to be that of a legion 'sent on in advance to Corinth.' No legion destined for the seat of war on the Danube would be sent *via* Corinth; and the camp is evidently a permanent one.



since legions were not permanently quartered on the soil of Italy. The camp is to be placed, not—as Cichorius suggests—at Aequum, Andetrium, or Delminium, but rather at **Burnum**, once the headquarters of the *Legio XI. Claudia*, whose place was taken in the time of Vespasian by the *Legio IV. Flavia Felix*. It is true that in the time of Domitian this legion was apparently withdrawn from Dalmatia<sup>1</sup>; but we cannot suppose that the province was entirely denuded of troops. Moreover, it is by no means unlikely that, as Cichorius has suggested (vol. iii. p. 58), one of the legions employed in the First Dacian War was stationed in Dalmatia in the years which immediately followed it instead of returning at once to its original quarters,<sup>2</sup> and received a visit from the Emperor when on his journey to Lower Moesia. There are, indeed, positive indications that this was so. It is remarkable that Burnum (which still shews abundant traces of its importance under the Roman Empire) is said to have been called 'Trajanski grad' by the modern Slav population. This statement rests on the authority of Fortis,<sup>3</sup> who visited Burnum in 1774; but the name is not, as it seems, used at the present time. It may perhaps be suggested that if the designation is *not* traditional, it was caused by a misunderstanding of the title of Hadrian on the inscription *C.I.L.* iii. 2828=9890 (cf. *Bull. Dalm.*, 1880, p. 145, 1881, p. 10). Still more important is the fact that at Asseria, which lies on the road from Iader to Burnum, a triumphal arch was erected in honour of Trajan.<sup>3</sup> The date of the inscription, it is true, is A.D. 113; but this no doubt records the completion of the work, and forms a strict analogy to that of the Arch of Ancona, which, though represented on the Column, bears the date A.D. 115. Evidently these arches were erected in commemoration of Trajan's visits in A.D. 105, but not completed until several years later.

If we are right so far, the identification of the town next visited by Trajan cannot be doubtful. It is, as Cichorius has demonstrated, **Salonae**. His careful investigation of the site has shewn that in ancient times the walls of the town were washed by the Adriatic; the marshy ground at the

<sup>1</sup> On this question cp. Filow, *Legionen der Provinz Moesien*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cichorius (iii. p. 57) suggests that *Legio I. Adjuvatrix*, which took part in both the Dacian wars, may have been stationed in Dalmatia in the interval.

<sup>3</sup> See the report of excavations at Asseria in *Oesterreichische Jahrbücher* xi. (1908), pp. 18 ff. The remains of Trajan's arch are described pp. 32 ff., and a reconstruction given (Figs. 9-23); facsimile of the inscription p. 71. The view that Trajan passed through Asseria is suggested on p. 74, as also by Frothingham in the *Nation* (New York) 1908, p. 441, and in *Roman Cities in Northern Italy and Dalmatia* 1910, p. 308.

mouth of the Iader has been formed by the silting up of the estuary. Furthermore, remains of the arcaded quay in the foreground of the scene are still traceable ; the position of the ancient theatre corresponds precisely with that of the one shewn on the column, and the two gates may easily be identified with those of the ancient Salonae. The rival interpretations cannot be sustained. Petersen, indeed, is doubtful whether the representation suits Ravenna, which was suggested by Froehner ; and Ravenna was not at this time a fortified town. Nor should we expect to find the Piraeus with fortifications intact ; yet if the long sea-route was taken by Trajan, we are obliged with Domaszewski to recognise that harbour in the scene before us.<sup>1</sup> His identification of the buildings and gates represented are partly conjectural, partly impossible. We cannot recognise Eetioneia and behind it three ships in the inlet of Krommybaru on the extreme left : in fact, Domaszewski is constrained to add, 'Die Zeichnung ist schematisch.' If Trajan landed in the harbour of Kantharos, as is suggested, it is difficult to see how the configuration of the port could be more inaccurately shewn than it is here ; for it is manifest that the landing-place is not in a deep bay such as that of the Piraeus.

In the next stage of the Emperor's journey we no longer find the same minute indication of topographical details : towns cannot be identified, and it is evident that the line of march led him through a sparsely inhabited district. There is, however, one significant detail at the outset, upon which Petersen has justly laid stress. The sailing ship which appears on the left in scene lxxxvii. has clearly brought Trajan from his last port of call, and we are justified in assuming that at this stage of his journey he made an open sea voyage of some length. Petersen argues that the two previous stages were coasting voyages along the Italian shore of the Adriatic, and that Trajan crossed that sea from the port doubtfully identified as Ravenna and landed at some harbour (unnamed) in Istria or Dalmatia. But it is evident (as was shewn above) that the places visited by Trajan in the earlier stages of his journey were not on Italian soil ; and the conditions are equally well satisfied if we suppose that Trajan set sail from Salonae and landed at a port at some considerable distance further south.

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf identified the port in scene lxxxvi. with Byzantium, a view justly condemned by Petersen. Whatever is represented on the column, a strait such as the Bosphorus is not.

*B.—Trajan's Journey by Land.*

Such a port is easily found in the ancient Lissus, modern Alessio (Ljesch), near the mouth of the Drin, from which a route which was used for trade with the Danube valley in pre-Roman times and may yet play its part in modern history,<sup>1</sup> led to Naissus (Nish), the original headquarters of the Upper Moesian army, and meeting-point of a network of roads leading north-westwards by the valley of the Morava to Viminacium, north-eastwards by that of the Timok to Ratiaria, and south-eastward to Byzantium. The route of which we speak has been but little explored on account of the difficulties of travel in High Albania<sup>2</sup>; but Mr. A. J. Evans<sup>3</sup> has given some valuable pages to it, and it has also been discussed by von Domaszewski.<sup>4</sup> The latter writer, however (though he refers to Mr. Evans' article), falls into the error of giving the ancient road too northerly a course. Mr. Evans shews that after following the Drin for some distance, it strikes across the open country known as Metochia, in which lie the towns of Ipek, Djakova, and Prizren (the capital of Stephen Dushan's Old Servian Empire). Portions of the roadway are preserved to the west of Djakova and are known to the Albanians as *Drumi Kaurit* 'the Giaour's Way.' Passing through Djakova, the road crossed the White Drin at the bridge of Svajan,<sup>5</sup> where the tombstone of a soldier of the Fourth Legion has been found,<sup>6</sup> and, crossing a low range of hills, descends into the plain of the Kossovo Polje 'Field of Thrushes', where there are abundant traces of Roman occupation on an eminence near the modern Lipljan, which commands the whole plain and is visible (according to Mr. Evans) as far off as Mitrovitza. From hence, as Mr. Evans assumes, the ancient route to Nish crossed the range of the Goljak Planina and passed through Zlato, where there are extensive Roman remains. But Domas-

<sup>1</sup> The direct 'Slav' route from the Danube to the Adriatic, by which it has recently been proposed to construct a railway in rivalry with that projected by Austria, running from Bosnia through the Sanjak to Salonica, follows this line and emerges at the little port of S. Giovanni di Medua, near Alessio.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Durham has recently visited some of the sites; her interest, however, lay in history not ancient, but still in the making (cf. *High Albania*, chaps. vii., ix., xi.).

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, xlv. pp. 58-68.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich u. m.* p. 145 ff.; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1902, pp. 173, 175 f.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be identical with the bridge called Ura Fshant by Miss Durham (*High Albania*, p. 268).

<sup>6</sup> Figured by Mr. Evans, *loc. cit.* p. 68.

zewski<sup>1</sup> seems to be right in regarding this route as impracticable and identifying the ancient line of road with that of modern times *viâ* Prishtina. Podujevo, Kurshumlija, and Prokoplje, especially as inscriptions and other remains have been found on this route.<sup>2</sup>

The identification of the stations on this route mentioned in ancient itineraries and geographers is far from easy, except that the name of Ulpiana is certainly preserved in Lipljan. Neither the Table of Peutinger nor the Geographer of Ravenna mentions Ulpiana, but it can hardly be doubted that it is concealed under the corrupt form *I'iciano* of the former, which in the Ravenna MS. is corrupted into *Beclano*.<sup>3</sup> In Ptolemy (iii. 9. 4) it appears in the singular form *Οὐλπιανόν*, on which a note of the scholiast tells us that it was known in later times as Ulpiana. The name points unmistakably to a foundation of Trajan,<sup>4</sup> and the traces of ancient gold-mines in the neighbourhood supply the reason.

For our present purpose a still greater interest attaches to the station which follows *I'iciano* (to the west) in the Table of Peutinger, at a distance of 25 Roman miles. The true form of the name is preserved by Ptolemy (ii. 16. 7), where Vat. 191 (Müller's X) reads *Θερμιδαύη*, Vat. Pal. 314 (Müller's Z) *Θερμιδαῦα*, and the other MSS. *Θερμιδάνα*. These readings point clearly to that given by Muller in his text, *viz.* *Θερμιδάνα* (i.e. *Thermidava*), and it is easy to recognise in this a Dacian place-name with the usual termination *-dava*.<sup>5</sup> In Ptol. iii. 8 (Dacia) and iii. 10 (Moesia Inferior) some twenty place-names occur with this termination, and the MS. variants are similar to those which we find in the case of *Thermidava*. The accentuation in X is almost invariably *-δαύα*, and the variant *-δava* (variously accented) is generally found in the inferior MSS. A single example—iii. 8. 4 *Καρσίδava*] *Καρσιδαύα* X, *Καρσιδανυ* A, *Καρσιδᾶνα* ΦΨ—will suffice to illustrate the MS. phenomena.

*Thermidava*, then, is a Dacian place-name; but how do we come to

<sup>1</sup> *A.-E. M.*, *loc. cit.* p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Oesterreichische Jahreshefte* iv. Beibl. p. 167 (Gjorgjevic). The inscription of Kurshumlija with MIL. IX (cf. *C.I.L.* iii. 14595) is difficult to interpret.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion is due to Kiepert, cf. *C.I.L.* iii. p. 1024. In Kiepert's *Formae Orbis Antiquae* (sheet xvii.) both *Veclanum* and *Ulpiana* are given: the position of 'Theranda,' which is clearly quite conjectural, would correspond roughly with that of Prizren, which was certainly not on the road, whose course in fact is traced much too far to the South.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Oesterreichische Jahreshefte*, vi. Beibl. p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Domaszewski (*A.-E.M.* xiii. p. 152, note) recognised the significance of the termination, but drew no conclusion.

find such a name in isolation among non-Dacian surroundings? The answer cannot be doubtful. It must denote a settlement of Dacians transplanted by order of the Emperor to Roman territory, according to the numerous precedents set by Augustus and his successors. Such a transference may well have taken place at the close of the First Dacian war; and the selection of the site is a fresh indication that the Lissus-Naissus route was that regularly used for communication with the Lower Danube.

Mr. Evans seems to be clearly right in placing Thermidava at Djakova; the distance from Ulpiana seems to be approximately 25 Roman miles, and this fact confirms the view that the *Viciano* of Peutinger's Table is a corruption of that name. The alternative view, taken by Domaszewski and Kanitz (*Wiener Denkschriften* xli. (1892), map), regards the Naissus-Lissus road as passing to the north of Lipljan; and Domaszewski (*Westdeutsche Zeitschr.*, *lc.*) bases on this fact an argument for the early date of this road. Since Ulpiana, according to his view, lay somewhat off the road to the south, it must be of later foundation, and he concludes that it was built 'probably at the time when Augustus established the military command in Moesia.' It is not, of course, essential to the argument of this paper that either view should be adopted, since the name of Ulpiana is sufficient evidence of the presence of Trajan in the district. A better argument for the early construction of the Lissus-Naissus road than that of Domaszewski is furnished by the fact (mentioned by Mr. Evans) that finds of pre-Roman coins<sup>1</sup> are abundant in Metochia, proving, as he says, that 'already in pre-Roman times Metochia was traversed by trade-routes connecting it with the Adriatic and Aegean and intervening countries.' Such a route must almost of necessity have been converted into a military highway when Moesia became a province.

Let us now examine the march of Trajan as depicted on the column. The harbour at which he lands is not specially characterised; but we see him passing a town at a short distance from the sea, which is clearly Lissus (Alessio is some way from the mouth of the Drin), and then hurrying through a mountainous country containing no settlement of any importance until he reaches a spot where he is greeted by a crowd of *friendly* Dacians. These will naturally be the settlers of Thermidava.

<sup>1</sup> He mentions 'Paeonian and Macedonian pieces, coins of the Illyrian mining cities Damastion and Pelagia, Celtic imitations of the coins of Philip of Macedon, coins of Thasos, and quantities of the silver pieces from Dyrrhachion and Apollonia' (p. 67).

Next comes the scene of sacrifice at the Six Altars. This is introduced by the artist—who changes the *direction* of the principal figures—with the obvious intention of making a pause in the narrative before he takes up an entirely new thread of the story. We may hazard the conjecture that the Six Altars are those of the *divi*—Julius, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, and Nerva; they at once recall the *Arae Flaviae* of Rottweil in the newly-settled *agri decumates*, and afford evidence of the care taken to implant the Imperial worship in a district into which fresh settlers from beyond the Roman pale had just been introduced. It is scarcely possible to see in this site any other place than Ulpiana. As a foundation of Trajan, it would naturally (like Thermidava) be selected for representation on the column; and although Patsch<sup>1</sup> is probably right in regarding Remesiana as the centre of the Imperial worship and meeting-place of the *concilium* of the province of Moesia Superior, there is good evidence (as he incidentally shews) for the belief that this worship was prosecuted with special fervour by the inhabitants of Ulpiana in the inscriptions (*C.I.L.* iii. 1685, 1686) set up at Remesiana by the *r(és) p(ublica) Ulp(ianorum)* in honour of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna. This may well be traced to the establishment of the cult of the *divi* by Trajan here depicted.

*C.—The Relief of the Garrisons.*

In the section which follows exact topographical indications fail us; but a general observation will help us to determine (within certain fairly wide limits) the region represented. The whole passage from scene xcii. to scene xcvii. is clearly marked off both from that which goes before and from the scenes at the bridge which follow, and forms a panorama complete in itself. If any proof were needed of this, it would be furnished by the symmetry and balance of the composition. Three points are of special importance.

(a) The panorama begins and ends with a scene of road-making in which *classarii*, belonging no doubt to the Danube flotilla, are at work. It has been observed by earlier interpreters that the two scenes must be considered together: the road which is being constructed in xcii. is that by which Trajan comes to the rescue of his troops in xcvii. It is needless to say that the indication of two fortified places in xcii. has no topographical value for us; it is not in the least necessary to assume that they are in

<sup>1</sup> *Festschrift für Otto Brendorf*, pp. 287 f.



the near neighbourhood of Ulpiana, since an entirely new chapter in the history of the war is here opened. It is, however, perfectly clear that the panorama extends from xcii. to xcvi. *and no further*: the significance of this fact will presently appear.

(b) Decebalus in xciii. and Trajan in xcvi. are evidently so placed in order to balance each other.

(c) The Roman *castellum* defended by *auxilia* (not legionaries) forms the centre of the symmetrical composition.

Now the only natural explanation of this narrative passage, for the interpretation of which in its details Petersen has done much (ii. pp. 47 ff.), is that in *time*, as in *place*, it comes between the march to Ulpiana and the arrival of Trajan at the bridge shewn in scenes xcvi. f. There is, in fact, no escape from this conclusion except by assuming, as Petersen does, that the panoramic passage *includes* the scenes at the bridge. From this would follow the further consequence that, as the passage (or at any rate the right-hand part of it) must be read from right to left, Trajan is shewn in scene c. at Pontes, on the right (S.) bank of the Danube and in scene xcix. at Drobetae on the left (N.) bank. This conclusion Petersen does not hesitate to draw; and it carries with it the corollary that the fighting shewn in scenes xciv.-xcvi. takes place to the *North* of the Danube.

The objections to this view seem overwhelming. In the first place, the balance of the panoramic composition, as set forth in the preceding paragraph, is destroyed if we include in it the scenes at the bridge; and to those who have mastered the artistic principles and methods of the designer this will go far to prove the case. The function of the scenes at the bridge is to provide a point of rest dividing the narrative of the Second War into two halves corresponding with the two campaigns of A.D. 105 and 106; and if Trajan had crossed the Danube *before* the relief of the garrisons, it is hardly credible that the artist would not have introduced the passage of the river before scenes xcii.-xcvi. and selected a different subject of illustration for the pause in his narrative corresponding with the winter A.D. 105-6. Moreover, it is well-nigh impossible to recognise Drobetae in the *castellum* of xcix. and Pontes in the tower with its amphitheatre porticoes, etc. of c. Pontes (as we learn from Procopius<sup>1</sup>) was just such a *castellum*, built by Trajan as a *tête de pont*, as we here see; and the remains shewn on Kanitz' plan<sup>2</sup> agree with this. Drobetae, on the other

<sup>1</sup> *D. ach.* iv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Wiener Denkschriften* xli. (1892) p. 44.

hand bears the title *municipium Flavianum* in the inscription *C.I.L.* iii. 1581 = 8017, from which it has been inferred, and doubtless with justice, that it was founded by Domitian. It afterwards received fresh privileges from Hadrian and adopted the style *Hadrianum* or *Aelium* which it bears in later inscriptions; and we may recall the fact that Hadrian served in the Dacian wars as *legatus* of the *legio I. Minervia*, whose emblem (the ram) is shewn in scene xlvi., which, it may be observed, is very probably laid precisely at this point. There is therefore nothing to cause surprise in its possessing the important public buildings shewn in scene c.; and there is a further difficulty in assuming (with Petersen) that the town represented both in xxxiii. and in c. (and the two must certainly be identified) lay on the N. bank of the Danube. In the former scene we observe Trajan embarking on the voyage which he undertook in order to succour the garrisons of Lower Moesia, threatened by the Dacian raid of A.D. 101-2; and the voyage ends in scene xxxv. with his disembarkation at a town, evidently on the S. bank of the river, probably identified by Petersen with *Novae*. If, then, both the point of departure and that of arrival lay on the S. bank, we shall expect the background to be continuous. But in scene xxxiv. we notice a curious projection or tongue of land in the background which interrupts the continuity of the river bank just after the arches which, as Petersen rightly divined, represent the *tetes de pont* of the stone bridge already planned in A.D. 101. This is meant by the artist as an indication that the spectator's point of view is changed, and that he is now to consider that the S. bank of the river takes the place of the N.

We are therefore justified in identifying the *castellum* of xcix. with that of Pontes, and the town of c. with Drobeta: and the sacrifice offered by Trajan in the former scene is one of thanksgiving for his safe arrival at the Danube after the forced marches and hard fighting which were needed in order to bring relief to the Moesian garrisons. Curiously enough, the mention of the stone bridge occupies the same central position in Dio's narrative of the Second War (lxviii. 13) which it does in the reliefs in the column: it forms the base of operations in the final campaign against Decebalus, and more than this, there is some reason to think that Dio at least believed the first campaign to have been fought (at any rate as far as Trajan himself was concerned) on the Roman bank of the river. Chapter xiv. opens with the words *Τραιανὸς δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς γεφύρας τὸν Ἰστρον περαιωθεῖς*, as though up to this point the Emperor had not crossed the

river, and in chapter xi. we read that Decebalus sent deserters *ἐς τὴν Μυσίαν* in order to compass Trajan's death by assassination. The Epitome of Dio, therefore, lends support for what it is worth to the hypothesis advocated in this paper, viz. that the war opened with a Dacian raid into Moesia sufficiently serious to call for the immediate presence of the Emperor. And if further evidence be needed it may be found in the relief now in the Villa Medici,<sup>1</sup> the significance of which was first pointed out by Petersen (ii. p. 68). It represents a Dacian horseman swimming the Danube, and in the background is seen the parapet of the bridge of Apollodorus. It follows that the raid depicted is not that of A.D. 101-2, which was directed against Lower Moesia, but one which took place in the Second War, when the bridge of Turn-Severin had been constructed.

Our conclusion, therefore, must be that in A.D. 105 the Roman positions in Upper Moesia were seriously menaced by the Dacian offensive, and that Trajan's first campaign was devoted to their relief. To identify precisely the scene of the operations represented in scenes xcii.-xcviii. is beyond the means at our disposal. We may, if we will, imagine Trajan proceeding from Naissus to the Lower Danube by the route which follows the valley of the Timok. The road connecting Naissus with Ratiaria dates from the Early Empire; and (as a glance at Kanitz' map<sup>2</sup> will shew) the traces of Roman occupation are frequent in this whole region—as, for instance, at Gamzi grad (pp. 96 f.), or again at Kula, identified by Kanitz (*op. cit.* p. 100, cf. *id. Donaubulgarien und der Balkan*, i. p. 269) with the *Castra Martis* mentioned by Procopius. It is doubtless in this district, invaded by Decebalus with the object of inserting a wedge between the Roman armies of Upper and Lower Moesia, that we should place the scene of exploits perhaps as heroic as any to be found in the records of the Roman army, the knowledge of which we owe not to the historians, whose guidance in this period we so sadly miss, but to the immortal Epic of the Column.

H. STUART JONES.

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<sup>1</sup> *P.B.S.R.* iv. p. 243, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Wiener Donau-Expedition*, xli. 1892, facing p. 158.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO P. 450.

Mgr. Bulić, whose knowledge of the Roman antiquities of Dalmatia is unrivalled, replied to my inquiries as to the traditional connexion of Trajan with Burnum in a letter from which the following paragraphs are taken.

Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, i. pp. 118–120 berichtet, dass die Umgebung von Burnum (welche ich seit dem Jahre 1878 mehrmals besucht habe, cfr. *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, 1879, p. 83) *Trajanski grad*, die Stadt Trajans heisse. Ich bin der Meinung, dass diese Gegend nicht nur immediate vor der Ankunft des Fortis in Dalmatien im J. 1774, sondern schon vorher und auch vor der Auffindung der Inschrift *C.I.L.* iii. 2828=9890=*Bull. Dalm.* 1880, p. 145; 1881, p. 10, so geheissen hat. In dieser meiner Meinung bekräftigt mich auch der Umstand, dass im *C.I.L.* sub n. 2828 nicht steht, wann diese Inschrift gefunden wurde. 'La Dalmazia' (belletristisches Blatt) 1847, welches ich im Museum besitze aber unvollständig (es fehlt gerade p. 351) sagt ganz einfach von dieser Inschrift, dass sie 'anni sono fu trovata presso gli archi trajani, suplja crkva' (p. 262). Mommsen hat diese Inschrift nicht gesehen; sie ist aber wiedergefunden worden (*Bull. Dalm.* 1880, p. 145; 1881, p. 10) und befindet sich jetzt im Museum S. Donato in Zara.

Die Benennung *Trajanski grad*—die ich übrigens bei der Landbevölkerung nie gehört habe, sondern sie redet immer nur von einer *šupljaja crkva*, *suplja crkva*, das heisst: offene Bogen, mit Bogen offene Kirche (da für das Landvolk alles Merkwürdige *crkva*=Kirche ist) und da dieselbe mit offenen Bogen ist, deshalb *šuplja crkva*—ist nach meiner Ansicht mit dem Durchzuge Trajans durch Dalmatien in der Dakischen Expedition (cfr. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, iii. Textband, pp. 26–86; Petersen, *Trajans Dakischer Krieg*, etc., etc.) und mit dem Andenken an diesen Kaiser verbunden.

Auch das Trajanstor in Asseria (cfr. *Jahreshefte des osterr. archäolog. Institutes* Bd. xi. Heft i. pp. 30 ff.) kann in Verbindung mit der Anwesenheit Trajans in Dalmatien gesetzt werden. Auch die Inschriften im Cichorius o.c. S. 39, Note 1 und die Inschrift im *Bullett. Dalm.* 1903, p. 135 sprechen dafür. Einen Beweis dafür finde ich aber auch in der grossen Verbreitung des Namens des Kaisers Trajan in der slavischen Mythologie. Zu diesem Zwecke cfr. Leger, *Études de Mythologie slave* N. iii. : *L'Empereur Trajan dans la Mythologie slave*, Paris, 1897.—*Trajan-put* heisst eine alte Wasserleitung unweit von Zravecchia in Dalmatien (*Bull. Dalm.* 1880, p. 76). Nach dem slavischen Mythos hat Kaiser Trajan Eselsohren (Car Trajan ima magarece uši; cfr. Pučki, *List von Spalato* i. Jahrgang Heft 4 Feuilleton 'Car Trajan').



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THE COLUMBARIUM OF POMPONIOUS  
HYLAS

A SERIES OF DRAWINGS BY F. G. NEWTON

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WITH TEXT BY

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## THE COLUMBARIUM OF POMPONIUS HYLAS.

THE Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas is not by any means so well known as it deserves to be; for it is certainly one of the best preserved monuments of its kind, and it is with great pleasure that we are able to include in the present volume of the *Papers* of the School the interesting series of drawings by Mr. F. G. Newton. It is situated on the Via Latina, immediately before the Porta Latina of the Aurelian Wall, on the right-hand side going out (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 46), in the former Vigna Sassi: it is, however, best approached from the Via Appia, inasmuch as the custodian of the tomb of the Scipiones keeps the key.

Previous excavations in the sixteenth century are mentioned by Flaminio Vacca (*Mem.* 100, ed. Fea), but nothing of importance was found. The monument in question was excavated in 1831, permission having been granted at the end of January of that year: its discovery was announced in a letter of Campana's bearing date March 28 of that year (*Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1460). The columbarium was approached, not from the Via Latina, but from a branch road running S.E. and passing in front of the entrance, according to Campana (tav. i. A, frontispiece, and p. 301), while Lanciani shows pavement on the N.W. side, on which Campana, in the frontispiece, seems to represent the remains of another tomb, so that this pavement is probably modern.

The road is probably referred to in the inscription on a travertine cippus found not far off *Cn(aci) Manli Cn(aci) liberti Nastae in agrum ped(es) xii lat(um) p(edes) iii via privata inter P(ublium) Rutilium* (*C.I.L.* vi. 5631). The meaning is that the road divided the property of the two persons mentioned; the measurements of the tomb are indicated in a curious way (cf. Mommsen, *in loc.*). The structure was found to be in a



very good state of preservation, and it was only necessary to repair the uppermost portion of the stairs, and add a roof to the entrance passage. The monument was described fully by Campana himself in a work entitled *Di Due Sepolcri Romani del Secolo di Augusto scoperti tra la Via Latina e l'Appia presso la tomba degli Scipioni* (Rome, 1840, folio) and reprinted in the *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, xi. (1852). The portion dealing with our tomb occupies pp. 257-313 (with frontispiece and eight plates). The description is a careful one, and the plates are good. There is also a short section relating to it in Nibby's *Roma nell' anno 1838*, Parte II. Antica, 556; and the inscriptions are given by O. Jahn, *Specimen epigraphicum in memoriam Olai Kellermannn* (Kiel, 1841) and *C.I.L.* vi. 5539-5557. From them it appears that the columbarium was constructed about the time of Tiberius: the earliest inscription is *C.I.L. cit.* 5540, *Celadio Ti'beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) ser'vus) unctor Germanician(us) Pudens Ti'beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) peditsequ'us*, while another (*ib.* 5539) mentions two slaves of Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, and the first wife of Nero. *Paesusae Octaviae Caesaris Augusti filiae) ornatrici vix(it) ann(is) xviii. Philetus Octaviae Caesaris Augusti filiae) ab argento fecit contubernali suae carissimae et sibi.*

The only other inscription which gives an approximate date is *ib.* 5554, erected in honour of a freedman of Antoninus Pius—*T(ito) Aelio Aug(usti) lib'erto, Agathopo proc'uratori) (vicesimae) hereditatium) Sulpicia Thallusa coniugi bene merenti et heredes fecerunt*, which is inscribed on the front of an urn, which was inserted later, the left-hand pilaster of the left-hand *aedicula* of the N.E. wall having been cut away to allow of its insertion. It is now in the Capitoline Museum (*Stanze Terrene a Sinistra*, iii. 6).

The rest of the inscriptions of the columbarium present no special interest from their contents; they fall in date between the two extremes mentioned.

Later inhumation burials have been made in the columbarium.

We may now describe the monument itself in fuller detail. Mr. Newton's drawings consist of—a plan of the whole (Plate XXXVII.), four sections (Plates XXXVIII-XLI.), a plan of the ceiling (Plate XLII.), and five drawings of details (Plates XLIII-XLVII.).

Owing to considerations of expense, it was not possible to reproduce more than four of the plates in colour: the rest are given in collotype.

The building is constructed of concrete faced with brick.<sup>1</sup> The stairs are of brickwork. In the wall in front is a small rectangular niche, the vault of which is decorated with pieces of calcareous incrustation (the so-called 'tartari') and round the arch is a line of marine shells. In the niche stood two fine two-handled cinerary urns of glass (Campana, tav. ii. Fig. AB).

The cinerary urn of Oratus (*C.I.L. cit.* 5558), which was found not far off, was placed there by Campana, and is shown in the drawing (Plate XXXVIII.): *ib.* 5559, 5560 have also been deposited by him in the columbarium.

Below is a panel in coloured mosaic (shown in detail in Plate XLV.) with the inscription *Cn(aei) Pomponi Hylae Pomponiae Cn(aei) libertae Vitalinis* (*C.I.L. cit.* 5552). The *v* over the *P* of *Pomponiae* denotes that the latter was living. The ashes of these two persons, obviously husband and wife, were no doubt contained in the two glass urns; and the columbarium may have belonged to them, the niches being sold to those who wished to buy: it seems less probable that it was built by subscription, as there is no mention of this in the inscriptions, which refer to people of various names, not belonging at all to the same *gens* or to the same household, as is the case with several other *columbaria* known to us. Almost all of them are of free condition, but their Greek cognomina betoken a foreign and no doubt a servile origin, even where it is not expressly stated, as it is in some cases, that they were freedmen.

At the bottom of the stairs the chamber itself opens to the right. It is partly excavated in the ground, and is lighted by a window in the barrel-vaulted roof, on the S.W. side, on which is the entrance: at the S.E. end is an apse.

The general appearance of the interior is given by the view in Campana's tav. i. We see that (except on the left, for reasons with which we shall immediately deal) there are two levels, each with its architectural framework: the urns are as a rule disposed in the niches in pairs, and

<sup>1</sup> Miss E. B. Van Deman kindly informs me that the brick facing, as well as most of the architectural details, is composed of sawn tiles about 0.035 metre thick, with a few square bricks 0.06 to 0.065 metre thick, the mortar being 0.015 to 0.017 metre thick, and that these measurements are quite typical of the time of Tiberius. What little is visible of the facing of a later period (on the N.E. side) consists wholly of cut tiles 0.035 to 0.038 metre thick, and must belong to the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, as the inscriptions (*infra*, 466) seem to indicate: there is no recurrence of a similar type of brick facing until the time of Trajan.

above the niches are rectangular panels painted red: the niches are vaulted, and above them rise triangular pediments, alternately small, when they have to cover one niche only, and larger in the middle of the long sides and in the apse, where the centre is not carried out to its full height, and a lower round pediment is substituted. This will be clear from the examination of the sections already cited. On the side on which the staircase descends, the arrangement is simpler, the niches being merely arranged in horizontal rows, without architectural framework. The roof has a simple barrel vault decorated with foliage in spirals (Plate XLII); and the apse has a semi-dome, similarly decorated, with a few figures interspersed.

We may begin a more detailed inspection with the N.E. side (Section AA, Plate XXXVIII.). Here there has been, as Campana saw (p. 272 *fin.*), an alteration of the original plan<sup>1</sup>: the two niches with pediments block up the smaller vaulted niches and have been introduced at a later period, while the characters of an inscription belonging to them (*C.I.L. cit.* 5551 (*Virius, Cnaceus, Octavius Cnaci) libertus Zethus sibi et suis. Octavia Cnaci liberta, Pithane*), are considered by Prof. Hulsen to belong to the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

We have already seen that *C.I.L. cit.* 5554 was inserted after the construction of the niche, and the same applies, as it would seem from Campana's account (p. 268, to *ib.* 5557. *Dis Manibus Marci, Lucini Fausti et uxoris, ut in ensibus) et diebus, xi Arruntia Sabina (de) suo, posuit*, which is inscribed on an urn found near it, but overturned and out of place in Campana's day, and now in the Capitol (*Stanze Terrene a sinistra*, iii. 1).<sup>3</sup>

The details of the decoration of these two niches or *aediculae* are interesting. It is carried out in stucco relief and colour. In the pediment of the left hand one we see Chiron instructing Achilles in the art of playing the lyre: while in the frieze, of which the greater part is unfortunately destroyed, we see on the extreme left a figure of Cerberus, and on the right, Ocnus twisting the rope, with the ass eating it; while to the left of Ocnus are (Campana p. 270 and tav. ii. C) the remains of a female figure, possibly one of the Danaides. A detail of the capital is

<sup>1</sup> An idea of the original form of this side can be had from the section of the opposite side (Section BB, Plate XXXIX. cf. *infra*, 470).

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 5541. *Dis Manibus Marciae* &c. can be assigned from its content to the period from Augustus to Nero (see *C.I.L.* vi. p. 2900). The inscription itself has disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hulsen assigns it to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, A.D.

given in Plate XLVII. (top). The rough painting of foliage at the back of the niche is, as Campana points out, a good deal later.

The next niche is decorated with bright colours: an idea of its details can be obtained from Plate XLVII. (below), which gives the details of the moulding of the interior, and Plate XLVI., which shows the central portion of the pediment: the stucco of the pilasters of both niches has almost entirely perished. Besides the inscription of Octavius Zethus and Octavia Pithane, there was found there the cinerary urn *Campana*, tav. vii. 1, of L. Calpurnius Optatus *C.I.L. cit.* 5555, 14178, with a representation of two *quadrigae*, now in the Capitoline Museum (*Stanza Terrena a sinistra*, iii. 6). Above was a very fine cinerary urn of glass, in the form of an amphora, which was eventually placed in the Vatican Library.

Standing on the pavement in front of the niche was a small terminal cippus with a head of the bearded Bacchus, which has also been removed there. The original document as to the purchase is in *Atti del Camerlingato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1460. 200 scudi were paid for these objects, seven marble urns, the gold ornaments named below, and eleven terracottas.

To the right of this niche we see a part of the original construction with the right-hand portion of a pediment, the rest of which has given place to the two large *adniculae*. In the lowest niche Campana's drawing (tav. ii.) shows a square cinerary urn elegantly carved with the inscription *C.I.L. cit.* 5556 *Tiberius Claudius Tiberii filius Quirina tribu Proculus exiit, aetatis vi.*

We now turn to the examination of the apse. Section CC. Plate XL. Campana, tav. iii. iv.)

Here there has apparently been no alteration, the central *adnicula* belonging to the original structure, of which here and on the S.W. side we gain a clear idea. We notice that the triangular pediments at the side are broken so as to contain a circular pediment in the centre. They have however, no figured decoration, only a simple and graceful architecture. The urns are placed in niches roofed with circular vaults, as a rule in pairs.

The decoration of the semi-dome of the apse is akin to that of the vault of the main chamber: a plan of the latter is given in Plate XLII. it consists of intricate tendrils of foliage, with birds and winged putti given in detail in Campana, tav. vi. among them. In that of the apse, on the

other hand, we see three female figures, of which the central one is represented in detail in Plate XLIII., while those at the side are similar, but are winged. On the front of the arch is a narrow band of painting: below on the right and left are two male figures, partly draped, hovering in the air: that on the left holds a jug and a patera, as though pouring wine for the funeral banquet; while in the centre we see a mourning female figure (a slave, Campana thinks) on the right, and a kneeling male figure on the left. In the space between are four winged horses.

Over one of the niches on the right is the inscription of Paezusa,<sup>1</sup> which exactly fits the recess above the niche (*supra*, 464, and on the left, between the quadrangular recess and the niche, a tablet set up in memory of L. Licinius Nicephorus by his slaves Anicetus and Faustus (*C.I.L. cit.* 5549). Within the central *aedicula* are four terracotta urns, two sunk in the floor of the *aedicula*, and two in a niche behind, at a slightly higher level. On the wall on each side of this niche is painted a figure, a man on the left, a woman on the right; each is draped, and holds a roll in the left hand, and between them over the top of the niche is a *cista mistica*. Campana (p. 277) supposes, and I think with good reason, that they represent Granius Nestor and his wife. The *aedicula* rests on a base with broad moulding which contains a second niche within which are four more urns. Between this niche and the moulding is the inscription (*C.I.L. cit.* 5546) *Q. uintus Granius Nestor fecit sibi et Vnileiae Hedoni coniugi bene m'crenti*. In the tympanum of the pediment is a figure, which Campana (p. 282) identifies with Destiny, while on each side is a Triton sounding a conch, the curls of their tails filling up the angles of the tympanum. The frieze shows a scene of four figures, in red brown and bluish-grey.

Plate XLIV: the upper portion is that to the spectator's right.)

The scene which Campana interpreted, somewhat oddly, as the three Fates (without adequately explaining the male figure on the extreme right) should more probably be referred to the story of Orpheus among the Thracians.<sup>2</sup> Here we see Orpheus as musician wearing long priestly robes

<sup>1</sup> Within the urn was found a lamp with the inscription L. LAB(II) HERAC(II). This may be identical with that described as decorated with a bust of Isis, which was copied by Dressel in the Museo Gregoriano at the Vatican, its provenance being unknown (*C.I.L.* sv. 6432, a. 11). A representation of it is given by Campana (tav. viii. F.) (not in use in the text p. 279), from which it would seem that above the head of Isis are two peacocks (?) with two snakes between them.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mrs. Arthur Strong, who studied the paintings of the Columbarium on my behalf.

(*Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos*, Verg. *Aen.* vi. 644) seated, holding a seven-stringed instrument.<sup>1</sup> He is clad in a long tunic, with sleeves, and over this is an ample cloak drawn over the back of the head and tight across the knees. Orpheus also wears a wreath of long leaves, the species of which is uncertain. To the left of Orpheus, in a half-kneeling posture, perhaps part of a dance movement, appears one of the devoted Thracians, not in the attitude of ecstatic listener so common on the Greek vases, but supporting on one knee an oblong box which he holds open before Orpheus and from which the musician seems to be drawing a fresh string. The Thracian is clad in barbaric costume with trousers and wears on his head the ἀλωπεκῆ or foxskin cap which Campana in his drawing interprets as a lionskin (Campana, tav. iv.).<sup>2</sup>

The figure to the right of Orpheus is a dancing Bacchanal holding a thyrsus in the left hand, and with the right the end of a long fluttering scarf. This figure, which Campana takes to be female (the scarf lends colour to this supposition), seems to Mr. Newton to be male; in the obliterated condition of the painting the question must perhaps be left undecided. On the left, behind the Thracian, is an undoubted female figure, probably a Maenad, grasping one end of her cloak in each hand, and executing a sort of crouching movement which, like the movement of the Thracian, seems part of a dance; behind her is a small terminal image of Priapus with a thyrsus resting against its base. In accordance with the myth the Maenad should, as on the vases, appear hostile to Orpheus, but at this late date the artist's mythology was probably not quite clear, and he merely wishes to show Orpheus as Thracian singer amidst Thracians and Bacchic revellers, whether male or female.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Greek vases of the fine period Orpheus appears in Greek costume, and on the vases of lower Italy, such as the great Amphora from Canosa in Munich (Furtwängler-Reichold, Plate X.), he wears a semi-oriental robe with Phrygian cap. In later eclectic art he is sometimes robed, sometimes entirely nude. (See Gruppe in Roscher's Lex. iii. 570, 'Orpheus' 1172-3.)—E. S.

<sup>2</sup> The ἀλωπεκῆ is the common headdress of the Thracians on Greek vases and is worn by Orpheus himself on the famous relief where he appears with Hermes and Eurydice. (See Gruppe, *l.c.*)—E. S.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable likewise that the representation on the stucco frieze of the first niche on the left-hand side, though of a later date (see *supra*, 466), illustrates the descent of Orpheus into Hades. On the left we possibly have to imagine the figure of Heracles chaming Cerberus. On the right is the group already noted above of the Danaid and Oeneas with the ass, an episode which in spite of the fact that it was painted by Polygnotus in his Nelyia (Paus. x. 39. 2) and by one Socrates at a later date (Plin. xxv. 137) seldom occurs in extant monuments. The rare instances have been collected by Hofer (Roscher's Lex. iii. 823 ff.), and among them our Columbarium group, together with the analogous rendering of the same subject on the well-known relief from an altar of well-head

In the pavement, which is of 'cocciapista' (hard cement with fragments of broken tiles in it) in front of the *aedicula* in the centre of the apse, there was found a square slab of marble, with a hole in it for the introduction of a terracotta pipe. The stone was lifted, and bones without trace of combustion were found under it; so that the space was probably used for later and more confused burials, inasmuch as the bones belonged not to one individual, but to several.

We now turn to the S.W. or entrance side of the tomb (Section BB, Plate XXXIX.; Campana, tav. v. which, as we have seen, gives us a good idea of the original condition of the N.E. side. The inscriptions are given by Campana (pp. 286, 287) and comprise *C.I.L. cit.* 5540—*supra*, 464—5543, 5544, 5547, 5548, 5550, 5553. The last of these inscriptions belongs to a niche having pilasters instead of columns, with a simple base below.

Under the pavement along this side a body was found buried within a terracotta sarcophagus: it was that of a woman, richly dressed, and when first opened was perfect, but soon perished on exposure to the air, some fine gold thread and fragments of a necklace remaining, with earrings and a gold pin. These were placed in the Vatican Library, as we learn from documents in the *Atti del Camerlengato*, Tit. iv. fasc. 1460 (cf. also *supra*, 467).

Under the stairs (Campana, tav. vi.) are a few ordinary double niches, and below them on the pavement level was a terracotta sarcophagus containing a body, covered with tiles. One would imagine that this and the other burials were later.

On the wall along which the stairs descend are similar niches, in simple rows, divided by stucco cornices, the space between them being

in the Gallery dei Condottieri in the Vatican. Holmg. 2nd ed. 370), has the prominent place. In this fresco-painting Oenais wears a blue chiton and a kind of trousers (on the Vatican relief he simply appears in a chiton) with a cloak thrown round his left shoulder and lower limbs, and is in half-reclining position, actually twisting the rope while the ass stands in front of him gnawing it. Behind Oenais is his ground which half-conceals a female figure, the presumed Danaë, who is raising with her left hand one end of a drapery which passes across her back, and then falls to the front over her right arm; in this position has he often discussed, and reproduced from Campana's publication (see especially Otto J. Hoffmann *S. Lucie, Oenais, Herakles, Herakles, Supra*, 1850, p. 208 and Pl. III, A; Richard *Platon, Oenais, Herakles, Herakles, Supra*, 1850, p. 315; the literature is collected by Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 370). See also the importance of the subject, and that the picture goes back to the 4th century B.C. (as he also does the composition in colour, on a larger scale than Mr. Newton's red and orange, and the same length of time). This is the more urgent as the stucco is so thoroughly friable, and the picture has evidently suffered from the same cause. Campana's day -- E. S.

painted with foliage: above them are the usual panels painted red, and there was only one inscription *C.I.L. cit.* 5542; found there, so that the great majority of the niches on this side lacked the names of those whose ashes had been placed within the urns. (Section DD, Plate XLI.)

Various terracottas, etc. found in walls of later construction in the neighbourhood of the *columbarium* are given by Campana (tav. viii.); but with these we will not at present deal: he also illustrates on the same plate (C, D, E, L) four of the more remarkable lamps found actually within the building.



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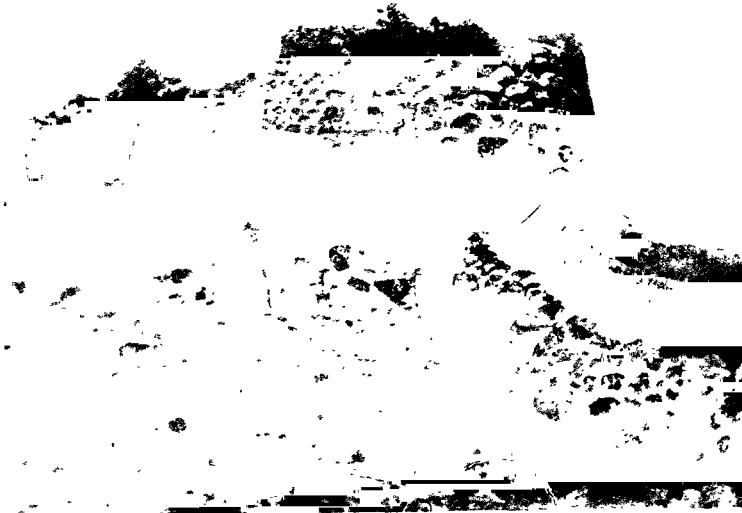


Fig. 1. — Nuraghe of Voes looking north-west.

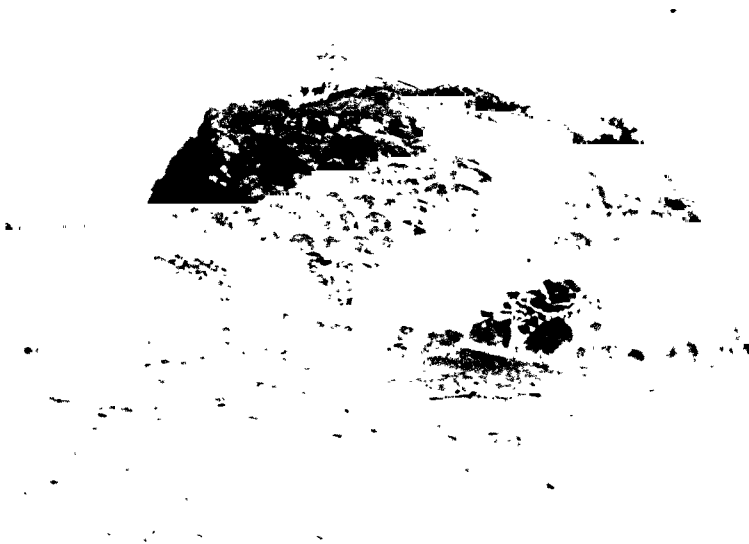


Fig. 2. — Nuraghe of Voes looking north.





Fig. 1. — Nuraghe of Voes looking west.



Fig. 2. — Nuraghe of Arile looking north.





Fig. 2. — Dolmen of Maone looking west.



Fig. 1 — Nuraghe of s'Aspru looking west.





Fig. 1. — Dolmen of Fontanaccia in the south of Corsica



Fig. 2. — Rock-cut tomb of s'Abba Bogada near Ovodda.







Fig. 1. — Giant's tomb at Sas Prigionas looking north-west



Fig. 2. — Giant's tomb at Sas Prigionas looking east.





Fig. 1. — Giant's tomb at Sas Prigionas looking east.



Fig. 2. — Southern giant's tomb at Goronna looking west.



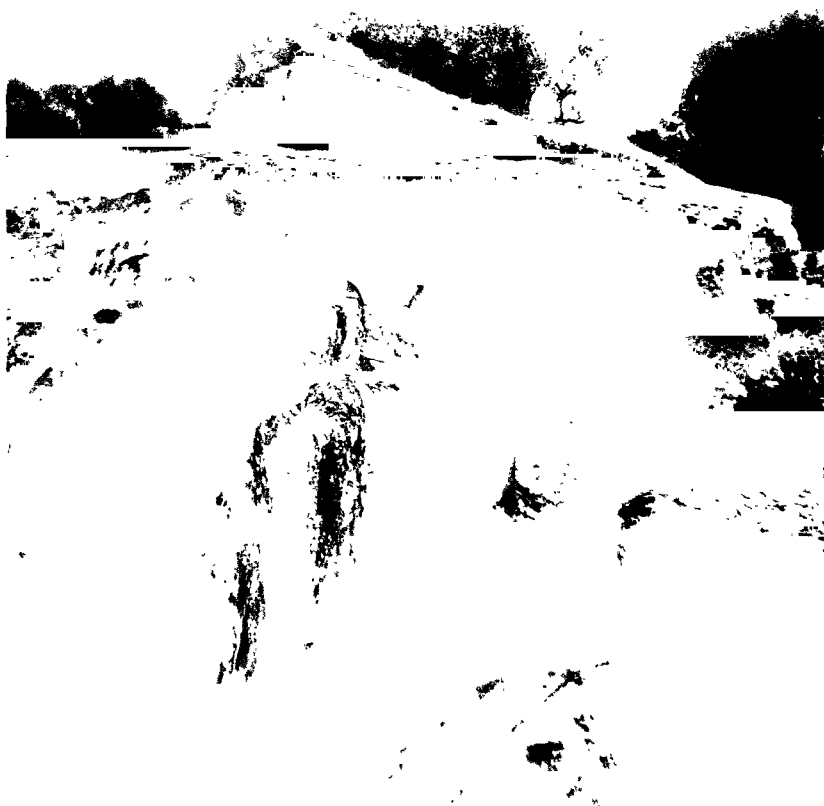


Fig. 1. — Southern giants' tomb at Goronn looking north-east



Fig. 2 — Giant's tomb at Muraguada looking south-west.



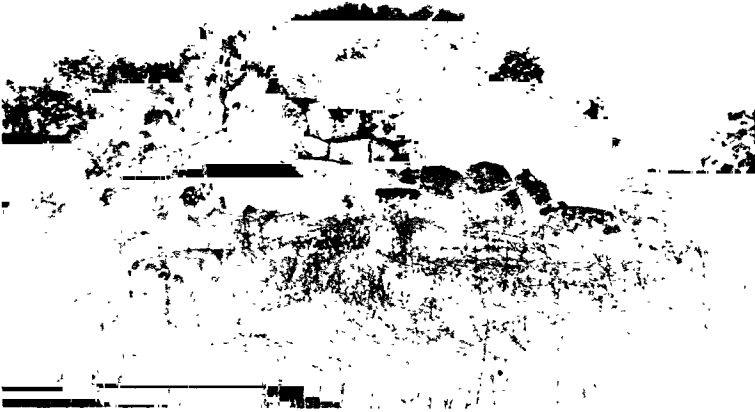


Fig. 1. — Front of giant's tomb at Muraguada.

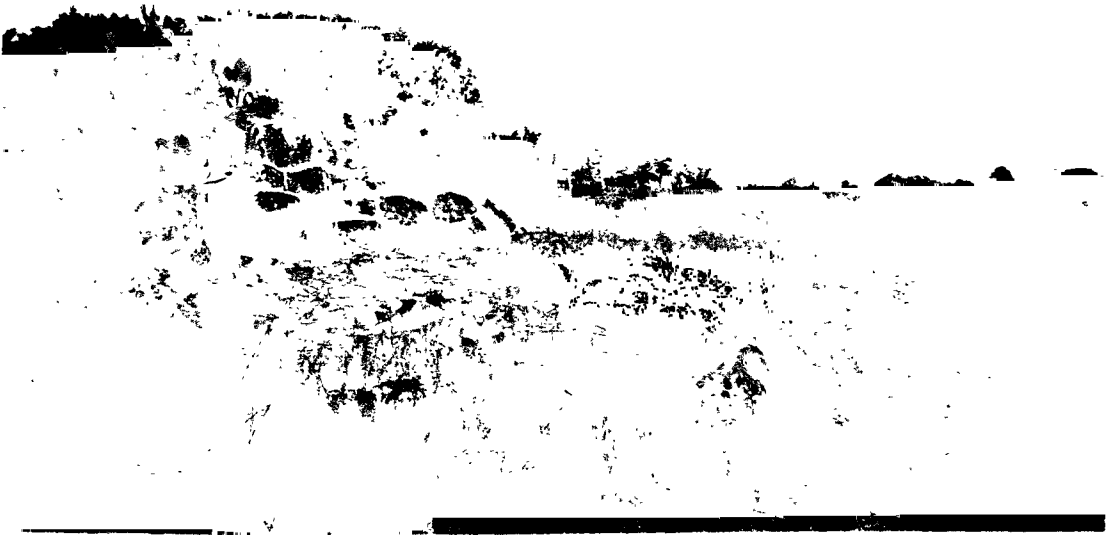


Fig. 2. — Giant's tomb at Muraguada looking north.





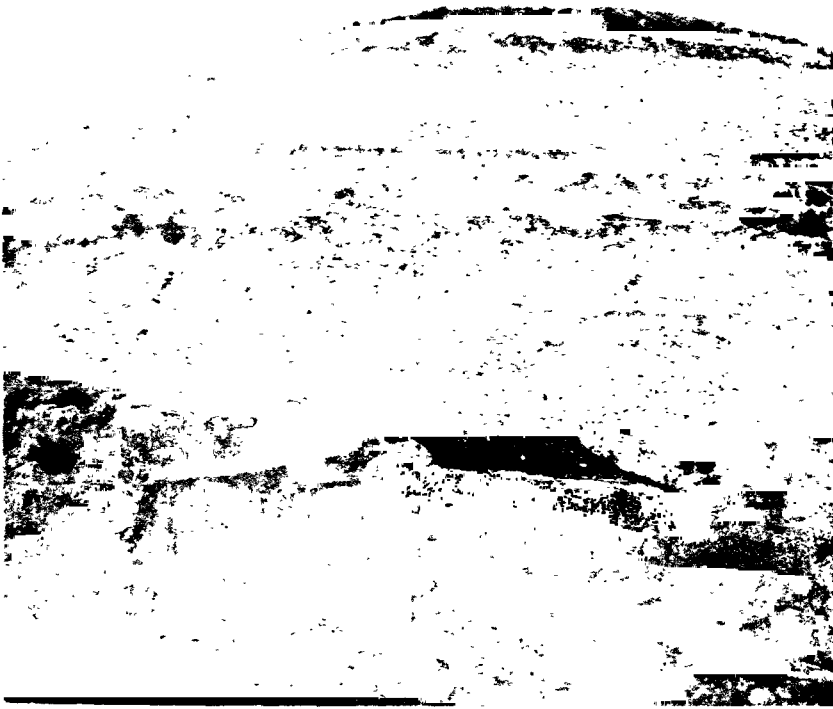


Fig. 1. — Rock cut giant's tomb at Molafa.

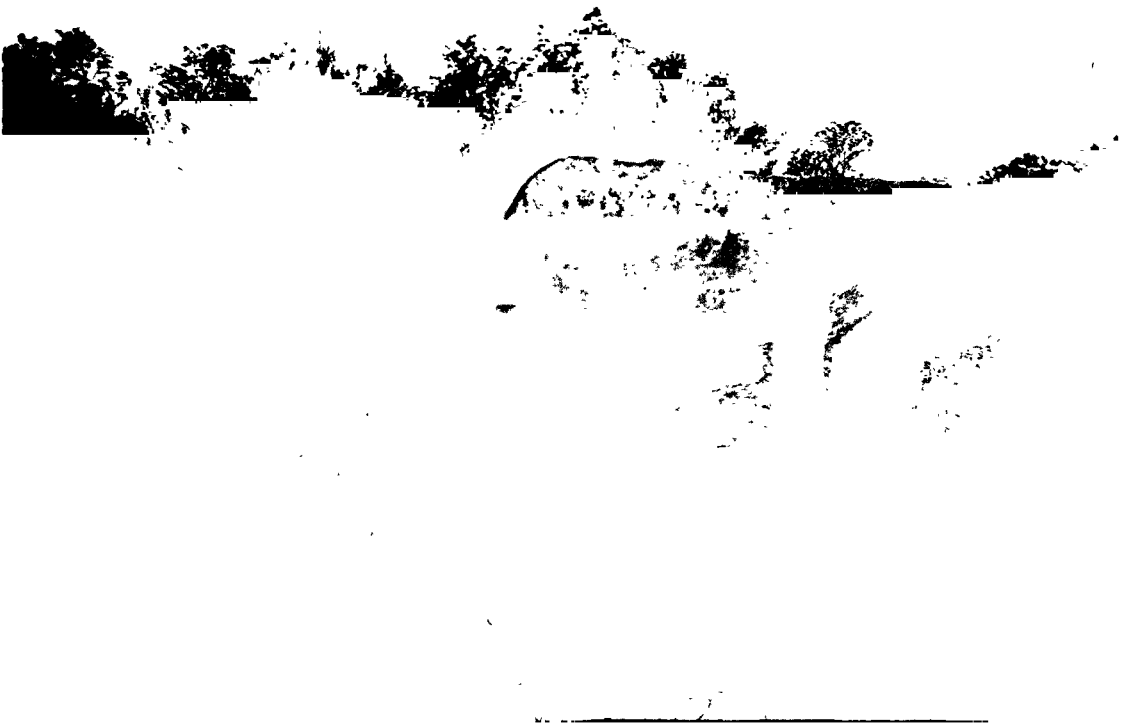


Fig. 2. — Dolmenic tomb of Perdalunga near Austis.





Fig. 1. — Dolmen of s'Enna sa Vacca looking north-west.



Fig. 2. — Dolmen of s'Enna sa Vacca looking west.



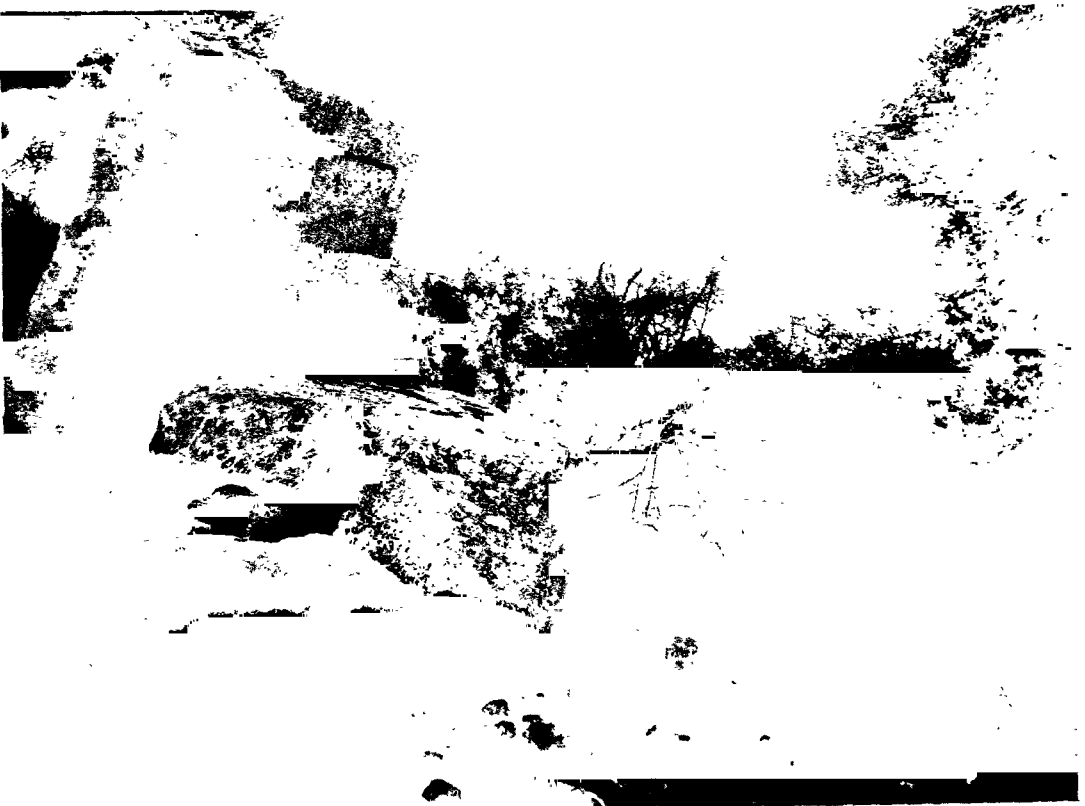


Fig. 1. — S'Altare de Logula.



Fig. 2. — Giant's tomb of Biddle Virras.





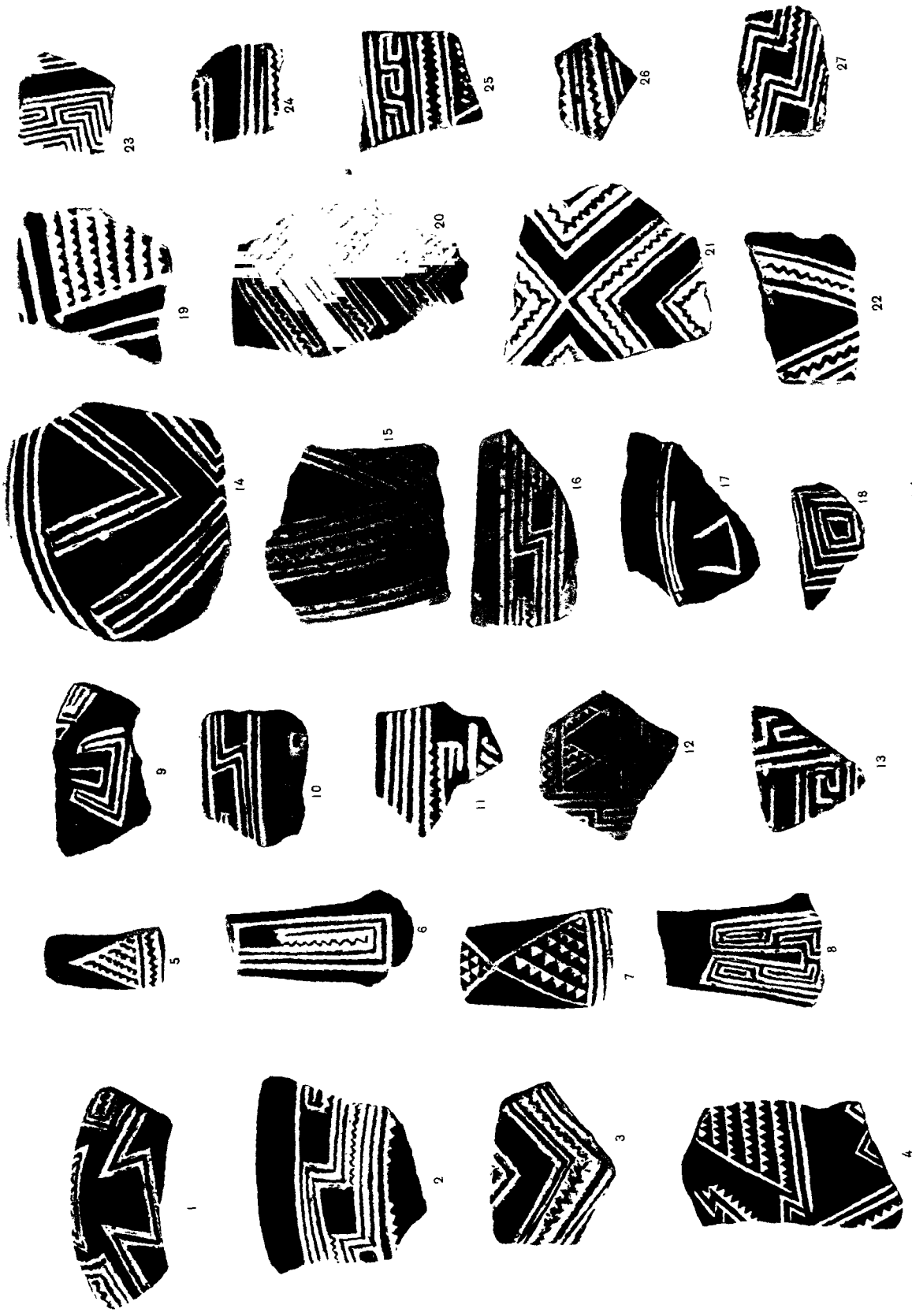
Fig. 1. — Giant's tomb of Castigadu s'Altare.



Fig. 2. — Dolmen of sa Tanca sai Bogadas near Birori

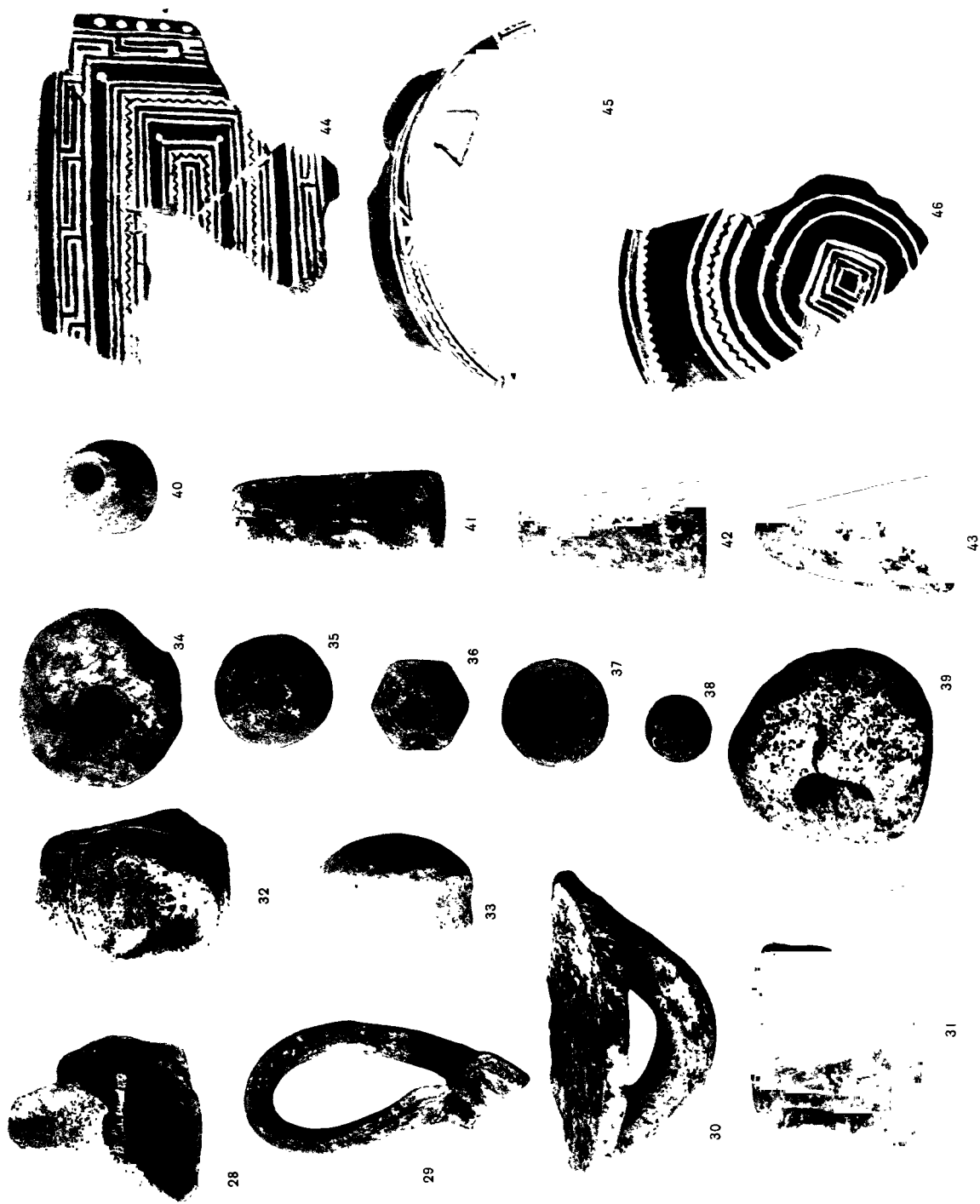






Specimens of pottery from Bahria, Malta.





Specimens of pottery from Bahria, Malta.





Specimens of pottery from Bihra, Munar.





Fig. 2. — Stele of Artemidorus

Phot. Alinari



Fig. 1. — Relief from Tralles.







Fig. 1. — Frieze of the Forum Transitorium.

Phot. Anderson



Fig. 2. — Theft of the Palladium (Spada relief).

Phot. Anderson





Fig. 1. — Daedalus and Pasiphaë (Spada relief).

Phot. Ashmolean.



Fig. 2. — Daedalus and Pasiphaë (Pompeian Painting).

Phot. Bregt.





Fig. 2 — Adonis wounded (Spada relief).

Phot. Anderson



Fig. 1 — Death of Opheltes (Spada relief).

Phot. Anderson





Fig. 2. — Amphion and Zethus (Spada relief).

Phot. Anderson



Fig. 1. — Bellerophon and Pegasus (Spada relief).

Phot. Anderson







Phot. Anderson

Fig. 2. — Paris and Priam (Spada relief).



Phot. Anderson

Fig. 1. — Paris and Oenone (Spada relief).





Fig. 1 — Perseus and Andromeda (Capitol).

Phot. Larcher



Fig. 2 — Perseus and Andromeda (Pompeian painting).

Phot. Boga





Sarcophagus in the Louvre with scenes from the myth of Actaeon.

Photo. Alinari





Fig. 1. — Gate of la Civita in the valley of the Sabato.



Fig. 2. — The abbey of Grottaferrata.







Fig. 1. — Terrace wall in the Vigna Bevilacqua near Frascati.



Fig. 2. — Peperino quarries at Marino.





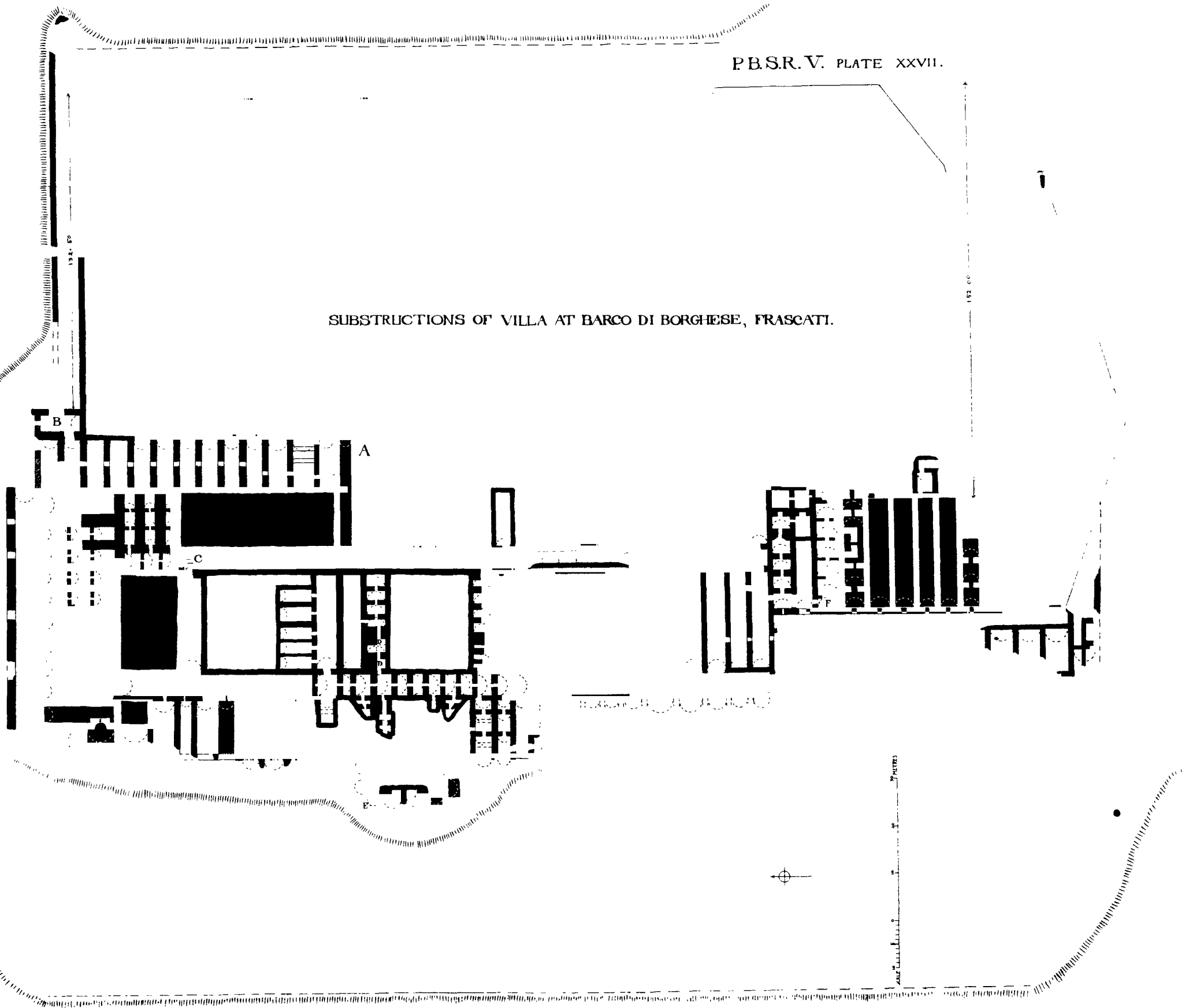
Fig. 1. — Reservoir called le Cisternole, near Frascati.



Fig. 2. — Amphitheatre at Tusculum.



SUBSTRUCTIONS OF VILLA AT BARCO DI BORGHESE, FRASCATI.





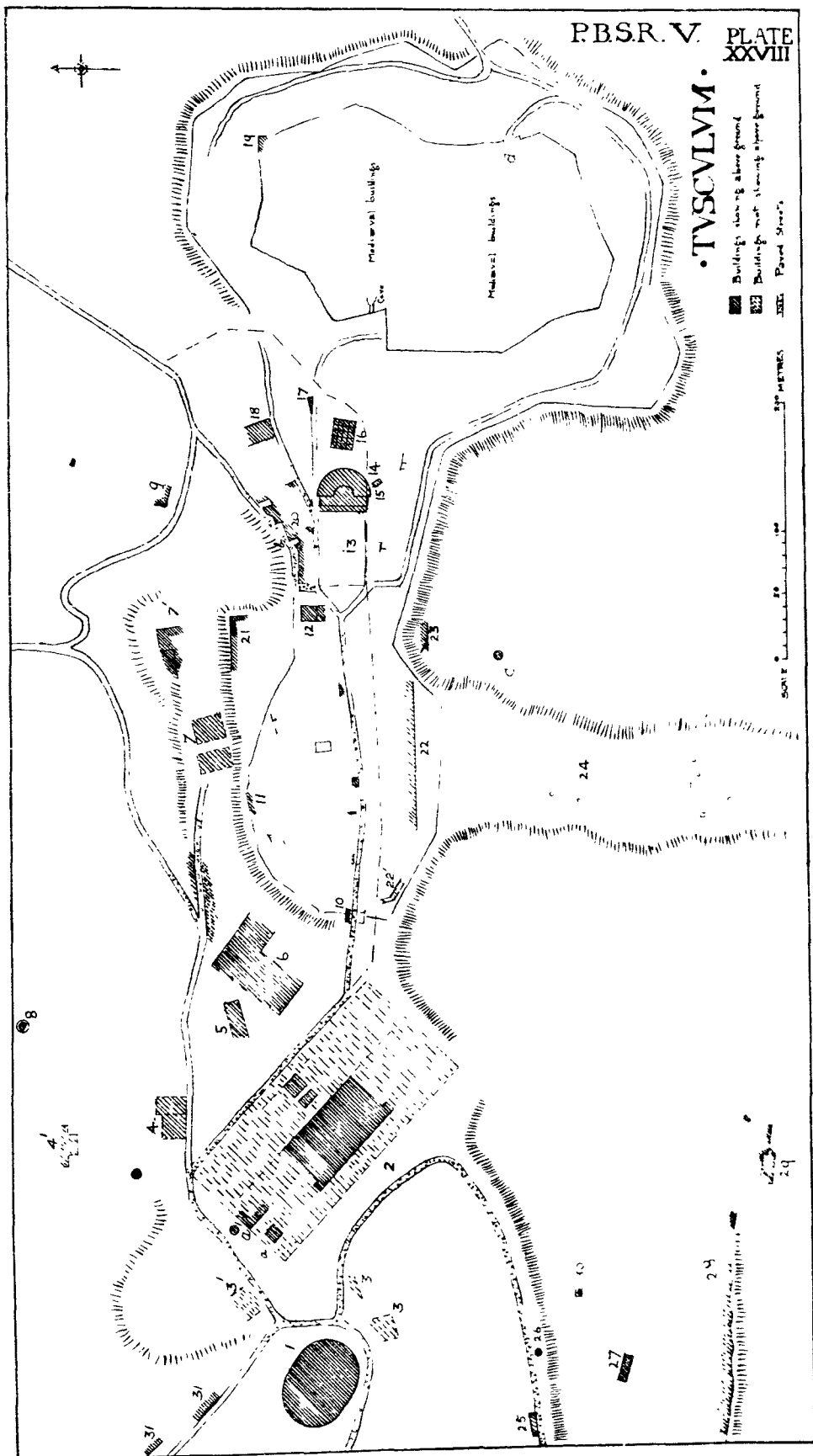
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Fig. 1. — Substructions of a temple at Tusculum.



Fig. 2. — Tusculum looking west from arx.





Fig. 1 — Theatre at Tusculum.



Fig. 2. — Chamber at Tusculum.





Fig. 1 — Arx of Tusculum from the Via Latina looking north-west.

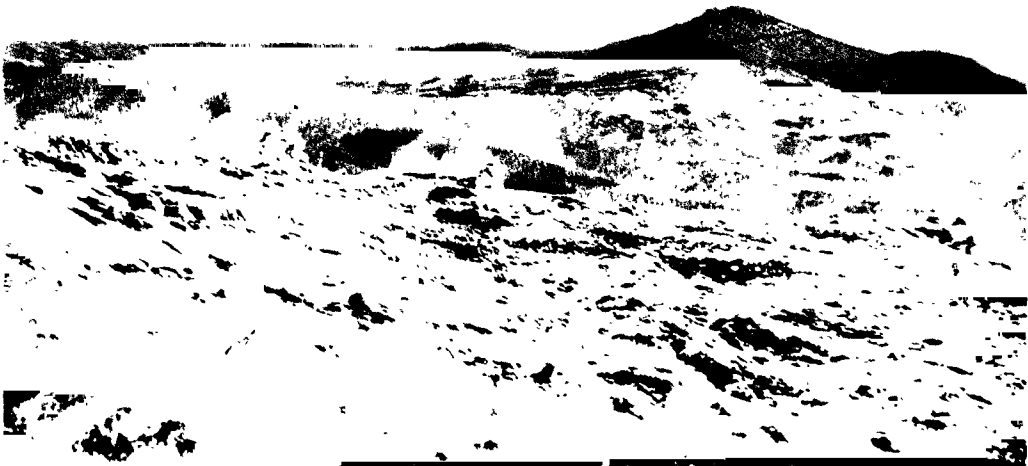


Fig. 2. — Monte Cavo from Tusculum.







Fig. 1. — Polygonal walling in a villa platform below Tusculum.



Fig. 2. — Substructions of a villa (le Cappellette) near Frascati.





Fig. 1. — Monte Porzio.



Fig. 2. — Aqueduct near Rocca di Papa.



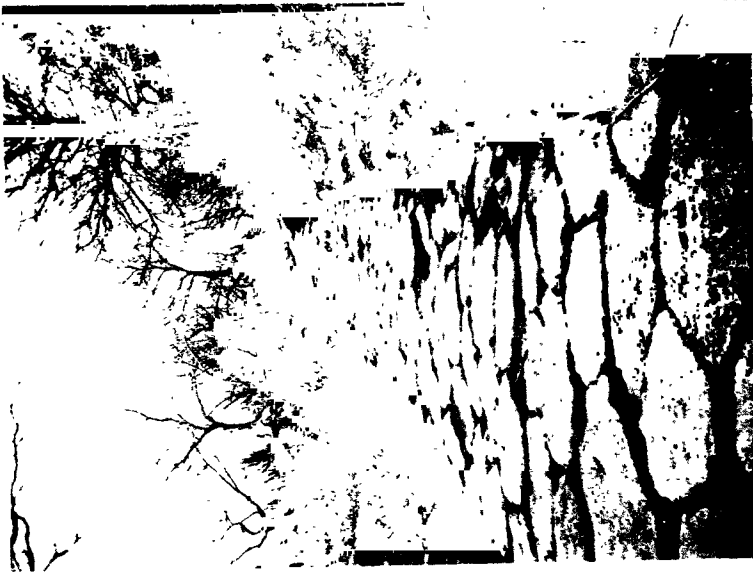


Fig. 1. — Paved road leading up Monte Cavo.



Fig. 2. — Castle of Pimpinara.



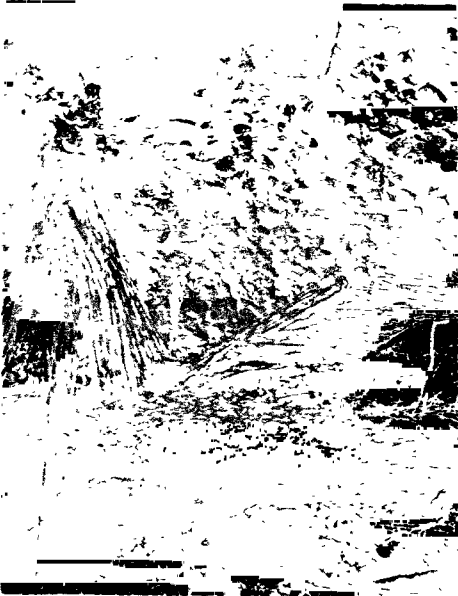


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Specimens of facing to concrete.







Fig. 1. — Rocca Priora from the south-east.

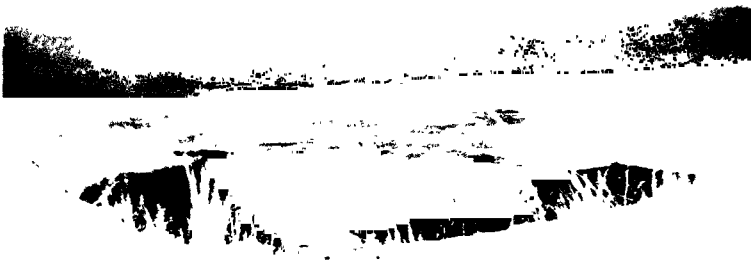
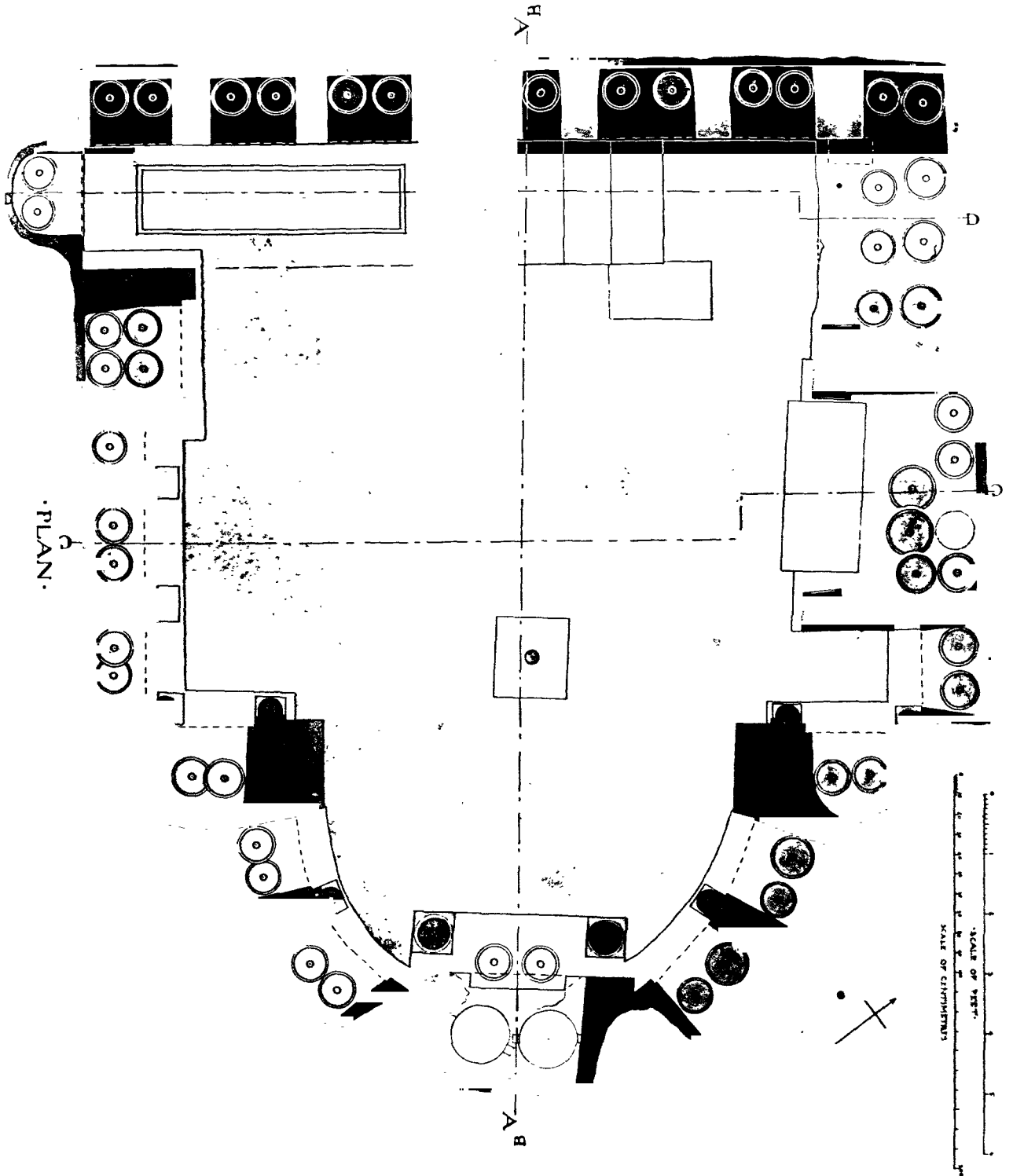


Fig. 2. — Lago della Doganella looking south.



THE COLYMBARIUM OF POMPONIVS HYLAS.  
IN THE VIA LATINA-ROME.



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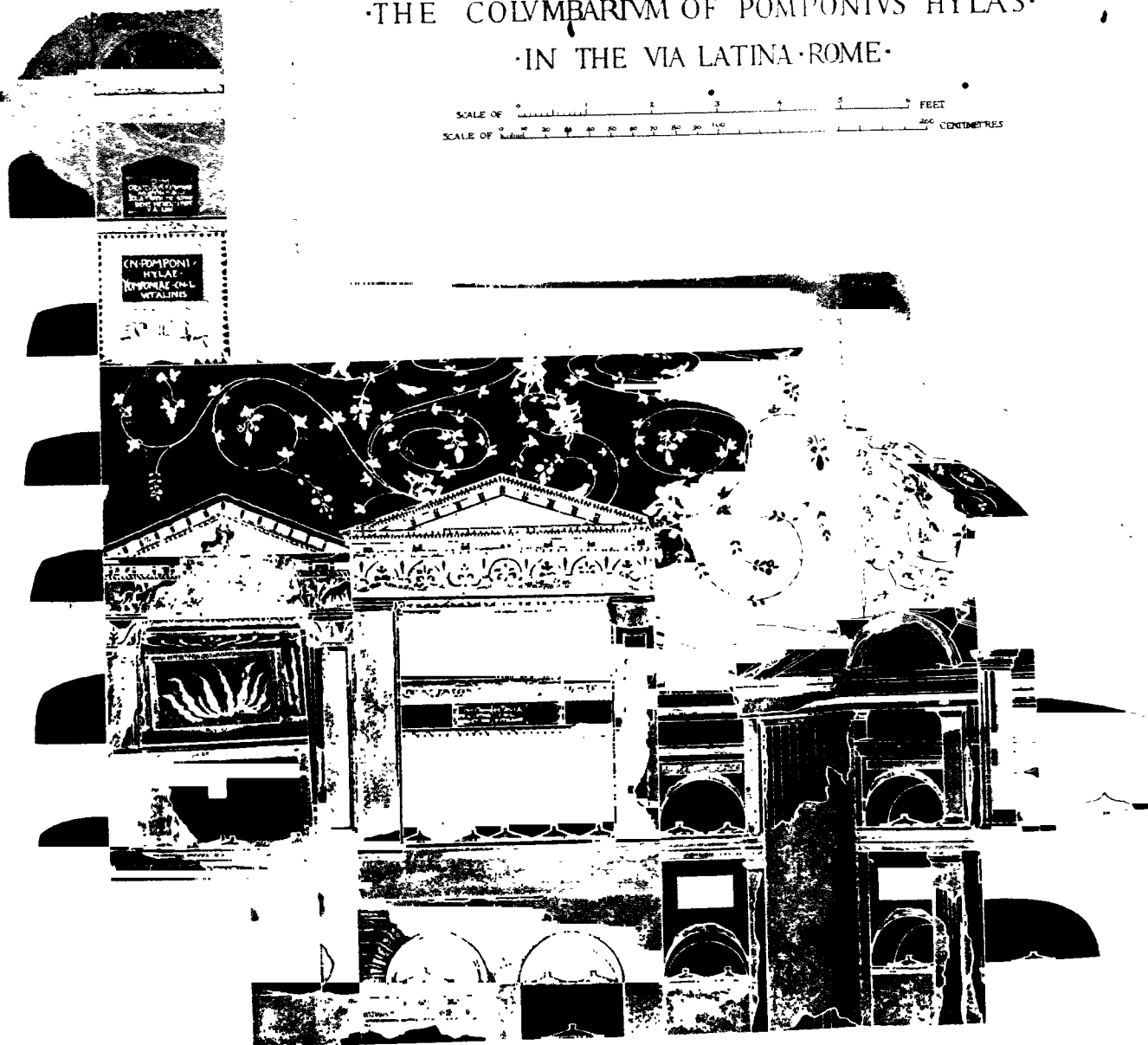
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·IN THE VIA LATINA·ROME·

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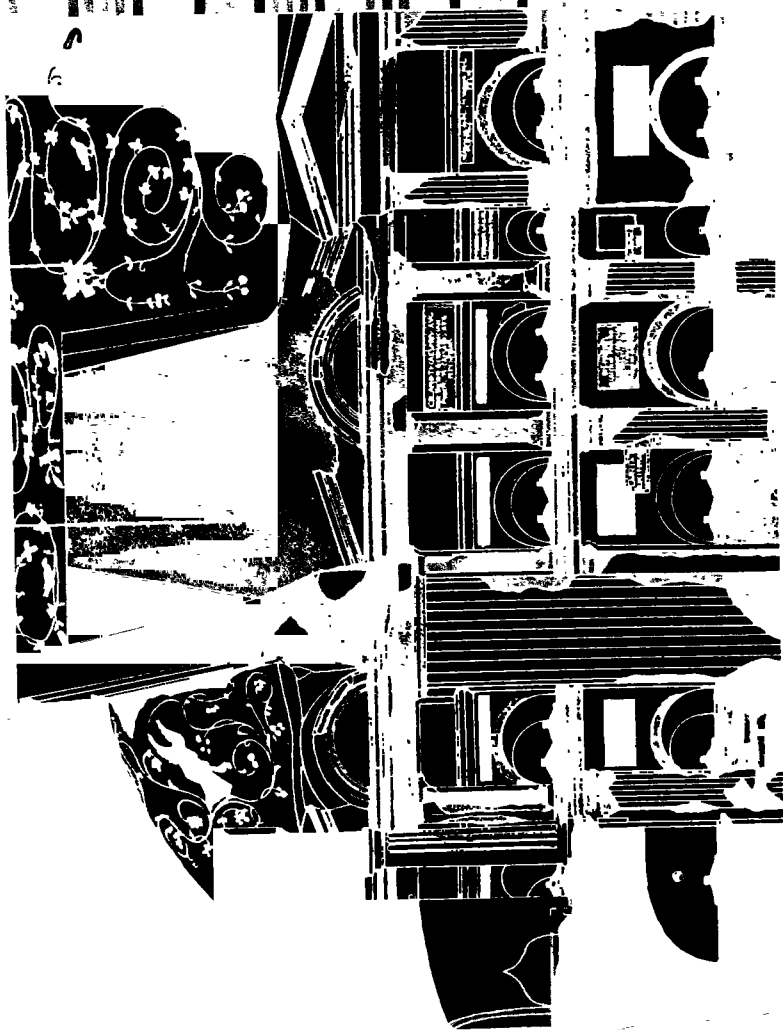
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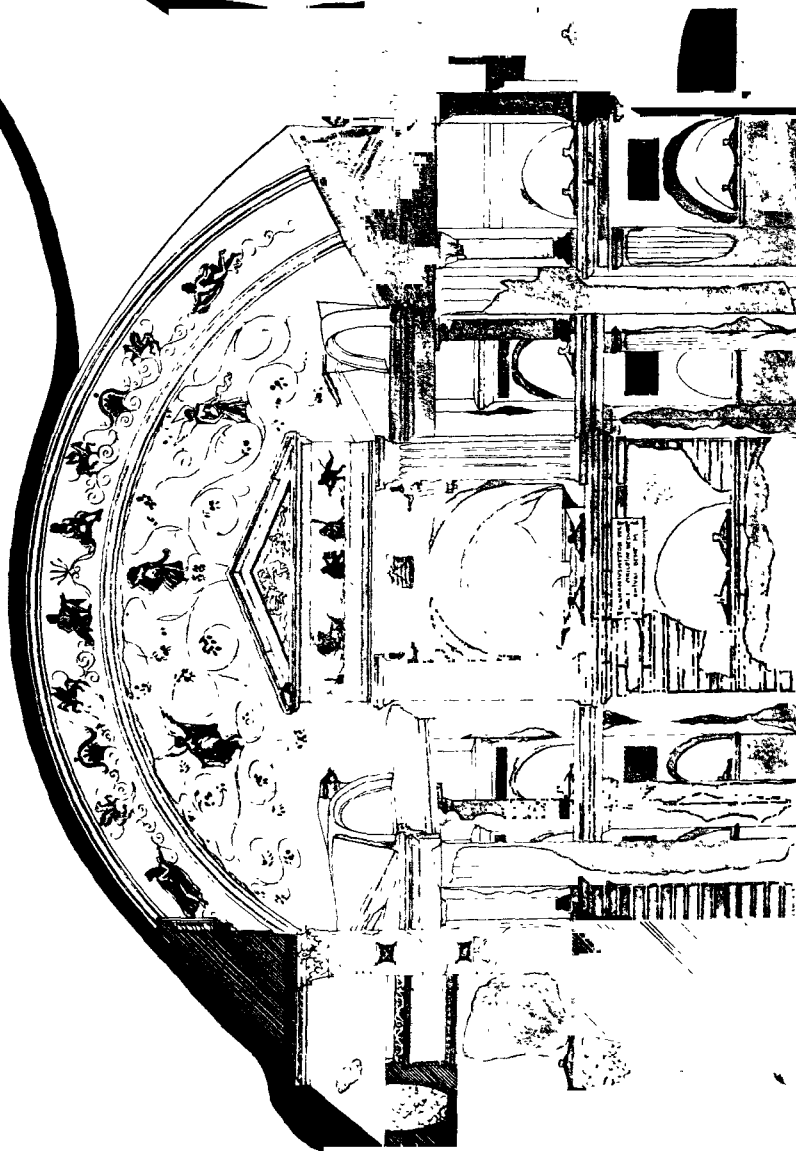
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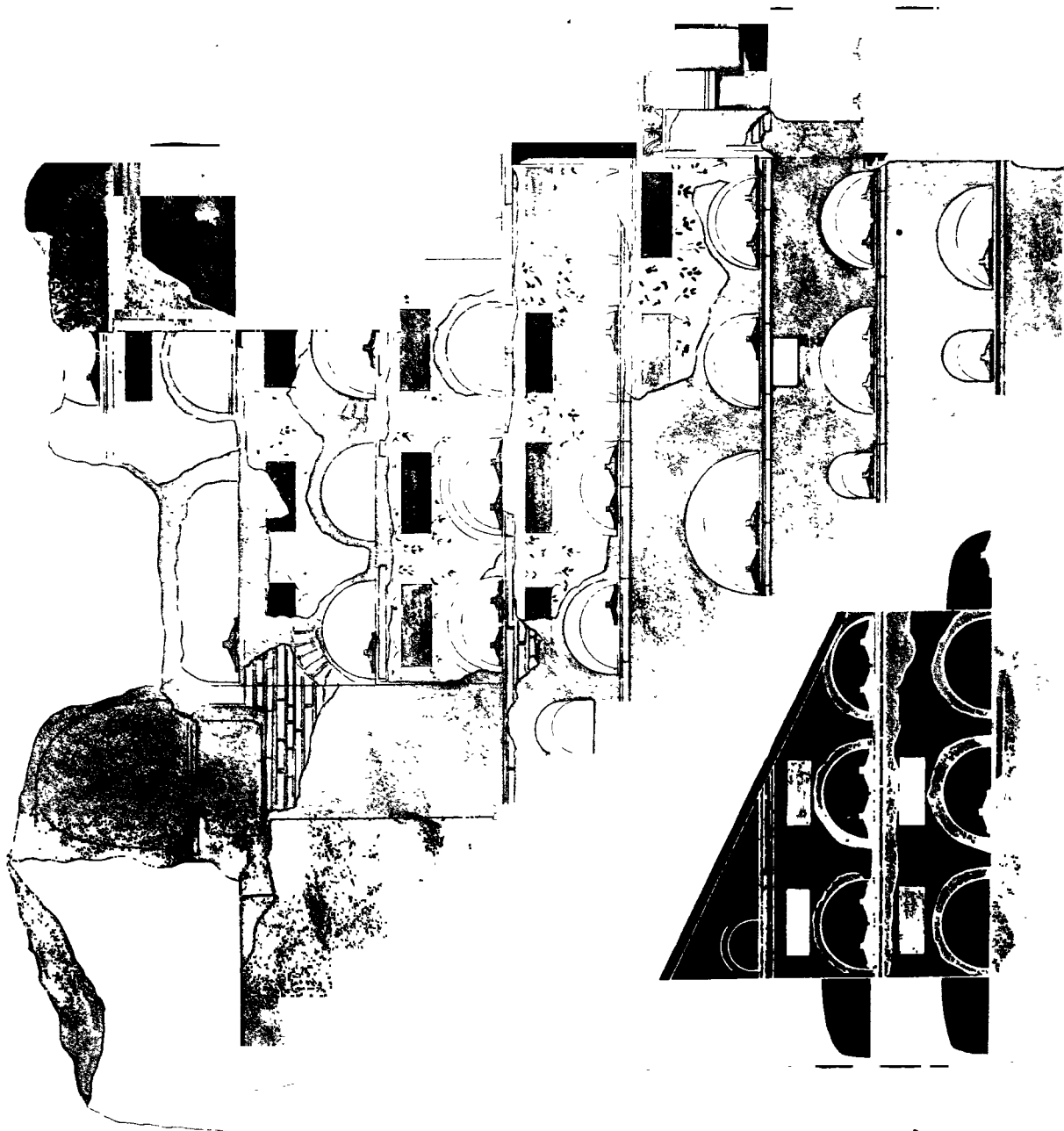
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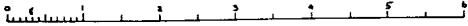
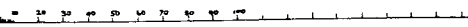




THE COLYMBARIUM OF POMPONIUS HYLAS.  
IN THE VIA LATINA-ROME.



•THE COLYMBARIUM OF POMPONIVS HYLAS•  
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SCALE OF  FEET  
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Detail of decoration of vault and apse



P B S R V

PI XLIII

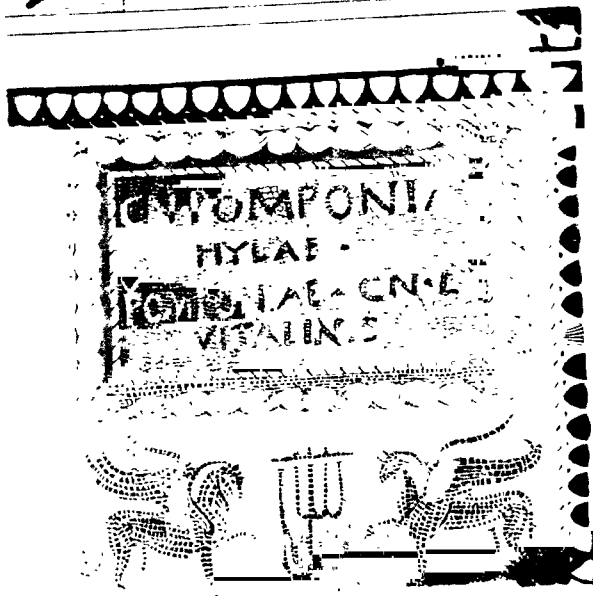






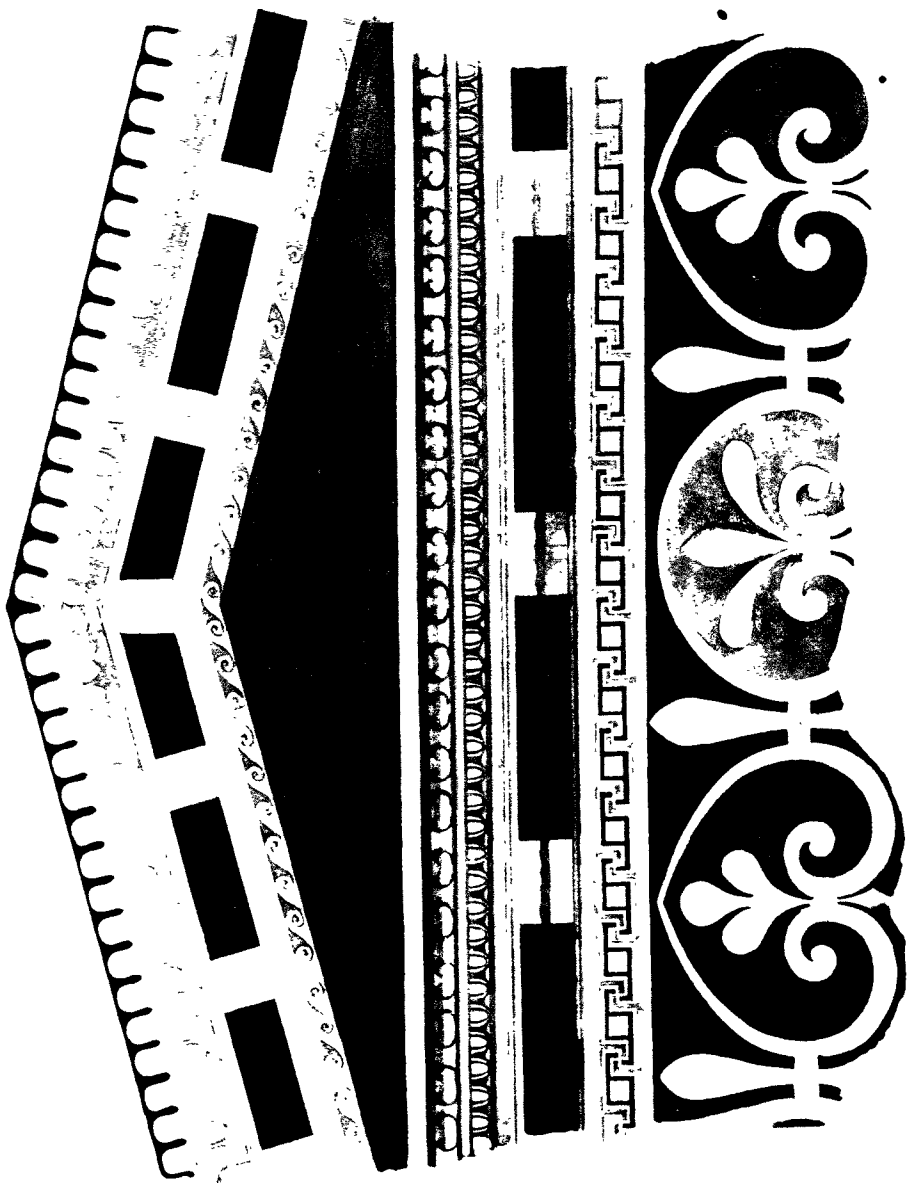






Detail of inscription.









Details of architecture

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